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THE

WORKS OF SALLUST,

WITH

ORIGINAL ESSAYS.

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WITH

Notes

HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, AND CRITICAL,

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY

HENRY STEUART, LL. D.

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY, AND OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF EDINBURGH.

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686. C. Calpurnius Piso.—M. Acilius Glabrio. Coss.

Catiline is appointed Governor of Africa.

687. L. Volcatius Tullus.—M. Æmilius Lepidus. Coss.

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690. M. Tullius Cicero.—C. Antonius Hybrida. Coss.

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Ædiles (Curule); P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, and L. Julius Cæsar. Ædiles of the People; L. Scribonius Libo, and C. Memmius Gemellus.

Censors; L. Aurelius Cotta, and P. Servilius Isauricus.

Prince of the Senate; Q. Lutatius Catulus.

Pont. Maximus; Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius; and, on his decease, C. Julius Cæsar.

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VI. *Id. Nov.* 7th Nov. — Vargunteius and Cornelius attempt to assassinate Cicero. Sall. Sect. XXIX.

V. *Id. Nov.* 8th Nov. — Meeting of the Senate, in the Temple of Jupiter Stator.—Cicero pronounces his First Oration against Catiline.—Catiline sets out at midnight, to join Manlius. Sall. Sect. XXXII. XXXIII.

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A. U. C.
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CHRONOLOGICAL NOTICES.

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545. M. Claudius Marcellus.—T. Quinctius Crispinus. Coss.

Masinissa, the son of Gala, mounts the Numidian throne.

549. M. Cornelius Cethegus.—P. Sempronius Tuditanus. Coss.

Masinissa driven from his kingdom, by Syphax, king of Western Numidia.—He forms an alliance with the Romans.

Scipio lands in Africa.

550. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.—C. Servilius Geminus. Coss.

Syphax defeated, and taken prisoner by Scipio and Masinissa, the year before the battle of Zama.

Masinissa recovers his dominions, and unites the whole of Numidia, under one sovereign.

595. M. Æmilius Lepidus.—C. Popilius Lænas. Coss.

Jugurtha born about this period, nine years before the breaking out of the Third Punic War.

A. U. C.
605. Sp. Posthumius Albinus.—L. Calpurnius Piso. Coss.
Carthage besieged by the younger Scipio.
Death of Masinissa, after a reign of sixty years.—He is succeeded by his three sons, Micipsa, Mastanabal, and Gulussa.
..... Micipsa sole king of Numidia, on the death of his two brothers.

616. M. Æmilius Lepidus.—C. Hostilius Maucinus. Coss.
War against Numantia, continued by the Romans.
..... Jugurtha and Marius both serve under Scipio, at the siege of the place.

620. P. Mucius Scævola.—L. Calpurnius Piso. Coss.
Numantia taken and destroyed, by the younger Scipio Africanus.

632. L. Opimius.—Q. Fabius Maximus. Coss.
Micipsa adopts Jugurtha as his son, and nominates him his heir, together with his own children.
Unfortunate end of Caius Gracchus.

635. M. Porcius Cato.—Q. Marcius Rex. Coss.
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636. L. Cæcilius Metellus.—Q. Mucius Scævola. Coss.
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639 M. Acilius Balbus.—C. Porcius Cato. Coss.
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Memmius appointed one of the Tribunes of the People.
Declaration of war, by the Romans, against Jugurtha.

642. P. Scipio Nasica.—L. Calpurnius Bestia. Coss.
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Arrival of Jugurtha at Rome.

A. U. C.
643. M. Minucius Rufus.—Sp. Posthumius Albinus. Coss.
Bomilcar, at Jugurtha's instigation, assassinates Massiva.
Jugurtha ordered to depart out of Italy.
Campaign in Numidia opened by Albinus.—He returns to Rome, about the end of autumn, to preside at the elections.
Mamilius Limetanus elected Tribune of the People.

644. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.—M. Junius Silanus. Coss.
Expedition of Aulus against Suthul.
He raises the siege of that place.—His camp surprised by Jugurtha, and himself forced to conclude a disgraceful treaty, with the Numidian king.
Metellus obtains the command of the army in Africa.
He appoints Marius and Rutilius his Lieutenants.
Promulgation of the Mamilian law.—Calpurnius, Albinus, and Opimius condemned to exile.
Metellus takes Vacca.
Battle near the river Muthul.
Siege of Zama.—Engagement at Sicca Veneria.
Metellus raises the siege, and goes into winter-quarters, in the Roman Province.

645. Serv. Sulpicius Galba.—M. Aurelius Scaurus. Coss.
Jugurtha opens a negociation with the Romans.
Metellus is appointed Proconsul in Numidia.
Treaty broken off by the Numidian king.
He surprises, and makes himself master of Vacca.
Metellus retakes the place.
Conspiracy of Bomilcar and Nabdalsa, to betray the king.
Marius quits the army, and arrives at Rome.—His unexpected elevation to the Consulship.
Defeat of Jugurtha by Metellus.—The king throws himself into Thala.—Siege of that town.
Treaty between the Roman general, and the people of Leptis.

A. U. C.
645. Thala taken by the Romans.—Jugurtha flies, for refuge, into Gætulia.

His alliance with Bocchus, king of Mauritania.

The two kings march towards Cirta.—Metellus acts on the defensive, and fortifies his camp, in the neighbourhood of the place.

646. L. Cassius Longinus.—C. Marius. Coss.

The Senate continues, to Metellus, the command of the army.—Their decree reversed, in favour of Marius, by order of the People.

Manlius and Cinna appointed Lieutenants to Marius, and Sylla his Quæstor.

Marius levies fresh troops, and harangues the People.

Return of Metellus to Rome.—His unexpected popularity, and triumph for his Numidian victories.

Marius arrives at Utica.—He receives the command of the army, from Rutilius.

Battle near Cirta.

Capsa surprised, and taken by the Romans.

647. C. Attilius Serranus.—Q. Servilius Cæpio. Coss.

Conquest of the rest of Numidia.

Singular seige, by the Romans, of a Fort, near the Mauritanian frontier.

Sylla arrives in the camp, from Italy.

Junction of the forces of Jugurtha and Bocchus.

General engagement, towards the close of the campaign.—Total defeat of the allied princes.

Battle of Cirta, gained by the Romans.

Rutilius elected Consul, for the ensuing year.

The Roman army goes into winter-quarters, on the coast.

Bocchus opens a negociation for peace.—Visit of Sylla and Manlius to the Mauritanian king.

He sends ambassadors to the head-quarters of the Romans.

Marius lays siege to a fortress in the Desert.

A. U. C.
648. P. Rutilius Rufus.—Corn. Manlius Maximus. Coss.

Marius raises the siege, and returns to Cirta.

He assembles a council, and gives audience to the Maurish ambassadors.

The ambassadors proceed to Rome.

Peace granted to Bocchus, by the Senate.

Sylla's expedition into Mauritania.—His unexpected encounter with Volux.

Secret negociation between Bocchus and Sylla.

Treaty of peace concluded, and Jugurtha delivered up by Bocchus, into the hands of the Romans.

War breaks out with the Cimbri, the Teutones, and the Tigurini.

Marius again elected Consul.

649. C. Marius II.—C. Flavius Fimbria. Coss.

Splendid triumph of Marius.—He leads Jugurtha in chains, at his chariot-wheels.

Jugurtha starved to death, in prison, at Rome, at the age of fifty-four, and after a reign of fourteen years.

His son Oxintha, or Masintha, confined at Venusium.

The Cimbri march towards Spain.

Numidia divided between Hiempsal II., Hiarbas, father to king Juba, and Bocchus, king of Mauritania.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

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I. It is the duty of all men, who would maintain their rank in the scale of the creation, strenuously to endeavour that their lives be not passed in a state of obscurity. Without activity and usefulness, they will little surpass the herds of the field, which are doomed by nature to grovel on the earth, the slaves of sordid, and unruly appetites (1). Proœmium.

The faculties of man are of a twofold description, those of the mind, and those of the body. The mind is given us as the ruling principle, the body merely as the subservient. By the one we perceive our relation to the Gods; our resemblance to the brute creation is attested by the other. On this account, it has ever appeared to me, that the truest glory consists in the efforts of genius, not in the display of corporal vigour; and since our span of life is alike short and uncertain, we should remember, that in honest fame, and the fair applause of poste-

rity, there is found an existence beyond the grave (2). What are the gifts of wealth, or the attractions of beauty? Do not they prove the sport of accident, or decay by the stroke of time? It is genius alone, that lays a just claim to glory and immortality (3).

In the early ages of the world, an impartial estimate of things was not thus easily made. Hence it was a question long undecided among mankind, which of the two, force of intellect, or bodily strength, were of the greater avail in warlike achievements? In planning an enterprise, it was seen, that there is need of deliberative wisdom; but, when once in the field, we must place reliance on a decisive activity. The fact is, either singly is deficient: Each is indispensable towards the efficacy of the other.

II. In the remote periods of royalty (for that was the name, which was first annexed to empire), princes, on this head, were divided in their sentiments, some cultivating the faculties of their mind, and some their bodily vigour. But these were times of virtuous simplicity. Covetousness had not then inflamed the heart. Communities, like individuals, were without a wish beyond their own possessions.

In process of time, when Cyrus in Asia (4), and, in Greece, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians began to subdue potent states; when the thirst of dominion came to be held as a good ground for war, and glory to be measured only by extent of empire; then it was, that the dangers of the field, no less than the arts of negociation, made it easy to resolve the question. In the business of war, genius and talents were acknowledged to be paramount to every other endowment (5).

It were, indeed, fortunate, if kings and rulers took equal delight in cultivating the pacific, as the warlike virtues. The affairs of mankind would then glide on with a smoother current. The globe would not, as heretofore, be made a scene of wild disorder, of transient possession, and changeful revolution: For by the same arts, by which dominion was obtained, its dignity then would be supported, and its stability secured. But when these decay; when, instead of active industry, sloth unhappily prevails; when pride, and ambition, and inordinate desires usurp the place of virtue and moderation; fortune shifts, as purity deserts the manners; and the ensigns of power are naturally transferred from the less worthy, to the more aspiring competitor.

Survey the whole circle of human affairs, and you shall find, that they evince the ascendency of intellectual vigour. The skill of the husbandman, the discoveries of the navigator, the labours of the architect, all spring from that powerful source. Yet, strange as it may appear, multitudes are found, in every period, neglectful of their best faculties. Sunk in indolence and sensuality, without knowledge, and without cultivation, they pass through life, like strangers in a foreign land; with a direct inversion of the order of nature, accounting thought a burden, and sensual gratification their sole delight. Whether a race so listless thus crawl upon the earth, or sink into the grave, is, in my mind, of little moment. In either case, they leave behind them no memorial of their existence (6). He alone seems worthy to live, and truly in possession of rational enjoyment, who dedicates his talents to some active pursuit, who seeks for fame, either in the field of glory, or in the walks of science. Amidst the diversity of occupations, which life sup-

plies, every man will find some honest course, that is agreeable to his temper, and the bent of his genius.

III. He, whose patriotic efforts can benefit his country, deservedly ranks high in the scale of merit. He, who by his eloquence ennobles it, is entitled to considerable praise. By arts, as well as arms, we may open the road to eminence; and the men who have achieved, and the historians who have recorded illustrious deeds, have obtained and deserved the applause of ages. It is true, in the allotment of fame, though the glory of the writer must ever yield to that of the warrior, yet the historian's task is not without its inconveniencies, as well as difficulties (7). To adapt the style to the dignity of the subject is peculiarly arduous; and it is no easy achievement to establish a reputation for impartiality with the world. If you point your censure at what seems amiss, you are accused of malevolence, of unjust detraction, and unwarrantable asperity. On the other hand, if honest worth, or splendid virtue draw forth your encomium, the vain, or the fastidious reader, in like manner, judges for himself. Measuring the merits of the most exalted characters by the standard only of his own powers, whatsoever accords with it he may possibly believe; but he sets down the rest as romance and fiction.

For myself, I know not how far I am qualified for this undertaking. At an early age, I was ambitious, like most others, to enter on public life (8): But many were the obstacles that crossed my pursuit. Instead of the modesty, the moderation, the greatness of soul, which I had vainly figured, avarice, impudence, and open bribery, had pervaded every department of the state. For a mind as yet uncontaminated by vice, it was

natural to revolt from the scene with detestation. Yet what could be expected from youth and inexperience? Inflamed by ambition, I was carried away by the torrent: And although I, in general, abstained from the profligacy of others, yet to me the same thirst of preferment brought the same evils; the same envy and reproach, that attended its votaries.

IV. REPOSE, however, came at last. I withdrew from a scene of danger and disquietude, resolving to dedicate, to calm retirement, what yet remained of life. But, in bidding adieu to public affairs, it was no part of my plan to neglect the value of time, or sink into a listless inactivity. I took no delight in the pursuits of agriculture, or the sports of the field, occupations, at best, comparatively servile, and in which the mind has little share (9). The studies, which a vain ambition had too long interrupted, were now resumed with fresh diligence; and I formed the design of composing a history of Roman affairs. In this attempt a connected series of Annals was not my object, but a selection only of such portions of time, as recommended themselves by their interest, or deserved the notice of posterity. For a task like this, I trust, I am the better fitted, that I can bring to it a mind, in which hope and fear are no more, and where all the partialities of party are extinguished.

The CONSPIRACY of CATILINE is now the subject, which I mean to treat in a compendious, but impartial narrative. There are in history few events, that can be accounted more memorable, whether in regard to the profligacy which it displayed, or the unexampled horrours it had prepared for the commonwealth. But, before we proceed to this relation, it may not be improper concisely to trace the temper

and manners of the man, who planned, and conducted so daring an enterprise.

Genius and character of Catiline.

V. Lucius Catiline was descended from a family of illustrious rank (10). He possessed, in an eminent degree, both vigour of mind, and bodily strength; but his disposition, which naturally was wicked, was rendered, by habit, profligate and irreclaimable (11).

Catiline delighted in broils, in civil commotion, in rapine and bloodshed. In such scenes he had mingled from his early years, eager to exercise his talents for mischief (12). With a constitution capable of enduring, beyond belief, the extremes of cold, of want, and of continued watching, he united a spirit, which was, at once, daring, crafty, and versatile. He could frame any falsehood; he could dissemble any truth; ever ready to support an artificial character. In the gratification of his appetites he was fierce and ungovernable; covetous, to a degree, of the possessions of others, prodigal, alike, of his own fortune; and, while copious and voluble in talk, endued with but a small share of solid understanding (13). Yet the genius of the man was towering and romantic. His ambition was altogether of that ardent sort, which loves the vast and the incredible, and aims at objects wholly beyond its attainment (14).

Such being the manners and character of Catiline, it can excite no wonder, if, after the example of Sylla, he deeply fixed his wishes on the supreme power, and subverting the government. Fired by the success of that usurper, he burned to enter on a like splendid career, and felt no scruple about the means. The ruin of his fortune, together with the conscious-

ness of many crimes, had stung his fierce spirit with remorse and disappointment; and these evils could not fail to be encreased, by the depraved habits and propensities, which I have already enumerated. Nor was the profligacy of Catiline without the incitement of example. The Roman manners, in this period, furnished a complete school of corruption. In the same people they displayed the deplorable union of avarice and luxury, at once the worst, although, to appearance, the most inconsistent of vices.

As the topic of national manners has been thus introduced, in connection with our subject, it may not seem unfit, in this place, if we throw back our view to former periods of our history; if we rapidly trace the genius of our ancestors, and the spirit and progress of their institutions, whether in peace or war. By this enquiry, we shall be led to unfold, not only the causes which produced, which upheld their government, and transmitted to their posterity a vast and flourishing empire; but others also, whereby that empire has been deformed and degraded, by slow degrees, from one of the most upright and virtuous, to its condition as the most flagitious, and profligate of nations.

View of the antient Manners and Government of Rome.

VI. The City of Rome, according to the best accounts, was originally founded and peopled by the Trojans; who, under the conduct of Æneas (15), had fled from their native country, and wandered about, in quest of a place of residence. The new colony, as it appears, were soon joined by the Aborigines, or first inhabitants of the soil (16); a race of men who ran wild in their native woods. Savage and independent, they were utter strangers to legal restraints, or to the simplest elements

of civil government. To form two such nations into a consistent mass might seem a work of difficulty and time: Yet, when enclosed within the walls of the same city, it is astonishing with what facility, dissimilitude of language, and diversity of temperament and manners, gradually coalesced into one people. In process of time, encreasing population, and extent of territory gave birth to importance and power; and cultivation of manners grew out of both.

Envy is ever the concomitant of a prosperous fortune. The rapid advancement of the new state excited the jealousy of the neighbouring princes. Animosity on both sides was kindled; arms were fiercely taken up: But strangers usually have few friends; and of these the most part were now struck with terrour, and declined the dangers of an uncertain contest. The Romans, notwithstanding, were firm, and undismayed. With equal vigour they arranged their domestic policy, and conducted their military operations. They deliberated with wisdom, they executed with celerity; they animated one another; they gave battle to the foe; they protected, by their valour, their liberties, their country, and their kindred. Thus, having subdued every difficulty, they resolved to lend assistance to their friends (17). It was by conferring obligations, not by receiving them, that they confirmed the confidence of the old, and were enabled to enter into new alliances (18).

The first species of authority known among them, was Regal government, limited by law. A select number of persons, whose bodily vigour age had enfeebled, while it added to their wisdom, formed the supreme council of the state. Either from their years, or, perhaps, in allusion to their parental care of the commonwealth, they received the name of FATHERS

(19). But, in course of time, the kingly office, which was instituted for the security of freedom, and the advancement of the public prosperity, degenerated into tyranny and pride. An entire revolution took place in the government; and a magistracy, consisting of two persons annually elected, succeeded in its stead (20). By such a policy, it was hoped that the constitution hereafter would be more firmly secured against the pride and passions of men, too apt to be seduced by a dangerous enjoyment of the supreme authority.

VII. The spirit, which dictated this institution, soon manifested itself throughout the state. An emulation was kindled, and a free display of talents broke forth, unknown before. Nor is it difficult to account for such a change. Under despotic governments, vice gives no umbrage, while worth is ever viewed with a jealous eye. Nothing to the tyrant is so truly formidable, as the growth of vigour, or of virtue among his subjects.

Civil liberty being once established at Rome (21), the prosperity of the state was rapid and astonishing; for a thirst of glory filled every breast. No sooner were the youth of an age to carry arms (22), than they applied to the art of war, in the laborious, and modest discipline of the camp. The splendid armour, or warlike steed, was to them an object of honest pride, not the arts of sensuality, and convivial riot. To such men toil was habitual; difficulty or danger inspired no terrour; and they exulted in the face of an opposing enemy. Valour and perseverance had set every obstacle at defiance.

Among themselves, war displayed the great contest for glory. To be foremost in attacking the enemy, in scaling the battle-

ment, and that in the sight of their applauding countrymen, was wealth, was honour, was the true claim to illustrious rank (23). Fame, in a word, was the great passion that animated them. Thus, they were liberal of money, but covetous of applause: They panted insatiably for glory; but they disregarded wealth beyond the sober measure, which competence should bestow. It were easy, in this place, to enumerate examples, where the Roman people, with a handful of men, have routed mighty armies; where cities, accounted impregnable, have at length yielded to Roman valour.—But such illustrations would prove extensive, and lead into details, which were altogether inconsistent with our undertaking.

Literature little cultivated.—Virtuous simplicity, and firmness of the Roman character.

VIII. It may be observed, concerning human affairs, that chance, in a great measure, presides in their direction: Hence the transactions of men are often aggrandized, or as undeservedly neglected, beyond the sobriety of truth. When we contemplate the Athenian Republic, we are dazzled with the brilliancy, and the grandeur of its achievements. Its merit, certainly, was great; but its fame, if I mistake not, is greater still. Athens was a soil prolific of genius, as well as valour. Whatsoever the sword achieved the pens of its writers were ready to celebrate: Accordingly, the Athenian name has surpassed every other recorded in history. Viewing it, as we have always done, through the colours of imagination and eloquence, it is the merit of the authors, as much as that of the actions themselves, which so powerfully attracts us.

Among the Romans, the same advantages have not been enjoyed. Here few writers arose during the early ages. The most busy scenes constantly called forth the brightest talents;

and even the distinctions were long unknown, that separate active from speculative life. To act, rather than to write or speak, was then the practice (24). The Roman of other times preferred the glory of deeds, which he himself should achieve, to that of recounting, and embellishing the achievements of other men.

IX. Thus, at home and abroad, the Roman manners were adorned with a virtuous simplicity. The voice of dissention, and the suggestions of avarice, were never heard. Justice and equity were then the dictates of nature, and the offspring of sentiment: The terrours of the law were seldom necessary to enforce them. Rancour, animosity, and fierce contention our forefathers reserved for the enemies of their country (25): Among themselves, it was the struggle of citizens for the palm of superior excellence. In their offerings to the Gods they observed a pious magnificence; in their own habitations a modest frugality; to their friends a fidelity, which was unshaken and inviolable. Their maxims were few and simple: Valour in war, and, in peace, equity and moderation, formed the leading principles of their conduct. By means of these, they maintained the honour of the republic, by communicating to it the energy of their own character (26).

In proof of this, we may observe, that, during the course of their wars, the instances are far more abundant of punishments inflicted on an impetuous valour, which, regardless of discipline, rushed into battle, or obstinately persisted in the combat; than on the coward, who deserted his colours, or swerved from his rank, although the day was lost (27). In like manner we perceive, that, during peace, they secured the go-

vernment by mildness, seldom supported it by terrour; And, were injuries sustained, they chose rather to forgive them, than retaliate with a fierce, and vindictive spirit (28).

Causes of its degeneracy.

X. The arts of war and government, thus acquired by industry, and supported by justice, raised the republic to power and grandeur. Warlike princes were subdued: Savage nations, and potent states yielded to the arms of Rome. Carthage, her mighty rival, sunk under her fame and power; and, being razed to the foundations, left her, both by sea and land, mistress of the world. It was now that fortune truly ceased to smile, and a fatal scene of mischief followed. The same hardy race, whom toil and hardship, adversity and danger had been unable to conquer, were at length to be led captive by affluence and ease. Those fascinating objects, less pernicious, perhaps, to other nations, proved the ruin of Rome, and, in the end, annihilated every virtue (29).

First the love of wealth, and then the love of power arose; and from this twofold source sprung all their other infelicities. Honour, integrity, and every worthy principle gradually yielded to avarice; and cruelty, pride, venality, and irreligion supplied their place. Ambition next brought her family of vices. It was she that taught the lessons of deceit and fraud. Under her tuition, men learnt, with the ready lie upon the tongue, to dissemble the purpose of the heart; to warp friendship or enmity to the views of interest; to value virtue, only as it appeared in the specious exteriour, and the smiling countenance.

In the beginning, the growth of these evils was slow and silent; and, sometimes, they were checked by a salutary seve-

rity. At length, spreading wide like an epidemical infection, they seized on all ranks, and degrees of men. The national character degenerated; and the government, which heretofore was the standard of integrity, and the model of justice, became utterly oppressive and insupportable.

XI. In the first stages of corruption, it was ambition, and not avarice, that laid the strongest hold on the minds of men (30); and this, in the order of things, was naturally to be expected. Ambition of the two being more a-kin to virtue, its indulgence may admit of a specious apology. The heights of power, and the prize of glory or honour, alike stimulate the good and the worthless. But the former pursue the straight road to their object; the latter, being strangers to every honourable feeling, turn aside into the paths of artifice and fraud. Avarice, on the other hand, sets its affections on riches, a possession, that no wise man ever immoderately coveted. Yet in avarice there is a sordid principle, from which ambition is exempt. It possesses, so to speak, the most poisonous qualities; of power not only to effeminate the body, but to depress the faculties of the soul. It is a flame, that unceasingly burns; and, whether it be fed by plenty, or starved by want, continues equally unquenchable.

At length, when Sylla, by force of arms, restored the forms of the constitution, the temper of his administration but ill accorded with his forbearance in the outset (31). Times of distraction succeeded; and his victorious followers gave a loose to their propensity to violence and depredation. Superb houses were seized by some, rich estates by others. Amidst the most cruel outrages, committed on their fellow-citizens,

they may be truly said to have enjoyed and abused the power of gratifying their wishes.

Besides this, the conduct of Sylla himself was in the extreme pernicious and reprehensible. Anxious to secure the affections of the army, which served under him in Asia, he neglected the sober maxims of our ancestors; and, by permitting an unwarrantable excess in luxury and riot, he fatally relaxed the nerves of discipline. The soft climate of Asia, together with a life of idleness and pleasure, enervated the vigour of the soldier, and dissolved the firmness of his virtue. It was there that an uncontroled indulgence in women and wine first disgraced a Roman army (32). There, for the first time, the troops acquired a taste for the labours of the pencil, the chisel, and the graving tool. Every object, on which those elegant efforts had been impressed, were eagerly coveted, and as greedily seized. Neither the temples of the Gods, nor the habitations of men, could afford shelter from a rapacity, which stripped and polluted both. A soldiery like this, flushed with conquest, and set loose at home, were sure to leave nothing to the vanquished. It too often happens that prosperity is difficult to be borne, even by the wise and virtuous; and it can excite no wonder that Sylla's followers, accustomed as they were to licentiousness, and fierce with victory, transgressed the bounds of moderation.

Rapid progress, and complete dominion of Vice and Luxury.

XII. In process of time, the ascendency of wealth became complete. Its excellence was universally acknowledged; and power and honours followed in its train. From the same era the decline of virtue may be dated. Poverty was now held as ignominious. Innocence of heart, and simplicity of manners,

were interpreted into a satire on the times. Thus the youth, taught to look up to riches as the sovereign good, became apt pupils in the school of luxury. Avarice and pride supplied their precepts. Rapacity and profusion went hand in hand. Careless of their own fortunes, and eager to possess those of others, shame and remorse, modesty and moderation, every principle gave way. All rushed into a profligacy, that heeded no restraint, either divine or human.

To the calm observer it may afford a curious speculation, to survey our present houses and villas, in extent resembling towns, rather than private habitations; and from these to turn to the temples of the Gods, structures comparatively diminutive, which arose from the piety of our ancestors! Simple in their architecture, our forefathers thought the temples most suitably adorned by true devotion; as in their own dwellings they looked to glory, and deeds of valour, as their best ornament.

It is to similar principles that we may refer their conduct in the hour of victory: For they then took nothing from the vanquished, except the power of committing fresh injuries.—Now, what is the practice of the present day? With impious hands, and coward hearts, we plunder even our allies; carrying off from them what the magnanimity of other times would have spared to a prostrate enemy! It seems the settled maxim, that the chief end and use of power consists in an oppression without control, and without limits.

XIII. It were irksome to multiply examples of our extravagance. Some, indeed, are monstrous, carrying with them such an air of fable, as renders the very notion incre-

dible, except to those, who have been witnesses of the facts: Mountains, levelled at the expence of single individuals, and buildings erected even on the bed of the ocean (33)! From such conduct it should seem, as if these men purposely sported with the gifts of fortune; since the riches, to which moderation might give real dignity, and rational enjoyment, are squandered away, as the price of ridicule.

To this catalogue of vices, which conspired to accelerate the public ruin, many others may be added; such as open prostitution, debauchery, and every sort of licentious pleasure. All sense of modesty disappeared from the female character: Men forgot their sex, and submitted to foul, and abominable pollution. To supply the pleasures of the table, industry ransacked the ocean, no less than the earth. Sleep was indulged before nature craved it. Fatigue and cold were evils not to be endured; and hunger and thirst, like the other appetites, were solicited by the arts of an officious luxury (34).

Trained up, as they were, amidst this scene of corruption, the Roman youth were in haste to consume their fortunes; and the consequence was, that they did not scruple to repair them, by the most criminal methods. When a dereliction of principle is once admitted into the mind, vice and sensuality naturally enter at the breach. In their train come riot, and dissipation, and wild extravagance, with no anxiety, except for the means of ministering to their support.

Depraved manners of Catiline and his companions.

XIV. In a city so overgrown, and so corrupt, there was ample room for Catiline to exert his talents. Of the most wicked and abandoned characters he found it easy to compose a band, which he kept, as a body-guard, around his per-

son. Whosoever in Rome was especially noted for lewdness, adultery, gaming, profusion, drunkenness, or debauchery, the partiality of Catiline was sure to distinguish. Was there a man, eminent above his fellows for ruining his fortune, by these headlong passions, and lawless pleasures; had he contracted debts, to procure immunity from punishment; was he guilty of parricide, or sacrilege; had he suffered condemnation, or only dreaded, and deserved the vigilance of justice: Was there, in a word, a ruffian or informer, the scum and scourge of mankind, who subsisted by perjury and assassination; a wretch branded with infamy, pinched by want, or haunted by the terrours of a guilty conscience: To these Catiline was attracted by a natural bias: He clasped them to his bosom, and lived with them in habits of the closest intimacy (35). If it happened that any, as yet uncontaminated by vice, were fatally drawn into his friendship, the effects of intercourse, and snares artfully spread, subdued every scruple, and easily assimilated them to their corrupters.

But the society of the youth Catiline most sedulously cultivated. Their minds, he knew, being soft and flexible from inexperience, would most easily be entangled by his arts. With indefatigable industry, he marked and indulged their predominant passions. For some he procured mistresses: He purchased dogs and horses for others; just according to the age, and inclinations of each. Both his purse, and his person were ready in their service. It was his great object, to work upon their affections, and, by gaining an ascendency, to fix them in his interest.

I am not ignorant of a report, current at the time, that the

youth, who frequented Catiline's house, were guilty of unnaturally prostituting their persons. But the story appears to have been the mere rumour of the day; rather spread abroad from other causes, than actually resting on any certain evidence of the fact.

His crimes and profligacy.

XV. CATILINE himself had early entered on the career of vice. While yet a youth, he had had an intrigue with a noble virgin: He had seduced a priestess of Vesta (36); besides other acts of a similar sort, no less criminal and impious. Captivated, at length, with the charms of Aurelia Orestilla, an elegant woman, but without a recommendation except her beauty, he offered her his hand in marriage. By a former connection, Catiline had one son, now grown up to man's estate, and, on that account, Orestilla refused her consent to the match. The result was, that the unhappy youth fell by the hands of his own father, who thus, by a deed of horrour, removed the only obstacle, that stood in the way of this infamous alliance (37).

Of the truth of the story no doubt remains. To me, indeed, it appears abundantly probable, that the maturation of the conspiracy was chiefly hastened by this event. At enmity alike with heaven and earth, Catiline felt the power of a guilty conscience; from the torment of which he could procure no relief, whether in the tumult of business, or the stillness of repose (38). Hence the deadly paleness, that overspread his cheek; the dim and ghastly eye; the unequal gait, seen sometimes, in a slow, and, sometimes, in a quick, and troubled step. Hence the wild distraction, which sat upon his coun-

tenance; while his soul seemed brooding over some desperate, and gloomy deed.

His ascendency over his associates.—He forms the design of seizing the Government.

XVI. No arts of seduction, as I have already related, were left untried by Catiline, to fascinate the youth; and they were accordingly trained in such a course of vice, as best suited his designs. Some he taught to forge signatures; and others, to appear as false witnesses on evidence. All rapidly learnt, under such a master, to disregard their honour, to exhaust their fortunes, to bid defiance to personal danger. When a sense of shame, and a regard to reputation, were once shaken off, he pointed to yet higher, and bolder exploits. If pretexts for mischief at any time failed, they were commanded, nevertheless, to waylay, and to assassinate, it mattered little whether with, or without provocation. Inactivity, he was of opinion, were fatal to their vigour. Better that cruelty or vengeance should sometimes prove wanton, than that their genius should languish, or their hand forget the use of the dagger.

Such was the desperate band, in whom Catiline confided, as the accomplices of his enterprise. When he looked to the circumstances of the times, he began seriously to meditate an attempt upon the government. The load of debts, contracted by individuals throughout the state, he knew, was prodigious. Most of Sylla's soldiers, whom experience had not taught the lessons of economy, called to mind, with rapture, their former victories; and to them nothing was so pleasing as the idea of a civil war (39). In Italy no military force was stationed. Pompey, at the head of the armies of the commonwealth, was waging war in the most distant parts of the world (40). Catiline himself stood a candidate for the Consulship, and was actual-

A.U.C. 689. ly not without the most flattering prospect of success (41). As for the Senate, they seemed lulled into a careless confidence, with no apparent object to excite their attention, or interrupt the general tranquillity. In a word, no season appeared more opportune to strike the blow.

Success of his intrigues. List of the principal Conspirators.

XVII. About the Kalends (42) of June, under the Consulship of Lucius Cæsar (43) and Caius Figulus, he commenced his intrigues. At first, he addressed his adherents separately; to some making an open avowal, and cautiously sounding others. His own resources, the defenceless condition of the government, the glorious prospect of a successful revolution,

1st June. were the topics which he strenuously urged. Having sifted many, and found his discourse received with a willing ear, he determined to lay the business before a general meeting, which consisted of such as he well knew to be most daring in their temper, and most encumbered in their circumstances.

Among the conspirators, who assembled on this occasion, were several persons of Senatorian rank; Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Autronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Caius Cethegus, Publius and Servius Sylla, sons to the elder Servius, Lucius Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, Marcus Porcius Læca, Lucius Bestia, and Quintus Curius. Of the Equestrian order were present, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinius Capito, and Caius Cornelius. A number, besides, assisted at the meeting, from the colonies and municipal towns; all men of figure and influence in their several countries (44).

It is worthy of remark, that, at Rome, there were not a few among the nobles, who may be equally said to have been im-

plicated in the conspiracy; men stimulated by a lust of power, rather than a want of fortune, or any visible motive; who, although they declined to give their open countenance, yet regarded the views of Catiline with a secret approbation. Nor was the great body of the youth, and chiefly those of Patrician rank, less disposed to similar sentiments. It is true, they enjoyed the ample means of supporting a life of splendour, and even of luxury; yet they restlessly preferred contingency to certainty; war itself, with all its horrours, to the sweets of peace, which had grown stale by possession (45). According to some, even Marcus Crassus (46) was secretly acquainted with these machinations. Pompey, whom he cordially detested, had then a powerful army at his devotion. To his influence, as it was alleged, it was the anxious wish of Crassus that some counterbalance, he cared not of what sort, could be provided: And, should fortune, in the end, declare for the conspirators, he easily believed, that he could place himself at their head. A. U. C. 689.

Before we proceed further in this narrative, it is proper to notice the existence of another combination against the government, in point of time prior to the present, but greatly inferior in importance. In that Catiline had also figured. The particulars I shall state, from the most authentic documents.

XVIII. In the Consulship of Lucius Tullus, and Marcus Lepidus, a prosecution was set on foot, proceeding on the law of bribery (47), against the two Consuls elect, Publius Autronius, and Publius Sylla, and they incurred the statutory penalties. Not long after, Catiline was accused of extortion in the provinces (48); and, on that account, disqualified from standing candidate for the Consulship; being unable to offer him- A. U. C. 687. Origin and miscarriage of a former Plot. 5th Dec.

A.U.C. 689. self, within the number of days prescribed by law (49). At this time, there was at Rome a youth of noble birth, by name Cnæus Piso (50), distinguished by a bold, and daring spirit of enterprise. Piso was needy, turbulent, and profligate. The necessities, no less than the genius of the man, powerfully instigated him; and he was a ready tool of mischief, if occasion offered to embroil the government.

About the Nones of December, Catiline, in conjunction with Piso and Autronius, held a conference. A project was formed, for cutting off the new Consuls, Lucius Cotta and Lu-

A.U.C. 688. 1st January. cius Torquatus (51); and the execution fixed for the ensuing Kalends of January, in the Capitol. Their design was, that Autronius and Catiline should seize the Fasces (52); and, when thus invested with the Consular power, dispatch Piso at the head of an army, in order to make sure of both the Spains (53). By some means, the plot transpired; and the day was put off

5th Feb. to the Nones of February following. The plan of assassination was then greatly enlarged, including not only the Consuls, but almost every member of the Senate. Happily, however, the rashness of Catiline rendered the whole abortive. Instead of waiting until a sufficient number of his armed accomplices had surrounded the Senate-house, he prematurely gave the signal before the gates. A general alarm was, of course, communicated, and the attempt fell to the ground. Had it not been for this accident, a scene of blood had been laid, horrible and without example in the Roman annals.

XIX. The plot having in this manner miscarried, Piso, notwithstanding, was sent as Proprætor into Hither Spain, although vested only with the office of Quæstor at the time; and

it was the interest of Crassus, which an implacable enmity towards Pompey insured, that obtained him the appointment. Nor was the Senate, in decreeing the province, in any wise indisposed to this measure; deeming it advisable, to remove a dangerous citizen as far as possible from the seat of government. The Fathers had, at bottom, another motive. Pompey's power had, even then, become exorbitant; and good men began to look towards Piso, with the hope, that, in a genius like his, the ascendency of the other would find a salutary counteraction. A.U.C. 689.

But in Spain, while on a progress through the country, Piso was slain by some horsemen of that nation, who composed a part of his suite. The cause of the attack cannot now be known. Some ascribe it to his own arrogant temper. In his command unjust and tyrannical, his cruelty could not be brooked, by the patience of the barbarians. Others assert, that the horsemen were instigated by Pompey; being antient clients, and warmly attached to that general, that they acted in consonance to his orders. In support of the latter account, it is alleged, that such acts of violence are every way foreign to the Spanish character; as that people, under the worst oppressions of our government, have ever manifested an extraordinary mildness, and a passive spirit. On which side truth may lie I shall not stop to enquire: But, the history of this first Conspiracy being sufficiently detailed, we will now resume the thread of our narrative (54).

XX. Of those who composed the meeting, called together by Catiline, mention has been already made. As soon as he saw that they were assembled, he resolved to address them in

First meeting held by the confederates. Artful Speech, and

management of Catiline. A. U. C. 689.

a body. His sentiments, as to the business in question, every individual perfectly knew: Yet, some general discourse, he thought, might prove salutary, by infusing a spirit of union, and inflaming their minds with ardour in the cause. With this intent, he withdrew, with the whole, to a retired apartment (55). All witnesses but themselves being cautiously removed, he addressed his audience, in the following strain.

"THE courage and honour of every one of you I have long "known, and abundantly tried. Were not this certain, I "should be of opinion, that the present opportunity had in "vain presented itself; that our bright hopes of wealth and "dominion, by obtaining the government, had, indeed, been "held forth to little purpose. As for myself, if I believed I "had to do with irresolute minds, or dastardly associates, I "should rather chuse to remain inactive; unwilling to ex- "change a sure condition, for prospects, however flattering, "that are future and contingent. But such a supposition is "foreign to my heart. I know you all. I know your un- "shaken courage; and, in the hour of danger, your firm at- "tachment to myself: And, encouraged by this persuasion, I "have ventured to plan a great, and glorious enterprise. My "friends! our fortunes are inseparable. We all of us expe- "rience the same hopes and fears; pain and pleasure we view "with the same eyes. If true friendship consist not in this, in "a union of similar desires, and corresponding interests, I own, "I know not the definition.

"The general scope of this great design you are not now to "learn: To each individual I have already divulged it, in the "course of confidential conversation. I burn with impatience "to strike the blow, as often as the thought of our situation rush-

" es on my mind; a situation, indeed, of future wretchedness, if A. U. C. 689.
" we rouse not now, at the call of freedom, and vindicate our rights
" as men! While the equality of better days subsisted, all was
" well: But that is long since past; as the ambition of a few
" leading men has now drawn into their hands the whole pow-
" er, and administration of the commonwealth (56). Kings,
" princes, potentates, are their tributary vassals: States and
" nations bring here their taxes, and lay them at their feet.
" Meanwhile, the wise and good, the noble and ignoble, are
" sunk and blended into one vulgar mass: Without weight,
" and without consideration, they are the slaves of men, who,
" were the government restored to its true principles, dared not
" so much as look us in the face.

" Thus are all under the rod of an insolent oligarchy. Pow-
" er, wealth, interest, honours, are exclusively in their hands,
" or bestowed upon their creatures. To us what have they left,
" but the bitter portion of repulses and dangers, the dread of
" prosecutions, and the pangs of poverty? How long, I be-
" seech you, will you be thus patient? Say, were it not better to
" perish at once, by one glorious effort? If we must fall, let us
" lay down our lives in the field of honour, not drag them out
" in a miserable, a humiliating existence; and then, covered
" with infamy, die at last, the sport of insolence, or the victims
" of a capricious despotism!

XXI. " WITNESS it heaven! success and victory are at
" length within our reach! We are all in the bloom of life.
" Our minds are vigorous: Valour nerves our arm. Our ty-
" rants, on the other hand, oppressed with riches, are sunk
" into the vale of years; and every faculty of their souls is

A. U. C. 689. " hastening to decay. To strike the first blow is, in fact, to " conquer: Time and chance will accomplish the rest.

" Is there among you a man, who feels the energy of his " nature, and can endure, that a few should shamefully riot in " affluence; so immoderately rich, that they level mountains, " and cover, with their buildings, the bed of the ocean; while " we, alas! are griped by penury, and almost destitute of bread? " Contrast, for a moment, the two conditions. These your op- " pressors, far from being content with a single mansion, must " yet have more. A second, a third, nay still a greater num- " ber, rise up at their command; while we scarcely know where " to lay our heads! Then pictures, and statues, and vases of " tasteful workmanship, must next be purchased. The novelty, " however, once past, the whole is straightway destroyed; and, " in its stead, ingenuity has something to contrive, more cu- " rious, and more costly. But when folly has toiled to the ut- " most; when it has spent, squandered, dissipated; still all is " found ineffectual to exhaust their treasure, so monstrous is " the heap!—These things are too well known.—Now, mark " the reverse of the picture. At home, want stares us in the face. " Abroad, debts accumulate with an insupportable pressure. If " our present lot is deplorable, our future prospects are still " more wretched. In a word, desolation is before our eyes; " and the air we breathe is all the possession that is left us!

" Rouse, then, I beseech you, to a sense of freedom!—Be- " hold, my friends, behold that liberty, for which you have so " often languished; with wealth, and distinction, and glory in " her train! These already glitter before your eyes, the bright " rewards of successful valour! But the native lustre of our " cause itself, the fitness of the juncture, the spoils of war,

" bringing joy and affluence; all heightened by the dangers A. U. C. 689.
" that beset, and the poverty which depresses you; will speak
" far more forcibly to the heart, than any arguments that I can
" furnish.

" As for myself, I am ready, as your leader, to head the en-
" terprise; as a common soldier, to enter the ranks: Use me
" as you will, or as I merit. My heart is with you: Every
" faculty I possess, is ready for your service. To this I add
" the pleasing hope of erelong possessing the Consulship, and
" acting in conjunction with you, in that high office. Too
" sanguine, I trust, my reliance on your vigour will not be
" found; nor that your free spirits, tamely crouching in an ig-
" noble bondage, shall prefer that condition to freedom, and
" to empire (57)."

XXII. By men, whose want and misery Catiline had by no means exaggerated, this speech was favourably received. They were without the solace of any honest prospect; and to embroil the commonwealth was an exploit every way suited to their wishes. Yet the greater part, before they would embark in so bold an attempt, earnestly enquired as to the terms, on which it was to be hazarded; what, in the end, was to be their own recompence; what the strength, the resources, or the hopes, whereon they might depend?

A deficiency in promises was not among the faults of Catiline. He painted forth, in glowing colours, a general remission of debts (58); the proscription of the rich; the honours of the magistracy; sacerdotal dignities; unbounded rapine; besides the gratification of every appetite, which is usually excited by the licence of victory. He stated, that Piso, who was go-

A. U. C. 689. vernor of Spain, and Publius Sittius Nucerinus (59), commanding an army in Mauritania, were both warm in his interest; while Caius Antonius (60), his intimate friend, and in his circumstances deeply embarassed, stood, as well as himself, a candidate for the Consulship. Such a colleague, he said, would be peculiarly desirable; and it was his intention, as soon as they both entered into office, to commence the execution of his great design.

Not content with these magnificent assurances, he began to rail, with vehemence, at all persons of worth and honour. Addressing, by name, his most zealous partizans, he dwelt largely on their merit. Then, to inflame them the more, he represented, to one, his pecuniary distress; to another, the obstacles to his favourite passions; and to the most part, the difficulties that surrounded, and the ruin that hung over them; whilst to all, who had shared in Sylla's victories, he called aloud to reflect on the glorious pillage of that distracted period. This mode of reasoning produced its effect. Perceiving that a general ardour was already kindled, he besought them to be mindful of his interest at the ensuing elections, and dismissed the assembly.

XXIII. THERE was a report, in circulation at the time, with regard to this meeting, that Catiline, besides an inflammatory speech, accompanied it with rites of an unusual nature. Having proposed, as it is said, the oath of fidelity to his associates, he presented to them a bowl of human blood, mingled with wine; each tasting the cup, as he took the oath, in imitation of the practice at religious sacrifices. He gave them to understand, that it was to impress their minds with a solemn

reverence, and thereby draw together more closely the ties of a union, which had for its object a design so vast and daring (61). To men of candour this story seems fabulous. It may evidently be referred, together with many others, to the ingenuity of faction, anxious to soften the odium, which afterwards fell on Cicero, by exaggerating the guilt of such of the conspirators, as suffered death, at his instigation. But no evidence, that has come to my knowledge, can authenticate a circumstance, so strange and improbable. A. U.C. 689.

XXIV. AMONG the number of those, who, as we have already seen, assisted at this meeting, was Quintus Curius (62); a person of no mean extraction; but well-known for the profligacy of his manners, and the multitude of his crimes. The Censors, some time before, had expelled him from the Senate, so notorious was his character. In this man it was hard to say, whether vanity or boldness most predominated. Such was his incurable loquacity, that he not only made free with the secrets of others, but even absurdly disclosed his own infamy. In fact, shame and feeling had lost all influence on his mind; in his words, and in his actions, equally regardless of every principle.

Q. Curius reveals the secret to his mistress Fulvia. The intelligence circulated at Rome. Cicero promoted to the Consulship.

There was also a woman of noble birth, by name Fulvia (63), with whom Curius had been engaged in a course of illicit commerce: But, his fortune being exhausted, and, by consequence, his liberality, the affections of the lady began to cool. On this, Curius adopted a new style of address. He assumed airs of grandeur; promised seas and mountains of wealth: Then, changing his tone, he threatened her with death, as the certain consequence of her indifference, or her difficulty. In his whole de-

A. U. C. 689. portment, there was a haughty and brutal humour, neither usual with the man, nor warranted by his circumstances. The cause of this phenomenon did not long lie hid, from the penetrating eye of Fulvia. She made no secret, that danger of the most alarming sort threatened the commonwealth; and, concealing nothing but the name of her informer, she fairly divulged, to many, all she knew concerning Catiline's Conspiracy, in form and manner, as the various facts had reached her knowledge.

The impression, thus produced on the public mind, was salutary and important. Men looked round for some person, qualified to direct the helm of affairs; and the general voice pointed out Marcus Tullius Cicero, then a candidate for the Consulship. The fact was, that before this juncture, most of the nobility regarded Cicero's views with envy and indignation. Their constant theme had been, that the Consular dignity would be sullied, if thus granted to upstarts, however meritorious their claims, or however transcendent their abilities (64). But the exigency of the moment turned the scale. Pride and envy disappeared, in a sense of the public danger.

Disappointment of Catiline. His intrigues and activity.

XXV. The elections being held, Marcus Tullius and Caius Antonius were declared Consuls. This was the first severe blow, sustained by the accomplices in the Conspiracy. But the fierceness of Catiline was not of a sort to be abated by disappointment. His diligence and activity grew daily more ardent. Throughout Italy he established magazines of arms, in the most advantageous stations. He raised sums of money, on all hands, either through his own credit, or that of his friends; transmitting it to one Manlius, at Fæsulæ (65), who afterwards was the first, that reared the standard of revolt.

Even in this juncture, it is imagined, that Catiline had the address greatly to augment the number of his adherents; among whom several women were now drawn over to the cause. With them, a taste for expense had formerly been supported by their gallantries: But, as a passion for luxury survived the decay of their charms, a load of debt had necessarily followed. By means of these women, Catiline trusted, that he should be able to excite an insurrection among the slaves at Rome, and set fire to the city. As for their husbands, he thought they might either be pressed into the service, or, at all events, it would be easy to dispatch them. A. U. C. 689.

XXVI. AMONG these females was Sempronia (66); an extraordinary character; noted for crimes of a masculine, and daring sort, and far surpassing the weakness of her sex. This woman possessed the advantages of birth and beauty, and she was happy in her husband, and her children. With no inconsiderable tincture of Greek and Roman literature, she could sing and dance with greater elegance, than was needful or becoming in a modest woman (67). She had, also, other accomplishments of the same cast; numerous, indeed, though little useful, except as the instruments of luxury. Singular character of Sempronia.

But Sempronia was fond of vice. Its charms were ever dearer to her heart, than the graces of modesty, or the praise of virtue. On money she set no value; none whatever on reputation: On which she set the least no man could tell. An inordinate propensity, seldom restrained by decorum, led her to the other sex; nor was she always backward, in waiting for their advances. In fact, there was scarcely a vice, or a crime, that was not familiar to her. Solemn promises she had often vio-

A. U. C. 690. lated: She had practised perjury, to escape from creditors; and she had ventured to embrue her hands in blood. Thus, by luxurious indulgences, and guilty passions, poverty was brought on at last; and all conspired to render her a fit instrument, in every scene of iniquity.

With such dismal blemishes, Sempronia, notwithstanding, was not destitute of genius. To a turn for poetry she united a happy vein of wit and ridicule. So various were her powers of conversation, that she could delight, at pleasure, whether in a strain, that was grave or modest, or in one that was gay, voluptuous, or petulant. In a word, her pleasantry and humour were inexhaustible; and the whole was set off, by the vivacity and playfulness of her fancy.

A. U. C. 690. Catiline still baffled in his designs. He endeavours to excite the States of Italy to revolt.

XXVII. HAVING made the arrangements already noticed, Catiline, notwithstanding his late ill success, resolved to offer himself for the Consulship, for another year (68). Were he able to carry that important point, his ascendency, he trusted, over Antonius was such, that he might, without difficulty, be moulded to his purposes. Meanwhile, his restless genius could not lie still. He spared no pains nor vigilance, in spreading snares for Cicero: Nor did the Consul, on his part, in eluding them, betray any want of address, or of dexterity. By the liberality of his promises to Fulvia, he had, ever since the commencement of his magistracy, completely gained over Curius, and opened, by that means, a direct channel, through which Catiline's designs were regularly disclosed to him. Besides this, he contrived, by giving up his own province to his colleague Antonius (69), to stipulate, that he should take no active part with the enemies of the republic. Meanwhile, around his own

person Cicero was careful to have a firm band of friends and clients constantly stationed; an actual guard, without the appearance of its necessity. A. U. C. 690.

In consequence of these precautions, when the elections once more came on, Catiline saw his hopes again blasted. An attempt, in the Campus Martius, on the life of both the Consuls, met with no better success (70). Disappointed, and driven to the last extremity, he resolved openly to appeal to the decision of the sword. He perceived, that, by some strange fatality, all his machinations had alike untoward fate, falling, one after another, to the ground, in the very moment when ripe for execution. 21st Oct.

XXVIII. For this purpose, he dispatched Caius Manlius to Fæsulæ, and the adjacent parts of Etruria; to the country of Picenum, one Septimius, a native of Camerinum, and Caius Julius to Apulia. Others, besides, were sent off, with orders, to occupy what appeared the most advantageous stations, in every quarter. Meanwhile, his own efforts at Rome suffered no remission. They embraced, at once, a variety of objects: Fresh projects for the circumvention of Cicero; for the conflagration of the capital; for seizing, with his armed bands, the strongest posts about the city. As for himself, he went constantly armed, directing others to observe the like precaution. He strenuously insisted on the necessity of vigilance, of continual alertness; ready to fly to arms, on the slightest alarm. In his own example, indeed, was displayed a model of activity, that, night and day, seemed equally on the stretch. It was a sort of perseverance, which watching could not overcome, and toil could not weary (71).

A. U. C. 690. Finding, at length, after numberless intrigues, that they all ended in nothing, he directed Marcus Porcius Læca to summon the ringleaders of the Conspiracy to a fresh meeting, in the dead of night. At this convention, he made the bitterest complaints of their supineness, and want of vigour. He made known to them the departure of Manlius for the army, which, by his orders, was ready to take the field, with that partizan at its head. The other leaders, also, who were to begin the war, were already on their way to their several destinations. For himself, he said, to go forth to the troops, was the chief wish of his heart; but the destruction of Cicero must previously be accomplished: While he lived, every scheme, however planned with ability, was sure to be frustrated.

Failure of the scheme for assassinating Cicero.

XXIX. A PROJECT so bold and daring astonished the assembly. For some time, all continued apprehensive and irresolute; when Caius Cornelius, and Lucius Vargunteius, the former a Roman knight, and the latter a member of the Senate, undertook the business. They made offer to procure a band

7th Nov. of armed ruffians that very night, and, by the dawn of day, to go to the house of Cicero. Under colour of a respectful attendance at his levee (72), they would obtain admission, and stab him to the heart, unguarded and unsuspecting. Curius perceived, that the moment was big with danger to the Consul, and determined to ward off the blow. By means of Fulvia, he speedily sent intelligence of this hellish artifice; so that the assassins, on soliciting entrance at the gate, found every avenue guarded, and were forced to retire, without being able to perpetrate the deed (73).

Manlius, in the interim, in Etruria, was not idle in gaining

over the common people. There that wretched class of men was ripe for a revolution. They were universally depressed by want, and still smarted from the evils of Sylla's domination, during which they had lost their lands, and been stripped of their property. Besides these, Manlius drew together gangs of robbers, that, in great multitudes, infested the district; together with as many, as could be found of the soldiers of Sylla, established formerly by their leader, as a colony, in these parts. Amidst the rapine of the times, they were elevated to sudden wealth: But, by extravagance and luxury, they contrived, as suddenly, to dissipate it, and had sunk again into their former indigence. A. U. C. 690.

XXX. When this intelligence reached the ears of Cicero, he felt the most serious apprehensions. By his single vigilance, he could no longer hope to protect the city; while the extent of the force under Manlius, and the nature of his views he had still to learn. Public rumour had spread an alarm; but the particulars were, as yet, dark and doubtful. In this dilemma, he resolved to lay the whole before the Senate. Embarrassment of the Consul. Extraordinary powers conferred upon the chief magistrates. 19th Oct.

The Fathers passed a decree, unusual except in cases of extraordinary emergency, requiring the Consuls "To take such "measures, as should preserve the Commonwealth from im-"pending danger." By this ordinance, according to the Roman constitution, it is understood, that the Senate has power to convey, to the supreme magistrates, a temporary delegation of the whole authority of the state; to raise new levies; to lead into the field the armies of the republic; to exercise an unlimited authority over the persons and property of citizens, as well as allies; and, in a word, to call forth the whole energy of 20th Oct.

A. U. C. 690. the government, civil and military, at their discretion. But these exorbitant prerogatives are unknown; unless, as in the present case, they are delegated by the Senate, or else have their origin, in an express order of the People.

The rebels take the field. Vigorous measures adopted by the Senate.

XXXI. A FEW days after, a letter, addressed to Lucius Senius, a member of the Senate, which, he said, had come from Fæsulæ, was read by him in that assembly. It contained the alarming intelligence, that, previously to the sixth before the

24th Oct. Kalends of November, Caius Manlius had taken the field, at the head of a prodigious force. Some swelled the account with tales of portents and prodigies, the usual expedients to excite wonder (74): Others asserted, that frequent, and extraordinary meetings were held, that arms, in vast numbers, were transported through the country, and that an insurrection of the slaves was ready to break out, in Capua and Apulia.

Struck with this information, the Senate decreed, that Quintus Marcius Rex should immediately proceed to Fæsulæ, and Quintus Metellus Creticus to Apulia, and take upon them the command of those, and of the adjoining districts. Both these officers had been commanders of armies (75), and were, at this time, waiting without the city, in expectation of a triumph; and the honour, it seems, had been withheld from them, by a vile spirit of calumny; its authors, a few men in power, whose practice was to set to sale every object, for which honour would contend, or that infamy might agree to purchase.—By the same decree, the Prætors Quintus Pompeius Rufus, and Quintus Metellus Celer (76), were dispatched, the former to Capua (77), and the latter to the territory of Picenum; with a discretionary power in their hands, to levy such forces, as the exigency of the

occasion, and the magnitude of the danger, might require.— In addition to these precautions, it was judged proper to hold forth rewards to any, who should make a discovery touching the Conspiracy against the government. To a slave was offered, besides emancipation, the sum of one hundred thousand Sesterces; to a freeman, an ample indemnity for himself, and two hundred thousand (78). It was, moreover, enacted, that the bands of Gladiators (79), then at Rome, should be dispersed over Italy; assigning to Capua, and the other municipal towns, numbers in proportion to the strength and importance of each. In every quarter of Rome, also, guards were ordered to be mounted, and put under the command of the inferior magistrates (80). A.U.C. 690.

XXXII. The noise of these preparations diffused a general consternation; and at Rome, in particular, the face of things was strangely altered. To the effusions of gaiety, and wanton merriment, the result of long, and uninterrupted repose, a deep dejection succeeded. Mistrust sat on every countenance; hurry and trepidation were seen in every step. It was neither the stillness of peace, nor the activity of warlike preparation: The public mind brooded over some impending calamity; and each individual seemed to compute the danger, by the particular measure of his own doubts and fears.

Consternation of the City. Effrontery and despair manifested by Catiline. He takes his departure privately from Rome.

The apprehensions, which seized the women, were still more violent. They had, for a considerable period, under a great and powerful empire, been removed from the din of war, and they shuddered at its approach. In a fit of consternation, they stretched forth their hands to heaven: They deplored the fate of their infant, and helpless offspring. Anxious for intelligence,

A. U. C. 690. they dreaded every rumour; they trembled at every sound; and, laying aside their pride, and accustomed pleasures, they sunk into despair, giving up for lost their own lives, and the safety of their country.

Amidst this scene of anxiety and terrour, the infernal spirit of Catiline, which directed the mischief, was true to its purpose. He calmly beheld the vigorous measures, adopted to defeat his arts; as well as a public prosecution, which was commenced against him, by Lucius Paulus (81), on the Plautian law. He
8th Nov. even ventured to go down to the Senate-house, in the hope, that a daring effrontery would best serve to cloak his guilt; or perhaps that the Fathers would listen, with favour, to a man, coming forward to vindicate his injured character. It was on this occasion, that the Consul Marcus Tullius, either dreading the presence of such a miscreant, or agitated and enraged at his unparalleled audacity, delivered that powerful speech, which he afterwards reduced to writing, and gave to the public (82). Be that as it may, the effort was happily timed, and highly salutary to the interest of the commonwealth.

Catiline, however, was not to be thrown off his guard, but resolved to carry dissimulation to the utmost. As soon as the Consul sat down, he proceeded to reply to the charge, with downcast looks, and an air of well-acted humility. He besought the Fathers (83) not to receive, as oracles of truth, a vague accusation, thus unsupported by evidence. He drew their attention to his illustrious birth: He appealed to the general tenour of his conduct, from his youth up; and from both he might be entitled to honourable expectations. Could it be believed, he said, that a Patrician like himself, mindful of his own, no less than the public services of his ancestors, should enter-

tain a wish to subvert the government, while Cicero, a man but of yesterday, a stranger just introduced into Rome, was so zealous to defend it?—As he was thus pursuing his harangue, and proceeding to multiply invectives against the Consul, the Fathers, unable to restrain their indignation, with one voice exclaimed against the outrage, calling aloud, that he was an enemy to his country, a traitor, and a parricide!—Frantic with disappointment, the fury of Catiline was raised to the highest pitch. "Since then," cried he, "I am beset with foes on every side, "and devoted to destruction, the flame, which, I perceive, is "kindled to devour me, shall be effectually extinguished in the "general ruin (84)!" A. U. C. 690.

XXXIII. With these words, he rushed out of the Senate-house, and hurried home (85). His mind was distracted with a multitude of reflections. Against the life of Cicero, he saw that stratagem had wholly failed; and, guarded as all the avenues to the city were, it was impossible to set it on fire, without imminent hazard. There remained now but one alternative. The legions were, as yet, not embodied; his own troops had already taken the field: The intervening moments, therefore, were irretrievable; and every nerve was to be strained to augment his force, and be beforehand with his adversaries, in vigorously providing for the war.

In the middle of the night, accompanied only by a few followers, he set out for the camp of Manlius; leaving it in charge to Cethegus, Lentulus, and others, on whose prompt, and daring spirit he could depend, to strengthen the faction by every possible method. The speedy circumvention of the Consul he pressed with extraordinary earnestness; together with the measures 8th Nov.

A. U. C. 690. for the purposed massacre, the conflagration of the city, and, in a word, for involving all in the horrours of civil war. He concluded with an assurance, that they should see him, ere long, at the head of a powerful army, and before the gates of Rome (86).

Deputation from Manlius, to Q. Marcius Rex.

XXXIV. During these transactions in the city, Caius Manlius judged it proper not to remain silent. Selecting, from among his followers, a certain number, as a deputation to Quintus Marcius Rex, he sent them with instructions, to address him to the following effect.

"We take Gods and men to witness, noble general, that, "although we appear in arms, we entertain no views of hostility to the government, nor yet the desire of involving others "in the miseries of war: Relief from oppression is our only "object; and that, we trust, may admit of some apology. Indigent and wretched, we have experienced every species of "distress, from unfeeling usurers; the ills of exile, the loss of "fame and fortune, and, above all, of the benefit of those equal "laws, the inheritance of our ancestors. Nor, when our possessions were gone, have our persons been exempt from imprisonment; thereby adding, to the usurer's inhumanity, the "harsh decisions of the Prætor (87).

"In former periods, your ancestors were touched with a generous sympathy, and, oftener than once, relieved the wants, "or redressed the grievances of the people. An instance, indeed, "occurs within our own recollection; a season of almost general "bankruptcy; in which the creditor was compelled to abate from "the rigour of his claims, and payment in brass, instead of sil-

" ver, was accepted (88): And what good man, but chearfully A. U. C. 690.
" acquiesced in the measure? Nor, if we look to history, do
" we find, that our conduct is without a precedent. The spi-
" rit of the people has, more than once, been roused to a vin-
" dication of their rights; sometimes impelled by ambition
" among themselves, and, sometimes, by the overbearing tem-
" per of their magistrates. Then it was, that they had recourse
" to arms, and seceded from Patrician tyranny (89).

" On the present occasion, we have no such motives. We
" are free from both avarice and ambition, those destructive
" passions, which give birth to strife, and to all the wars, that
" desolate the world. We contend for LIBERTY! That to
" men of honour is dearer than life, and is the last possession
" they will consent to relinquish.—We conjure you, therefore,
" we beseech the Senate, to commiserate and relieve the suffer-
" ings of Roman citizens! Restore them to their birth-right,
" the security of equal laws, invaded by venal, and flagitious
" Prætors (90). It is for you to prevent the sad alternative,
" which must follow; a generous despair, resolved to perish,
" but seeking, in its fall, a just and glorious revenge!"

Specious conduct of Catiline. His confidential letter to Catulus.

XXXV. To this address the reply of Quintus Marcius was concise and dignified. If they had any thing, he said, in the shape of a petition, to present to the Senate, it became them to lay down their arms, and carry it to Rome. Bold remonstrance, and armed violence, were alike foreign to the humility of supplication. Clemency and compassion, he added, had ever been Roman virtues: The Senate and People felt their value, and had been illustrious for the practice, on every fit occasion.

A. U. C. 690. At this time Catiline, who was proceeding on his way to the camp, dispatched letters, in a style the most specious, to persons of the first character at Rome, and to almost every man of Consular rank. He began with lamenting the hardness of his fate; the devoted victim, as he said, of a faction, which loaded him with obloquy, and, in the end, would condemn him for constructive crimes. It was the part of wisdom to yield to that, which could not be prevented: He had, therefore, adopted the resolution of withdrawing to Marseilles (91), into voluntary exile. Not, by any means, that he was conscious of the horrid treason, which was imputed to him: But a contest with his enemies might disturb the public tranquillity; and that he respected, beyond every personal consideration.

In the Senate, Quintus Catulus (92) produced, and read a letter, which he declared had been delivered to him, on the part of Catiline; but it was in tendency very opposite to these artful assurances. Of this dispatch the following is a copy.

XXXVI. Lucius Catiline to Quintus Catulus.

"The sincerity of your attachment, already experienced in "seasons of adversity, is so well known to me, that my mind "is led, with a pleasing confidence, to open itself to you, in "this juncture. Of the line of conduct I have just adopted it "is not my purpose to attempt a formal vindication. Con- "scious to myself of no criminality, a concise statement of facts "will suffice. To friendship, indeed, some apology may seem "necessary; and I need hardly assure you of its perfect truth.

"Roused by a keen sense of injuries, excluded with indig- "nity, from the fair reward of my services, first honours of the

"state, I have undertaken the defence of the oppressed and A. U. C. 690.
"helpless; a cause not unworthy in itself, and, on other occa-
"sions, congenial to my temper. Yet let it not be believed, that,
"from pecuniary embarrassments, I am urged to such a step.
"The obligations, which have been contracted on my own ac-
"count (93), I have possessions that are adequate to discharge;
"and, in regard to those engagements I may have come under
"for others, such is the generosity of Orestilla, that, from her
"own, and her daughter's fortune, she is willing to take them
"upon herself. But I perceive, my friend, that the highest
"offices are conferred on men without merit, whilst I am re-
"jected on frivolous suspicions, and the public confidence is
"unjustly withdrawn from me. Actuated, therefore, by the
"desire of preserving what yet remains of the honour of my
"character, I have pursued such measures, as your candour, I
"doubt not, will approve, and my present circumstances must
"sufficiently justify.

"On this subject I should willingly have dwelt at greater
"length: But intelligence is just brought, that violent mea-
"sures are adopted against me. I conclude with recommend-
"ing Orestilla to your care. I conjure you, by the love which
"you bear to your own children, to afford her protection from
"every insult. Farewell."

XXXVII. THE views of Catiline were now past conceal- Decrees of the Senate. Reflections on the present condition and manners of the commonwealth.
ment. In the territory of Arretium he passed a few days, with Caius Flaminius Flamma; and, during that time, supplied with arms the neigbouring country, which had already been brought over to his interest. Having assumed the Fasces, and other en-

A. U. C. 690. signs of the magistracy, he made the best of his way to the camp of Manlius.

When these things were made known at Rome, Catiline and
20th Nov. Manlius were, by the Senate, declared public enemies. An act of indemnity passed, in favour of the great body of the insurgents, with the exception of such only, as were under sentence for capital crimes: And of this all might take the benefit, if they laid down their arms, and returned to their allegiance, within a limited space of time. It was further decreed, that the army should be augmented; and the Consuls were empowered to hold a particular muster, for that purpose (94). To Antonius it was given in charge, to march, with all expedition, in pursuit of Catiline; and the defence of the city was entrusted to Cicero (95).

We are now arrived at that period of our history, in which, of all others, the picture of the republic seems most truly deplorable. From the rising to the setting sun, the arms of Rome had subdued the world. In the bosom of the empire, peace and prosperity, those first-rate blessings, had long united, and diffused their influence. But, with an exterior so fair and specious, there was rottenness at the heart. In the midst of such enjoyments, citizens were found sufficiently profligate, to take up arms against the government, seeking, with frantic violence, to involve the republic and themselves, in one common ruin. Two separate decrees had passed the Senate: Offers of reward, and acts of indemnity, had accompanied those decrees; yet of the Conspiracy no disclosure was made; of so vast a multitude not a man was allured from the standard of Catiline. Such was the degenerate spirit of the times. Few were the numbers, that

escaped its influence. It spread like an epidemical distemper, A. U. C. 690.
and turned the hearts of men against their country.

XXXVIII. Nor was this strange disaffection confined to the conspirators, and their desperate adherents: The common people, to a man, favoured the views of Catiline, and, with their usual inconstancy, longed for a revolution. Such, in truth, is the character of the multitude. In every community, it must happen, that they, who themselves have no means of subsistence, look on wealth with an evil eye. They rail at worth and honour: They extol, to the skies, the boldness that is prone to mischief. Weary of their present lot, such men are always sure to be dissatisfied. They are fond of innovation: They detest the sameness of established usage. They know that distraction and tumult are delightful seasons, in which all find subsistence, without the necessity of labour; and that, be the issue what it may, of any contest, poverty, at least, can have little to lose.

Besides these general features of character, there were many special causes for the corruption, in which the populace of Rome were sunk, at this juncture. In the first place, the capital may be considered as the great centre, to which enormity and vice of every species, were perpetually attracted, from all quarters of the empire. Wherever depravity or impudence was most shameless; wherever want had succeeded to extravagance and profligacy; in a word, where wretches were to be found, the outcasts of their own countries, stained with crimes, and branded with infamy, the transition to Rome was regular and universal. In the second place, the consequence of Sylla's victories, very naturally, had made a deep impression on many. Of the army of that usurper they could name the men, who,

A. U. C. 690. though serving only as common soldiers, had found an easy ascent to the Senatorian rank; together with a list of others, elevated to wealth so sudden and enormous, that they could live in a style of even regal magnificence. What fortune seemed thus to throw into the lap of some, each individual fondly imagined might fall into his own, if he were but sufficiently turbulent, and found with arms in his hands, in the moment of victory.

Besides this, the youth, in the country about Rome, were continually corrupted, by public and private largesses. By manual labour, in the fields, they could contrive to earn a scanty subsistence: But, a taste of the ease and indolence of a city-life once acquired, they learned to despise the slow returns of industry; and united with the rest, in fomenting disorders, from which all were alike to derive their support. It cannot, therefore, appear surprising, that a needy and abandoned crew, living on hope, and ripe for mischief, should render subservient, to their own views, every idea of the general welfare.

There was yet another party, consisting of the children of numbers, whose parents having been proscribed, their civil rights were forfeited, and their properties swallowed up, by Sylla's usurpation; and for them it was natural to hope, that what the fortune of one revolution had taken away, another might restore (96). To this crowd of male-contents may fairly be added all those, who espoused an interest, hostile to that of the Senate. Provided the pride of that body could be humbled, and themselves lifted to power, they were careless of the public calamities, that might ensue. In former periods, the heat of these two great factions had often engendered the most fatal effects.

After a long interval, it was of late revived, and with all the violence of antient animosity. A.U.C. 690.

XXXIX. From the Consulship of Cnæus Pompey, and Marcus Crassus, the mischief may principally be dated; an era, when the Tribunitian authority was restored, and the road to influence considerably shortened (97). Young men, inflamed by ambition, and by the unruly passions incident to youth, having become Tribunes of the People, acquired a sudden influence. They usually began, by railing at the Senate; and they followed up the scheme, by exciting the populace to insurrection. By a profusion of largesses, and by promises still more magnificent, animosity was kept alive; while they themselves, by directing that dangerous spirit, rose to the zenith of popularity and power. The nobility, on the other hand, for the most part united, to check the encroachments of these aspiring demagogues. The honour of the Senate was their ostensible motive; but they laboured only to promote their own ambition. The political character of the day may be shortly summed up. Two hostile factions divided the nation, and convulsed the government; in their several pretences both fair and plausible, and both acting a borrowed character. By the one, the rights of the People were espoused; the dignity of the Senate was as strenuously defended by the other. The public good seemed the specious motive; but their own aggrandizement was the secret spring, that actuated both. As the professions, on either side, were destitute of sincerity, so the means they employed were without moderation; and, which ever faction prevailed, its opponents were sure to suffer, by a cruel abuse of the rights of conquest.

Antient and inveterate feud, between the Patrician, and Popular factions.

A. U. C. 690. XL. But, when the presence of Pompey was necessary to compose the troubles in the east, excited by the Maritime and Mithridatic wars (98), the popular interest then fell into decay, and the ascendency of a few leading men rose on its ruins. The honours of the magistracy, the administration of the provinces, all objects of ambition, were eagerly engrossed by them. Flourishing in prosperity, and at the summit of their wishes, they enjoyed a secure dominion; by the terrour of impeachments restraining all, who presumed to oppose them, and who, when popular magistrates, might instigate the multitude. But no sooner was the prospect of a revolution opened to the hopes of men, than the spirit of the latter revived, and the bitterness of former animosity rankled in their minds. The consequence was obvious. Had Catiline prevailed in the first engagement, or the fortune of the day even hung in suspense, the commonwealth must have been brought to the brink of ruin. The struggle would have been obstinately continued on both sides; till, enfeebled and exhausted, they had fallen an easy prey to some ambitious chief, whose object was to subvert liberty, and the constitution (99).

There were, however, several persons, and those not originally implicated in the Conspiracy, that did not wait for Catiline's success, to decide openly in his favour. Of this number was a certain youth, Aulus Fulvius, the son of a Senator, who paid the severe penalty of his rashness. On his road to the camp, being pursued and brought back, he was, by his father's order, instantly put to death (100).

During these transactions, Lentulus still continued at Rome. In obedience to the instructions, left by Catiline, he secretly practiced upon every one, who, from embarrassed circumstances, or doubtful morals, seemed fit for the purposes of rebel-

lion. His approaches, when not made in person, he diligently conducted, by means of others; indifferent as to the objects, whether citizens or strangers, if they could but be rendered useful instruments, for the prosecution of the war. A. U. C. 690.

XLI. The Deputies of the Allobroges (1), then at Rome, appeared to him to be of this description. A certain person, named Publius Umbrenus (2), was employed to sound them on the subject, and, if possible, to engage their nation in the league. Of this project the success seemed not improbable to Lentulus. He knew, that, in that country, both the individual and the state groaned under a load of debt. The Gallic genius was, besides, warlike and turbulent; and from both circumstances he drew a favourable omen. The Deputies of the Allobroges drawn into the Conspiracy.

Umbrenus, who was a merchant in Gaul, had, in the course of his transactions, frequently visited those parts; and, being known to the leading men in most of the states, and also acquainted with their characters, he readily undertook the business. Seeing the ambassadors in the Forum, he seized his opportunity, and immediately accosted them. The conversation turned on the state of their country. Umbrenus seemed struck with the picture, which they drew of it; and, taking up the matter more earnestly, enquired, with a seeming interest, if there were no hope of a termination to their difficulties? This led the deputies into a warm discussion, in which they launched forth into bitter complaints of the avarice of their magistrates; of the indifference of the Senate, that lent a deaf ear, they said, to the complaints of the provinces. It was death, and death alone, that could put a period to their calamities! "That "there are other means of deliverance than death, replied

A. U. C. 690. "Umbrenus, I could easily point out, if I were but assured, "that you could act like men." At these words, the expectations of the Allobroges were highly excited. Beseeching Umbrenus to look upon them with compassion, they ardently declared, that no enterprise was too arduous for their perseverance, or too daring for their resolution, if an extinction of debt, and a redress of wrongs were to prove the recompence.

1st Dec. On this, Umbrenus conducted the Gauls to the house of Decius Brutus, close by the Forum. On account of Sempronia, who was an accomplice in the Conspiracy, it was a place every way fitted for the disclosure of his secret; for Brutus himself was, at that time, absent from Rome. In order to give an air of greater importance to the transaction, the merchant called in the aid of Gabinius; and, in his presence, unfolded every particular touching the plot. He mentioned, without reserve, the principal conspirators; and as names, he knew, would weigh with the Allobroges, he took care, in enumerating them, to swell the list with those of many persons of every rank, in nowise concerned in the Conspiracy. The deputies listened attentively to the account; and, having promised their assistance, they were dismissed, and desired to carry home the intelligence, to their native country.

They make the discovery to Cicero.

XLII. THE Allobroges were thrown into the utmost perplexity, and continued, for a considerable time, in suspense what course they should pursue. On the one hand, pecuniary embarrassments stared them in the face: War was pleasing to their restless temper: Hope pourtrayed, in the most lively colours, the immense fruits of victory. On the other hand, they perceived greater power to be on the side of the Senate;

of counsels well concerted; and, instead of delusive promises, the reality of a certain, and solid recompense (3). After wavering long between hope and fear, the fortune of the republic at length preponderated (4). They addressed themselves to Quintus Fabius Sanga, the patron of their nation at Rome (5); and, having disclosed to him whatever they knew, the whole, through Sanga, was communicated to Cicero. By the Consul the deputies were instructed, to affect a warm interest in the Conspiracy; to hold frequent meetings with the accomplices; to be profuse of promises; and, thus gaining their confidence by a show of zeal, render their guilt too clear, to admit either of doubt, or of denial. A. U. C. 690.

XLIII. NEARLY about this time, the flame of insurrection broke out, in Hither and Farther Gaul, in the country of Picenum, in Bruttium, and in Apulia. By the industry of Catiline, incendiaries had, some time before, been dispersed through those parts; but they showed neither common prudence, nor sober conduct. By madly attempting every thing at once, they, of course, failed in all they attempted. They distributed arms; they held nocturnal meetings; and, by a hurry and bustle absurdly kept up, they terrified, without endangering the safety, of the districts, in which they were stationed. The Prætor, Quintus Metellus Celer, seized and imprisoned a number of these insurgents, after first duly convicting them, on the decree of the Senate. Many, in like manner, were secured, by Caius Murena, in Transalpine Gaul, where he then acted, as Lieutenant Governor of the province (6). Insurrections in Gaul and Italy.

XLIV. AT Rome, Lentulus, and the other ringleaders of the Plan of the

intended massacre, and conflagration of Rome. A. U. C. 690.

Conspiracy, thinking themselves in sufficient force, began to consider their design as ripe for execution. It was agreed (7), as soon as Catiline should appear in arms, in the country of Fæsulæ, that then was the time to begin to act with vigour. Lucius Bestia, being one of the Tribunes of the People, undertook to assemble, and harangue the multitude. He was to point his virulence against Cicero, and publicly hold out that excellent magistrate (8), as the author of an alarming, and destructive civil war. This signal given, it was fixed, that, on the following night, the rest of the accomplices should repair to their several stations; each being in readiness to perform the part, which had previously been assigned him.

1st Dec.

The execution of the plot was arranged, it is said, in the following order. To Statilius and Gabinius was committed the important business of setting fire to the city, at once in twelve different places; and this they were to perform, at the head of a strong body of their accomplices. During the confusion and tumult of a general conflagration, murder, they hoped, might stalk abroad, and, without opposition, reach the Consul, and the other victims, whose destruction had been marked out. The work of assassination was variously divided. Cethegus was to take post at the door of Cicero. He was to force an entrance into the house, and immediately dispatch him; while others did the same, in other quarters of the city. The younger part of the conspirators, who were mostly sons of the nobility, had it in charge to assassinate their own fathers. Thus, fire and sword were to be carried through every part of Rome, by this desperate crew, who, taking advantage of the consternation, that such a scene would occasion, were to rush forth, to the camp of Catiline.

In the midst, however, of these formidable preparations, and bloody resolves, the business evidently languished. Cethegus never ceased to complain of the supineness of his associates. While they lingered in irresolution, he said, and cold delay, by what art could they recal the irretrievable moments? In exigencies such as theirs, deliberation was out of season, and should give place to a decisive activity. As for himself, he was willing, notwithstanding this general apathy, if aided only by a few resolute spirits, to attack the Senate-house.—Cethegus was of a temper naturally fierce and impetuous; and his promptness in execution was equal to his audacity: He, therefore, conceived, that, in any enterprise, the man who was possessed of vigour and dispatch, might easily dispense with the other virtues. A. U. C. 690.

XLV. In this posture of affairs, the Allobroges, who had got their lesson from Cicero, procured, through Gabinius, a full meeting of the accomplices. As Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, were at the head of the list, they requested, from them, a declaration, under the sanction of an oath, which, being duly sealed, should be delivered to the deputies: Without such a document, they said, to carry home to Gaul, they could not promise to make an impression on their countrymen, or bring them to embark in so momentous an enterprise. The three first mentioned conspirators suspected no deceit, and readily granted a formal instrument. As to Cassius, he contented himself with assuring the Gauls, that he would, in person, speedily visit their country; and he actually set out from Rome, some little time before the departure of the deputies. Secret conference with the Allobrogian deputies.

Along with the Allobroges, Lentulus dispatched a certain

A. U. C. 690. person, named Titus Volturcius, a native of Crotona. He was desirous that the Gauls, before they left Italy, should have a personal interview with Catiline, and, by mutual assurances, be more firmly fixed in the interests of the Conspiracy. For this purpose, he charged Volturcius with a letter to Catiline, of which I shall subjoin an authentic copy.

"FROM the bearer of this dispatch you will learn, who it is "that now addresses you. The present moment is big with "danger; the ground, on which you stand, highly perilous: "Reflect on this, and bear in mind that you are a man. Ac- "curately compute your resources, and your necessities: Deem "the aid of none beneath your notice, not even that of the "meanest."

To this letter Lentulus added verbal instructions. The messenger was enjoined to expostulate with Catiline, upon his rash rejection of the slaves, when the Senate had declared him a public enemy. In the city, he informed him, every preparation was completed, for the execution of the plot; and that nothing now remained, but that he should rapidly push forward, to the vicinity of Rome.

They are arrested, by order of the Consul, at the Milvian Bridge.

XLVI. THINGS being in this train, the night was fixed, for the departure of the deputies, of which they duly gave intimation to Cicero. The Prætors, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and Caius Pomptinus (9), had it in command, from the Consul, to form an ambuscade, at the Milvian Bridge (10), and there seize the Allobroges, and their suite. To the Prætors he judged it proper to lay open every thing concerning the duty, on which they were employed, trusting to their discretion to exe-

3d Dec.

cute it, as circumstances might direct. Flaccus and Pomptinus were both officers of experience. A body of troops, under their orders, without noise or tumult, invested the bridge. The deputies, in company with Volturcius, having commenced their journey, no sooner reached the place, than a sudden shout was set up on all sides; on which the Gauls, guessing the meaning, without delay gave themselves up to the Prætors. Volturcius, who was not in the secret, drew his sword, and made a resolute defence, calling aloud to the party, to imitate his example: But, perceiving himself deserted by the deputies, and about to be overpowered by numbers, he endeavoured to make terms with Pomptinus, to whom he chanced to be known. Entreaties, however, proving ineffectual, doubt and fear succeeded; and he surrendered, at last, like a man, who resigns his life into the hands of his enemies. A. U. C. 690.

XLVII. The Consul, by means of messengers, was speedily informed of all that passed. He received the intelligence with unaffected joy; but it was a joy, that was alloyed with no inconsiderable anxiety. That the Conspiracy was brought to light, and the commonwealth thereby freed from danger, was a subject of lively satisfaction: But how to deal with men, high in rank, and powerful from their connections, yet convicted of wickedness of so black a dye, was a question every way full of perplexity (11). Should he proceed with rigour, their punishment would procure him a host of enemies: Should he suffer them to escape with impunity, what was it less, than being accessory to the public ruin? Having maturely deliberated, and collected all his resolution, he ordered Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius, together with one named Cœparius, a na-

Cicero carries Lentulus, and the other prisoners before the Senate. Depositions of the witnesses.

A. U. C. 690. tive of Terracina, to be brought into his presence. All appeared without delay, except the last. This Cœparius was a fellow, whom Cicero knew to be on the point of setting out for Apulai, in order to head a rising of the slaves, in that quarter: But, on going abroad from his house, at an early hour, he had heard of the adventure of the foregoing night, and made a precipitate retreat from Rome.

3d Dec. The Consul convened the Senate, in the temple of Concord (12), where the conjuncture drew together a full attendance of the members. He entered the assembly, leading Lentulus by the hand, out of respect for the office of Prætor, held by that conspirator: The rest were brought in, under a strong escort. Volturcius and the Allobroges were next introduced; and the Prætor Flaccus had orders to attend, and bring with him the packet of letters, which had fallen into his hands, on the apprehension of the deputies.

XLVIII. Volturcius, being questioned touching the object of his journey, the letters found in his possession, the designs he entertained, and the motives from which he acted, was, at first, evasive in his answers. He attempted to frame an artful story, and pleaded entire ignorance, with respect to the Conspiracy. Encouraged, however, by an assurance of indemnity on turning public evidence, he laid dissimulation aside, and made a candid confession of every thing he knew, as well as the order, in which it happened. It was but a few days before, he said, that he was drawn into the plot, by Gabinius and Cœparius; his knowledge, of course, reached no farther back, than that of the Allobroges. In one circumstance he was particular, and that was, Gabinius's repeated assurance, that Publius Autro-

nius, Servius Sylla, Lucius Vargunteius, and a number of others, A. U. C. 690.
were all privy to the Conspiracy. The Gallic deputies told the same story, and corroborated the evidence of Volturcius.

Lentulus was next interrogated. He, in like manner, had recourse to duplicity: But, on being confronted with the deputies, the truth clearly came out; his letter to Catiline was verified; and, in presence of the former, the style of his daily conversation. According to Lentulus, the Sibylline oracles (13) had foretold, that three of the Cornelian family were to obtain the supreme power at Rome. Cinna and Sylla, the two first, had already had their day: He himself, he said, was the third person, designed to fulfil those antient prophecies. To put the matter beyond a doubt, he added, that the present year was the twentieth, since the Capitol was destroyed by fire (14): It had been pointed out, to the Soothsayers, by a crowd of prodigies, as an era, which was to be memorable for bloodshed, and civil war.

The Senate next ordered the dispatches to be produced; and, the prisoners having acknowledged their several seals, the letters were read to the assembly. A decree passed, ordaining Lentulus to resign his office of Prætor, and himself and his associates forthwith to be taken into private custody. Lentulus was given in charge to Publius Lentulus Spinther, then one of the Ædiles: Cethegus was committed to Quintus Cornificius; Statilius, to Caius Cæsar; Gabinius, to Marcus Crassus; and Cœparius, to Cneius Terentius, also a man of Senatorian rank (15). The conspirator last mentioned, as we have already seen, had contrived to make his escape: But he had been instantly pursued, and brought back before the close of the sitting (16).

A. U. C. 690. Rejoicings of the populace, on the discovery of the Conspiracy. Suspicions entertained against Crassus and Cæsar. Deliberations of the Senate.

XLIX. MEANWHILE, the discovery of the Conspiracy being rumoured abroad, the populace, who, in the outset, looked to the prospect of a revolution with a partial eye, had greatly altered their sentiments. Frantic with joy, they now extolled, to the skies, the name of Cicero (17), while that of Catiline and his designs were treated with abhorrence. As for their own case, they regarded it as a deliverance from the tyranny of a faction; and accordingly it was celebrated, with the sincerest demonstrations of the popular applause (18). By this class of men, the horrours of civil war, instead of evils, were usually considered as opportunities for plunder: But the idea of a general conflagration came, at once, home to themselves, and seemed, in their eyes, a most wicked, atrocious, and diabolical project. These were natural sensations; and especially in men, who, except their common utensils, and daily raiment, had, in fact, nothing, that they could call their own.

On the day after the conviction of the conspirators, a certain person, named Lucius Tarquinius, was carried before the Senate. This man, it was said, had set out to join Catiline's army; but, being apprehended, he was brought back to Rome. On his examination, he intimated, that he could make important discoveries, if he were permitted to speak, with the promise of a public pardon. Being desired, by the Consul, to proceed under that sanction, he gave evidence, in the main, to the same purpose as Volturcius. He corroborated the account of the intended conflagration, the plan for assassinating the most respectable citizens, and concerning the route, by which the conspirators were to march to Rome. To these circumstances he added a declaration, that Marcus Crassus was the person, who had dispatched him to the rebel camp. From him, as he averred, he had

it in charge to exhort Catiline not to despair, because Lentulus, Cethegus, and a few more, had been arrested and imprisoned; on the contrary, that that event should rather operate, in hastening his approach to the city. It was his presence, above all, that would chear the drooping spirits of the party, depressed, as they were, by the late accident, and, at the same time, effect the liberation of his friends. A. U. C. 690.

When Tarquinius mentioned the name of Crassus, a person no less illustrious by birth, than distinguished for his wealth, and formidable from his influence, a murmur of indignation ran through the assembly. Some of the members thought the charge unworthy of credit; while others, though little doubtful of its justice, were swayed by prudential motives: In a conjuncture so critical, it was the safest policy to soften, rather than to exasperate, so powerful a citizen. The majority, however, who were under personal obligations to Crassus, loudly declared, that the witness was a fellow hired to falsify the facts, and demanded that the sense of the Senate should be taken upon his evidence (19). The affair being debated by a very full assembly, at which Cicero presided, it was unanimously found, that the evidence of Tarquinius contained a scandalous libel. The witness was ordered into confinement, and his evidence to be considered as closed, until he thought proper to declare, at whose instance he had ventured on so daring, and impudent a fabrication.

There were, at the time, who believed, that the whole was the contrivance of Publius Autronius. It might be his intent, by suborning this man, to implicate Crassus in the plot; in the hope of skreening, behind a powerful name, the guilt of the actual conspirators. Others were of opinion, that Cicero was

A. U. C. 690. to blame, and that he set Tarquinius on the scheme, merely that the public tranquillity might not be disturbed by Crassus; who, by this means, would be prevented from affecting popularity, by standing forth, according to his custom, the patron of pernicious citizens. The affair, at this hour, remains problematical. But it is a fact, that Crassus was afterwards heard, by the present writer, to declare, that Cicero was at the bottom of the whole, and that he owed so public an affront, to his ingenious malice (20).

However that may be, it is certain, that Cicero rejected the proposal, of unjustly involving Cæsar in a similar suspicion: Nor were Quintus Catulus and Caius Piso, who endeavoured to work upon him by importunity, by interest, and by pecuniary considerations, to engage the Allobroges, or other informers in the scheme, able to effect their purpose. Those two great men, at this juncture, both acted from inflamed resentment. Piso had been prosecuted for peculation in his province, and for being corrupted by a bribe, to punish unjustly a certain person, a native of the country beyond the Po; in which suit Cæsar had warmly taken part against him (21). In regard to Catulus, he had, not long before, offered himself a candidate for the Priesthood (22), and was in that suit opposed by Cæsar. In the decline of life, and having almost ended his career of public honours, to be completely baffled by so young a rival, stung him to the quick, and added disappointment to rancour. As Cæsar, at this time, by private liberality, and largesses to the people, had contracted debts to a vast amount, the opportunity seemed fair, for a stroke of revenge, and it was eagerly embraced by both his enemies.

On the Consul, however, all their arts proved ineffectual.

Finding that he could not be seduced to so base a deed, they intrigued singly with other persons: They maliciously circulated the most groundless reports; and, to give them a colour, they pretended, that Volturcius and the Allobroges were the sources of their intelligence. By these arts, Cæsar was brought under a cloud of odium; insomuch, that an armed party of Roman Knights, stationed as a guard round the Temple of Concord, openly threatened him with their drawn swords, as he went out of the Senate. By this attempt, the Knights announced their indignation at the Conspiracy; or, perhaps, they were desirous to display a nobler feeling, a patriotic zeal for the public safety (23). A. U. C. 690.

While the Fathers were busied in voting their approbation of the conduct of the Allobrogian deputies, and of Volturcius, and decreeing suitable rewards for the late services; an inconsiderable band, composed of the Freedmen, and a few of the clients of Lentulus, had concerted a plan, to rescue their patron from confinement. For this purpose, they dispersed themselves through different quarters of the city. Some attempted to gain over the common slaves, and artizans in the streets; and some applied to a certain description of men, whose trade it was to head the rabble; ready for hire to procure a tumult, and interrupt the public tranquillity. Cethegus also had his emissaries at work, who, in their master's name, earnestly besought his Freedmen and slaves, a set of ruffians, trained to all manner of mischief, to form themselves into a body, and force their way, sword in hand, to the place of his confinement. 4th Dec.

The Consul, being informed of these dangerous designs, omitted no precaution, that the exigence required, in disposing his guards at proper stations, throughout the capital. His next

A. U. C. 690. 5th Dec. step was to convene the Senate (24); and to that body he, without delay, laid open the views of the prisoners, who, not long before, in a full meeting, had been adjudged as culprits, and public traitors. To the wisdom of the Fathers he submitted, what course it were expedient to take with men, whom it seemed equally hazardous to detain, or to liberate.

The question being put, Decius Junius Silanus, as Consul elect, was first asked his opinion (25). He declared, that the exigency demanded a decree for capital punishment: Nor should it extend only to the prisoners in custody, but also to Lucius Cassius, to Publius Furius, to Publius Umbrenus, and Quintus Annius, as soon as they could be apprehended. Caius Cæsar opposed this proposal; and so powerful was the effect, which his speech produced upon Silanus, that the firmness of the latter failed him, and he wavered from his first sentiment. On a division, he went over to the opinion of Tiberius Nero (26), whose voice was for strengthening the guards on duty, and adjourning the debate, for further consideration. When Cæsar was called upon, for his opinion, by the Consul, he rose and spoke, in substance, as follows (27).

Speech of Cæsar, on the punishment of the Conspirators.

L. "It is the duty of every man, Conscript Fathers, whose "station calls him to important deliberations, to bring, to the "task, a mind unclouded by passion, divested alike of hatred "or anger, of friendship or pity; for it is the nature of those "emotions, while they disfigure the truth, to warp the decisions "of the judgment. To be, at one and the same time, the slave "of passion, and the friend of justice, is not in man. Reason, "when free and unbiassed, is sufficient for all our purposes: "But when passion is suffered to usurp the ascendant, that

" better guide abandons her post, and leaves us at the mercy A. U. C. 690.
" of a deceitful rival.

" The page of history, Conscript Fathers, is full of events,
" illustrating the truth of this proposition. In the lives of prin-
" ces, and the revolutions of empires, it were easy to trace the
" fatal effects of anger, or of pity, as often as men have yielded
" to its influence, and their counsels been swayed by either
" passion: But, in what I have to offer on the present ques-
" tion, I rather chuse, from the conduct of our ancestors, to
" adduce some of those bright examples, where passion has
" been sacrificed to a virtuous self-denial, the school of wisdom,
" and of sound policy.

" During the Macedonian war, waged against king Perseus,
" the state of Rhodes, which had grown to power and splen-
" dour, under the patronage of Rome, forgot its benefactress,
" and sided with our enemies (28). After the successful
" termination of the contest, when the case of the Rhodians
" came before the Senate, our generous ancestors granted
" a free pardon, to that misguided people: They scorned to
" have it said, that Rome had waged a war of avarice, and not
" rather sought for a reparation of injuries. In all our strug-
" gles with the power of Carthage, there is to be observed the
" same calm, and elevated temper. During the subsistence of
" truces, nay in the season of peace itself, what outrages were
" not committed by that faithless people? Still our forefathers
" disdained to retaliate. Steadily keeping in view the dignity
" of their character, they remembered what was worthy of the
" Roman name, rather than the just retribution, that was due
" to an enemy.

" Conscript Fathers, these cases are analogous to the ques-

A. U. C. 690. " tion before us. It is for you to decide, between the crimes of " conspirators, and your own honour, which of the two be the " more important object. The guilt of Lentulus, and the rest, " you may indeed punish, with the loss of life; but, in giving " way to resentment, you commit your reputation. Should not " punishment, I pray you, bear a due proportion to the crime " committed? Name but the pains and penalties, fully ade- " quate to this measure of iniquity, and I shall be the fore- " most to move them: But, since that transcends all reach " of invention, all acknowledged forms of vindictive justice, it " were better, in my judgment, to respect established institu- " tions, and let the law take it course.

" Of those, who have gone before me in this debate, it is but " justice to say, that the greater part have traced with inge- " nuity, and adorned with eloquence, their picture of the pub- " lic calamities. The fury of war, and the fate of the van- " quished, have figured in their speeches; the lawless vio- " lation of youths and virgins; the tearing of infants from " their mothers' bosoms; and the chaste matron already in " the grasp, and subjected to the violence of the brutal sol- " dier. With these orators, temples and private habitations " are laid in ruins; massacre has commenced; buildings are " wrapped in flames; and, to crown the whole, amidst arms and " tumult, blood and carnage, sights of horrour, and shrieks of " despair, destruction involves the city and its inhabitants!— " By the immortal Gods! what means such declamation? " Do those, who indulge in it, for a moment imagine, that a Ro- " man Senate will supinely wait, to be inflamed against the " Conspiracy, by such expedients? Let me ask them, what " have bloody treason, and real danger to do with oratory?

"Where the approach of the former fails to strike, will the A. U. C. 690.
"brightest colours of the latter be heeded? No! Conscript
"Fathers; believe me, the wrongs, that men endure, are but too
"apt to awaken vengeance: It is the part of wisdom to turn
"away its edge, and to check its fury.

"Of the nature of resentment it may be truly observed, that
"it operates variously, in various classes of mankind. He, who
"is confined to a private station, may be violent or revengeful,
"and the effects are little known, and, of course, little regard-
"ed: The obscurity of the agent abstracts his actions from the
"notice of the world. But it is widely different with those, who
"are placed on the summits of life. Every eye is fixed upon
"their conduct; and the public claims, or at least exercises
"the right, to judge their actions. Thus, the more exalted the
"rank, the less the licence to passion or appetite; and for the
"irregularities, that proceed from favour, from hatred, and
"especially from anger, no apology is admitted. In a word,
"moderation is the virtue of superior rank; and what, in
"common life, would be termed resentment, is, when associa-
"ted with power, immediately transformed into cruelty and
"pride. In the case, which is before us, Conscript Fathers, I
"freely admit, that guilt can be washed out, by no possible
"punishment: But we should, notwithstanding, remember,
"that in criminal scenes, it is the catastrophe, for the most
"part, that makes the deepest impression. Even on occasions
"of flagrant offence, and necessary severity, while the latter
"seizes the imaginations of men, and becomes the topic of dis-
"cussion, they allow the guilt of the sufferer, no less than the
"demands of justice, to escape from their recollection.

A. U. C. 690. "The sentiments, which have been expressed by Decius Si-
"lanus, are, beyond doubt, the dictates of a genuine patrio-
"tism. In a matter so momentous, a mind like his is above
"the littleness of revenge, or the bias of partiality: Such, I
"well know, are the integrity and moderation of the man. On
"the score of rigour, therefore, I am far from reprehending
"what he has advised;—for, towards malefactors like these,
"no species of punishment can deserve the appellation;—but
"such counsels, in my mind, are wholly repugnant to the ge-
"nius and policy of our government. Was it the enormity of
"the attempt, that weighed with our Consul elect? Was it in a
"moment of terrour, that his mind was overpowered, and
"such unusual measures were suggested to his fancy?—On the
"groundlessness of apprehension, it were superfluous to enlarge:
"The talents and the activity of so illustrious a Consul, pre-
"clude all apprehension for our security; nor does the ample
"force, stationed every where by his prudence, leave room to
"question our military strength. As to capital punishment,
"there can be little doubt, that they, who endure misfortune and
"sorrow, look forward to death, as a haven of rest, not as a pre-
"lude to torture. The grave they regard, as a release from
"pain and misery: They are assured that it will put a period
"to human woe; and that neither delight nor suffering can
"have place, beyond that silent mansion (29).

"But, by the immortal Gods! Silanus, since you are for thus
"innovating our penal code, why stop you here? Why not ad-
"vise, that the scourge of the executioner shall precede the
"final stroke? Was you checked in your career by the Por-
"cian law? Or, in your respect for that enactment, did you
"overlook the sanction of other laws, permitting the banish-

"ment, but as clearly protecting the life, of the guilty citizen A. U. C. 690.
"(30)? Perhaps you will say, that, to the honest mind, the
"Lictor's rod would seem far more grievous, than sanguinary
"vengeance: And what, in truth, can be too severe, for such
"black, and horrible rebellion? Be it so. Yet, if such be
"your doctrine, what shall we think of that consistency, which
"bends with deference to the law, in a smaller matter, and yet,
"in a greater, disregards the statute?

"Perhaps it may be asked, who is the man, that will object
"to a sentence, passed on parricides, and traitors to their coun-
"try? The answer is plain: A future day may have cause
"to deplore it. Events now unforeseen, and even chance, the
"capricious directress of empires, may possibly combine to-
"wards the same object. On such wretches, I freely own,
"what doom soever shall fall, will fall with justice: But it is
"for you, Conscript Fathers, to consider, how this day's deci-
"sion may affect posterity. Peruse the whole volume of ex-
"perience, and you shall find, that the worst precedents have
"arisen out of a judicious policy; the former surviving, when
"the exigency, that gave them fitness, is no longer remem-
"bered. But, when the administration has passed, as even-
"tually it may, into the hands of weakness or depravity, pre-
"cedent is, of course, perverted: It is transferred from lau-
"dable, and proper objects, to give a sanction to impolicy, or
"a colour to injustice.

LI. "Go to the proof, and appeal to facts. In the history
"of the Athenian republic, we read, that, when that state yield-
"ed to the power of Lacedæmon, thirty persons were, by the
"conquerors, set over Athens, to administer the government

A. U. C. 690. "(31). Those magistrates opened their reign with a multitude "of executions: They seized the loose and profligate, the per- "nicious and unpopular, and sent them to the scaffold, with- "out the forms of trial. The people looked on with exulta- "tion, and celebrated the justice of their new rulers. But "mark what followed. A precedent was established; and, the "licence once given, that precedent was too soon fatally mis- "applied. Honest men were next cut off: The reign of terrour "commenced: Vice and virtue fell by the same blow. Thus, "the city of Athens groaned under oppression: But it was the "chastisement of her folly, in too easily applauding discretion- "ary power, which she saw, in the end, is the law of tyrants.

"The history of Sylla is fresh in every one's recollection. "When that usurper, flushed with victory, first seized the go- "vernment, and ventured on the massacre of Damasippus, and "others of a like stamp, who had enriched themselves by the "misfortunes of the Commonwealth, who was there then, that "applauded not the act? Justice, it is true, had been summa- "rily done; yet it was the profligate, the factious, the fo- "mentors of civil discord, who had paid the forfeit of their "crimes. What was the consequence? A general massacre "followed. If an elegant villa, or a house in Rome, nay, at "last, if some curious vase, or splendid garment, struck the "fancy of a man in power, that, in the possessor, was a suffi- "cient crime: He was straightway disposed of, by inserting "his name in the list of Proscription. Hence it happened, "that those very persons, who had vainly exulted over the "fall of Damasippus, perished themselves by a like fate: "Nor did blood cease to flow, until the avarice or rapacity of "every follower of Sylla was fully satiated (32).

" Thanks to the Gods! it is not from the temper of Marcus A. U. C. 690.
" Tullius, or of the present day, that I dread the renewal of scenes
" like these; but let them be recorded, as a standing lesson to
" mankind. In great communities it must happen, that an
" endless diversity of disposition and character will prevail,
" evil inevitably intermixed with good. At a future period,
" under another Consul, with an army, too, at his devotion,
" any falsehood may pass for fact. Looking to the precedent
" we are now desired to establish, should the Senate, in a fit of
" confidence, direct their Consul to unsheath the sword, who,
" I beseech you, could restrain his career; who could replace
" the weapon in its scabbard?

LII. " Our wise ancestors, Conscript Fathers, were equally
" conspicuous for their conduct, and their courage. Untinc-
" tured with pride, and superior to prejudice, they knew how
" to study the wholesome institutions of other nations, and
" adopt them as their own. From the Samnites they borrowed
" their military weapons: They were indebted to Etruria for
" most of the ensigns of the magistracy: It was their policy to
" seek instruction, wheresoever it was to be found, among ene-
" mies or friends, among strangers or allies; wisely deriving
" emulation, and not envy, from foreign excellence.

" In this early stage of their progress, they had recourse to
" Greece, and from that country imported the practice of in-
" flicting stripes on disorderly citizens; and, in capital cases,
" they punished with death. But, in process of time, as the
" state advanced to power and grandeur, faction and discord
" arose out of increasing population: Innocent men were cir-
" cumvented, and all manner of disorders grew and multi-

A. U. C. 690. "plied. It was then that the Porcian, and other laws were "framed, by the wisdom of our forefathers. They substituted "the privilege of exile, for the loss of life; and every vestige "of ancient rigour was removed, from our penal institutions.

"Conscript Fathers, the conclusion I would draw, from this "reasoning, is clear and important. Let us beware of inno- "vation: Let a candid comparison of ourselves with our "ancestors enforce the salutary lesson. Great, indeed, was "their portion of wisdom and virtue, beyond that of their pos- "terity. From small beginnings, they gloriously erected this "mighty empire: With us, sufficient vigour is scarcely left, to "prevent it from crumbling to ruin.—Do you ask, then, what "shall be done with these guilty men? Shall we vote for their "enlargement, and send them to Catiline, to swell the ranks "of rebellion? Far from it. My sentiment is this: "Let their "fortunes be confiscated, and themselves be sentenced to "confinement; selecting, for that purpose, the strongest, and "most considerable of the municipal towns of Italy. Let it "be declared, by a positive ordinance, that no motion, to en- "large them, shall be brought forward in the Senate, and no "appeal, in their favour, be carried before the People. And, "lastly, let it be made treason in the man, who shall act con- "trary hereto, declaring him a traitor, and a public enemy."

Speech of Cato.

LIII. When Cæsar sat down, the assembly was variously affected. Several Senators openly spoke their minds; while some seemed to reject, and some to concur in, the various propositions. But Marcus Porcius Cato, when it came to his turn to speak, delivered his opinion in the following strain.

LIII. "WIDELY different is my judgment, Conscript Fa- A. U. C. 690.
"thers, from the sentiments of some, which you just now have
"heard; and, when I view the temper of the times, and the
"dangers that encompass us, I own, I regard those sentiments
"as little to the purpose. Wholly occupied with cases of ex-
"pediency, and modes of punishment, in regard to men, who
"have prepared to take arms against their country, against its
"rights and properties, its hearths and altars, these speakers
"have misapprehended the true subject of debate. It is
"not to ascertain how we shall appreciate the guilt, but how
"we shall escape from the machinations of the most abandon-
"ed of traitors (33). There are crimes, indeed, which, being
"perpetrated, justice may be allowed deliberately to overtake:
"But in regard to massacre and rebellion, if you do not vigo-
"rously prevent them, an appeal to the tribunals is out of
"season. If the city should unhappily be taken by assault,
"what resource, I pray you, is left to the vanquished?

"But, by the immortal Gods! why slumber you in this apa-
"thy; you, who have ever rated your paintings and statues, your
"splendid palaces, and luxurious villas, far above the public
"welfare? If in these possessions, whatsoever be their value,
"your souls are still centred; if, with an anxious solicitude,
"you desire their preservation, rise up at once, and protect
"your country! Believe me, this is now no question of reve-
"nue, no stale complaint of grievances from the allies:—I tell
"you, that our liberties are at stake! Nay, for our lives we
"have cause to tremble!

"Oftentimes, Conscript Fathers, have I spoken my opinion
"in this assembly: Oftentimes have I complained of the de-
"pravation of our manners, of the growth of avarice, and the

A.U.C. 690. "dominion of luxury; and I know, on that account, I have "given offence to many (34). Yet how was I to act? A severe "judge of my own weaknesses, I watched over my passions, "with a jealous eye; and, on that account, I could the less "easily overlook the vices, or the crimes of other men. In "justice to this assembly, I will attest, that they listened to "my reprehension, with entire indifference; a temper, indeed, "of the less importance, while the vessel of the state went "steadily forward: The calmness of the sea might, in some "measure, admit the inattention of the pilot (35). But the "debate is not now, whether virtue or vice preponderate in our "manners, or yet concerning the power and grandeur of the "Roman empire: The question shortly is, whether that empire, "as it exists, be worth our care; or whether, with our persons "and our properties, we shall surrender it to the enemy.

LV. "In a juncture like this, are we, then, patiently to "hear of forbearance or compassion?—It is, indeed, but too "true, that the very names of things are perverted, and no "longer retain their genuine meaning. To be lavish of the "fortunes of others is now called liberality: A daring bold- "ness in vice passes for fortitude (36): And it is by depravity "like this, that the commonwealth is brought to the brink of "ruin! Let those, who approve of this novel nomenclature, "be generous, if they will, out of the spoils of our allies; let "the plunderers of the revenue touch their sensibility, and "melt them to tenderness: We only request, that they would "not be prodigal of our blood, nor suffer their compassion for "a few desperate ruffians, to bring destruction on every honest "man in the community.

"It is but just now, that Caius Cæsar has discoursed, in this A.U.C. 690.
"assembly, with strength and elegance, on life and death;
"holding, I doubt not, as among the dreams of superstition, all
"notion of a future state; where the wicked are destined to
"a separation from the virtuous, and where the mansions, pre-
"pared for the former, will be the abode of gloom and misery,
"of horrour and desolation. With the intent, as it should
"seem, of punishing the culprits in this life, he has moved,
"that their fortunes be confiscated, and themselves thrown
"into prison, charging, with their confinement, the great mu-
"nicipal towns of Italy. Without doubt, he prudently fore-
"saw, that in Rome, at any moment, they might be rescued
"by force, either by their confederates, or by a mob, hired for
"the purpose. But I would demand of Cæsar, by what right
"the city of Rome shall thus monopolize the whole vice of
"Italy, and the municipal towns be denied their share? If
"their pretensions be admitted, is it not also true, that vice
"must be more formidable, in proportion as it is removed from
"the eye of government, where there is less vigilance to detect,
"and less energy to check it? The proposition of Cæsar,
"therefore, is clearly nugatory, if the plot, or the conspira-
"tors be really dreaded by him: If, on the other hand, amidst
"the consternation of all ranks of men, Cæsar alone see no-
"thing to fear, that circumstance is to me a fresh cause of
"alarm, both for myself, and for you.

LVI. "THE decree, which you are about to pass, Conscript
"Fathers, will draw after it important consequences. What-
"soever you decide, concerning Lentulus and the others, of

A. U. C. 690. "this rest assured, that you decide, in the same moment, "against Catiline himself, against the rebel army, against each "individual conspirator. If you be firm and vigorous, those "traitors will, in the same proportion, shrink back: If you "despond for a moment, they will, to a man, advance with an "intrepid countenance.

"Let us not, I pray you, believe, that it was by force of "arms, that our glorious ancestors raised an infant state, to the "condition of a great, and powerful empire: For, were it so, "the empire, at this moment, would be far more illustrious, "and splendid than ever. Has not our population encreased? "Are not our allies more numerous; our store of horses, arms, "and resources of every sort, beyond the possession of former "periods? But the arts, which led our forefathers to glory, "opened a path, wherein we have long since ceased to tread. "At home, industry flourished; justice, abroad, was the ruling "principle of their government: To deliberation they brought "a spirit, which was free and disinterested, unseduced by ap- "petite, and unconscious of reproach.—Now survey the pre- "sent age. Luxury and avarice form its prominent features; "public poverty, with private citizens wallowing in wealth. "On all hands, we perceive riches highly prized, and indo- "lence as generally practised. Between good and bad men "no difference is made; while a corrupt ambition engrosses "the rewards, for which virtue declines, nay disdains to con- "tend. Nor can we expect the aggregate of our national cha- "racter to be otherwise, when we reflect on the texture of the "component parts. Look into yourselves. Selfishness, in- "stead of public spirit, marks the individual. In your houses, "each of you intent on his own pleasures; in this assembly,

" without the pride of independence, or the spirit of patrio- A. U. C. 690.
" tism; one and all the slaves of interest, or of party. It is
" thus that the commonwealth has no protector; and when
" the fatal storms of rebellion gather, they burst, of course, on
" its defenceless head.

" But I will press this argument no further, and come directly
" to the point.—Certain citizens, of noble birth, have planned
" the ruin of their country, and the conflagration of the capi-
" tal. The Gallic nation, our antient, and most inveterate foe,
" is drawn into the plot; and the rebel chief, at the head of a
" formidable force, is well nigh at the gates of Rome. Here,
" meanwhile, you sit in grave debate, wavering and doubtful
" how to deal with traitors, who have actually been caught in
" the heart of the city!—Yes; the course to be pursued is ob-
" vious. You should listen to compassion: I can trust your
" gentle natures. They are, in truth, raw, and inexperienced
" boys, and their crime only a rash ambition. Of this, I
" know, you will take no advantage; nor, while you gene-
" rously dismiss them, will they be needlessly compelled to
" deliver up their arms!—What would be the consequence?
" Only this, that the ungrateful youths, utterly regardless of
" such signal lenity, would turn those very arms against your-
" selves.—That, no doubt, would be somewhat serious: But
" you are strangers to fear; and your firm minds would grap-
" ple with the difficulty!

" Effeminate, and unworthy men! well I know how dif-
" ferent are your feelings! Dissolved in sloth, and incapable
" of exertion, you cast on one another your anxious eyes, su-
" pinely expecting that relief, which the immortal Gods, with
" a mighty arm, have vouchsafed to the commonwealth, amidst

A. U. C. 690. " the greatest dangers! But know it is not thus, that mortals " can hope for the heavenly favour. Heaven rejects alike " empty vows, and womanish supplications. It is by vigilance, " by activity, by decisive efforts, and prudent counsels, that " the undertakings of men are crowned with success. He, " who is the slave of cowardice or indolence, in vain offers up " his vows: The Gods shut their ears, and turn, with indig- " nation, from so unworthy a supplicant.

" Lessons from antiquity I also could draw, were such illus- " trations needful. Titus Manlius Torquatus, a name illustri- " ous in our history (37), with an inflexible rigour, ordered his " own son to be put to death, because, during the Gallic war, " he had, contrary to orders, engaged the enemy. By this " means, a youth of extraordinary expectation paid the severe " penalty of his rashness; his only crime a daring, but ill-go- " verned valour: And shall we hesitate about punishing the " most cruel parricides?

" But, perhaps, we shall be told of the former correctness of " their lives, and that that circumstance should plead in their " favour. On such ground, without doubt, you will spare the " Patrician dignity of Lentulus. To all of you it is well known, " whether that virtuous man ever regarded his modesty, or his " reputation, the sanctity of the Gods, or the laws of men! " Consider next the wayward errours of Cethegus: Excuse his " youthful inexperience; if this be not the second time he has " figured in a rebellion against his country (38). On Gabi- " nius, Statilius, and Cœparius, why should I enlarge? Had " they ever regarded truth or honour, crimes, surely, such as " this, had been far distant from their thoughts."

" Conscript Fathers, since you are utterly deaf to the voice of A. U. C. 690.
" argument, I could, in any case but this, calmly look on, while
" you purchased wisdom with experience, and could suffer the
" event to open your eyes. But here there is no room for ex-
" periment, and little for deliberation. We are beset on every
" side. Catiline, with an army, is at our gates: Other traitors
" are within the walls, and in the very heart of the city (39).
" Secrecy, whether of preparation, or of counsel, is alike im-
" possible; and nothing can avail us, but a decisive blow. I,
" therefore, move the following resolution:

" It having appeared to this assembly, that, by a combina-
" tion of pernicious citizens, the Commonwealth is brought
" into the utmost danger; and the authors being clearly de-
" tected, and brought to light, by the evidence of Titus Vol-
" turcius, and the Deputies of the Allobrogians; and, more-
" over, those traitors being, by their own confession, con-
" victed of a Conspiracy against their country, a deliberate
" plan of blood, and massacre, and general conflagration:
" This assembly does accordingly hold them as condemned, for
" treason and rebellion; and directs, that, agreeably to antient
" usage, they shall suffer death, the forfeit of their crimes."

LVII. When Cato had done speaking, all the Consular Senators, and most of the other members of the assembly, went over to his opinion. They extolled, to the skies, his greatness of soul: They launched forth into mutual reproaches, and branded one another, with weakness and timidity. It was from men like Cato, they said, that lessons of patriotism might be learned, and real firmness of character. A decree of the Senate immediately passed, in conformity to his motion (40).

The culprits condemned to suffer death. Parallel between Cæsar, and Cato.

A. U. C. 690. In this place a consideration occurs, which may justly be regarded as worthy of curiosity. From all that has been said and written, of the amazing power of the Roman People, of their achievements abroad, of their policy at home, of the importance and extent of their fame and conquests, it seems natural for us to enquire, what were the causes, that operated to produce, and to support so great an empire? From their history it is obvious, that, with a handful of men, they contended in the field, with formidable armies; that, with resources seemingly inadequate, they waged successful wars, against mighty princes; in all, opposing patience to a reverse of fortune. Yet the Greeks bore away from them the palm of eloquence, and the Gauls surpassed them, in military glory. For this it seems impossible but in one way to account. Rome, from time to time, produced some eminent characters; men of extraordinary talents, who gave a tone of superiority to their age and nation. It was through them, that poverty was enabled to baffle wealth, the few to overcome the many; as they communicated, to the public mind, the admirable energy of their own genius. Even when luxury and sloth had corrupted the manners, the Commonwealth was still able, by her own native vigour, to support the vices of her commanders abroad, and, at home, the ambition and intrigues of her magistrates. But the minds of men were, at length, sunk to the same level. Rome, like a superannuated matron, ceased to be prolific; nor did she, in many years, produce an individual, who, by uncommon virtue, could be said to tower above his fellow citizens.

In justice to the present age, we must admit, that it has been able to boast of two remarkable exceptions, Marcus Cato, and Caius Cæsar; both extraordinary men, but of a

genius widely different. As the subject we are considering has offered them to our notice, it would be unjust to pass them by, without some tribute to their memory. I will, therefore, attempt, in the best manner I am able, to give a faithful delineation of their temper, and their manners (41). A. U. C. 690.

Cæsar and Cato, in nobility of birth, years, and eloquence, may be said to have been almost equal (42). Greatness of soul they equally possessed, and they equally reached the summit of glory; yet it was a glory peculiar to each, and certainly acquired, by very opposite methods.

Cæsar gained the suffrages of mankind, by acts of kindness, and public munificence; Cato, by an incorruptible integrity, and the purity of his manners (43.) In the former, it was the mild virtues of humanity and benevolence, that rendered him the object of esteem: In the latter, it was a stern severity, that gave elevation to his character. Cæsar, by the practice of generosity, by the forgiveness of injuries, by the alleviation of distress, solicited the good-will of his fellow citizens: Cato bestowed no favours, and yet commanded their admiration. To the protection of the one misery looked for refuge: Profligacy dreaded punishment, from the vengeance of the other. Thus, with their respective admirers, a charming facility of manners, and a decided firmness of character, were, in either, the opposite themes of applause.

Cæsar, from his youth up, had persisted in a course of vigilance, of active industry, and incessant application, with an eye to figure on the stage of public life. He was unwearied in the service of his friends; of his own concerns as constantly neglectful: And such was the unbounded generosity of the man, that to refuse a boon, worthy of acceptance, was a feel-

A. U. C. 690. ing foreign to his heart. Ambition, above all, was his ruling passion. He panted for the command of armies, for the conduct of some new, and arduous war, where his extraordinary talents could be displayed to advantage.

On the other hand, the qualities of Cato were of a less dazzling cast. He cultivated the virtue of moderation; he studied correctness of conduct; but, above all, the lessons of an austere philosophy. In riches he never thought of vying with the wealthy; and he declined all competition for turbulence, with the factious. Yet Cato was not without the spur of an honest emulation. It was his to contend, for the prize of valour, with the brave; with the modest, for the praise of modesty (44); and, with the guiltless, for the honours of innocence and integrity. Content with the actual possession of virtue, he was careless about displaying the semblance to the world. By this means it happened, that the less anxiously he courted fame, the more conspicuously fame blazoned forth his character.

Execution of Lentulus and his associates.

LVIII. In the Senate, as has been already related, the resolution, moved by Cato, was carried by a great majority, and a decree passed in consequence. The Consul, being apprehensive of disturbances, during the ensuing night, resolved to lose no time, in putting in force the sentence against the prisoners. To the Capital Triumvirs (45), therefore, he issued his orders, to get in readiness every thing needful for the execution. Having himself stationed the guards, he conducted Lentulus to prison, from the place of his confinement; and the Prætors did the like, by the other criminals.

In the jail at Rome, as you ascend a little to the left hand (46), there is a place, named the Tullian Dungeon, about twelve feet

under ground. On all sides, it is inclosed with walls of stone, and strongly arched at top; a dismal, and gloomy vault, polluted with filth and stench, the last abode of guilt and misery. Here Lentulus was straightway thrust down, and followed by the ministers of death, who, according to their orders, immediately strangled him. Thus perished a Patrician of high birth, descended from the illustrious family of the Cornelii, and who had held the office of Roman Consul: But his end was worthy of his life; and it may be recorded, as the just retribution, which was due to his crimes. Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cœparius, in like manner, shared a similar fate (47).

A. U. C. 690.

5th Dec.

LIX. During these transactions at Rome, Catiline had been able, out of the troops brought by himself into the field, and those raised by Manlius, to form about two Legions. To the Cohorts he appointed as many men only, as his numbers would permit: But afterwards, as fresh volunteers, or his former associates, flocked to the camp, the complement was gradually made up: And although, at first, his entire force consisted of but two thousand men, yet he soon saw himself at the head of no less than two Legions, every way equal to the usual establishment (48). Of this body, however, not more than a fourth part was armed with regularity. The rest were miserably appointed, carrying, in their hands, darts and spears; and some had nothing but stakes of wood, sharpened at the point, as haste or accident threw either in their way.

Vigorous operations against the rebels in Etruria. Catiline resolves on risking an action.

As soon as Antonius advanced, at the head of the forces of the republic, Catiline betook himself to the Apennine mountains. He continued shifting his camp from place to place:

A.U.C. 690. Sometimes making a show, as if he would advance to the city, and, sometimes, as if he intended to penetrate into Gaul, he evaded every effort, that was made, to bring him to an action. Should the confederates succeed in their designs at Rome, he hoped, by that event, to receive a powerful reinforcement, and be able to make head, without disadvantage, against the enemy. It was in consequence of these flattering expectations, and trusting to the strength of the Conspiracy, that he rejected the services of the slaves (49), who, from the beginning, had crowded to the standard of revolt. In his circumstances, he deemed it a weak, as well as a disgraceful policy, to associate the cause of freedom, and the rights of citizens, with the fate of fugitive slaves; men, without doubt, from the lowest rank in the community.

Meanwhile, the intelligence, that the plot was discovered at Rome, soon reached the camp; and that Lentulus, Cethegus, and their companions, as I have already related, had suffered capital punishment. This to Catiline was a severe blow. Of those, whom the hope of plunder, or the love of revolution, had seduced from their allegiance, few now adhered to him; and he hastened to lead his remaining force, thinned and dispirited as it was, over the rugged parts of the mountains, into the territory of Pistoria (50). Pushing forward, by forced marches, he still hoped, that, through narrow defiles, and unfrequented paths, he might escape into Gaul (51).

In the district of Picenum, Quintus Metellus Celer commanded, at the head of three legions. That officer suspected, from the desperate state of Catiline's affairs, what probably were his intentions; and his suspicion was confirmed, by the reports of deserters, who daily came in from the rebel army.

Having thus gained information of their route, he marched suddenly to intercept them, and pitched his camp, at the foot of the Apennines, where, he knew, they must descend, and by which the passage into Gaul was completely commanded. At the same time, Antonius hung upon their rear. With a numerous army, the Consul kept the level country; but he continued to pursue the flying rebels, with undiminished vigour. A. U. C. 690.

In this posture of his affairs, Catiline saw nothing but impending ruin. Cut off, by inaccessible mountains, from the possibility of escape, two hostile armies threatened him with destruction. Of succour from without all hope was at an end; while his machinations at Rome had been completely defeated. In this crisis, there was but one way left, to risk a battle, and trust to the decision of the sword. Resolving, therefore, to engage Antonius by the first opportunity, he called together his men, and addressed them, in substance, as follows. A. U. C. 691. 5th January.

LX. "SOLDIERS, I am well aware, that courage never was "inspired by words: Where in the mind is felt no generous "impulse, supineness never yet was turned into effort, nor ti- "midity into valour, by the harangues of a leader, however "eloquent. Courage, my friends, is the free gift of nature, or, "it may be, the fruit of habit: But it is in him alone, whose "bosom glows with its genuine fire, that it is sure to blaze forth, "in the field of battle. The man, who is unmoved by the call "of glory, or the approach of danger, you shall in vain strive "to reason into another temper: Fear has shut his ears, against "the voice of honour, as well as the figures of rhetoric.—But "it is for a different object I have now summoned you to- His address to his men.

A. U. C. 691. "gether. It is fit that I should impart to you my earnest in-
"junctions, and lay open the grounds of that final resolution,
"which, from the posture of our affairs, I am forced to adopt.

"Soldiers, you have all heard of the fate of Lentulus; of
"the melancholy catastrophe, which a want of vigour, in that
"supine associate, has brought down upon us, no less than on
"himself. Flattered with the prospect of reinforcements from
"the city, and, in the end, cruelly deceived in that expecta-
"tion, you see, that our intended march into Gaul has been
"cut off; and our present difficulties, which have followed,
"are but too visible, and apparent to you all.

LXI. "The enemy's force consists of two armies; one of
"which, from Rome, presses on our rear; the other keeps us
"in check, on the side of Gaul. To remain any longer among
"the mountains, were we ever so desirous, exceeds our power,
"from the want of forage, and a supply of provisions of every
"species. In a word, whithersoever we turn, a passage must
"be opened with our swords. I beseech you, therefore, call
"forth all your firmness, the utmost efforts of your energy and
"valour. When you advance to the conflict, I conjure you
"bear in mind, that riches, honour, immortal glory, the rights
"of men, and the liberties of your country, are suspended on
"the event! If we conquer, the sure fruits of victory await
"us; plenty instead of want; the possession of Italy; the
"towns and colonies every where ready to receive us: But,
"if we weakly shrink back, then consider the reverse of the
"picture. Woe be to him, who relies not on the vigour of his
"own arm! Friends and fortune, indeed, smile on valour;

" but they disown the man, who proves wanting to himself, and A. U. C. 691.
" is a coward in the field.

" Besides, Soldiers, very different are our motives to action,
" from those of our adversaries. We take the field for liber-
" ty; we draw our swords for our country, nay, for life itself:
" With them, on the other hand, there can be little interest in
" the conflict; none to support the pride and power of a few
" petty tyrants. Rush, then, boldly to the charge! Strike with
" the confidence of men, whose valour, often tried, knows how
" to conquer!

" Had you declined the present contest, what, I pray you,
" had been your fate? A life of ignominy, an ignoble exile.
" As a gracious boon, some of you, perhaps, might have had
" permission to remain at Rome, despoiled of your fortunes,
" in want and beggary, sunk to a dependence on the bounty of
" your masters. But you have scorned, like men, to crouch
" in bondage, and have preferred, to dishonour, this noble alter-
" native. If you repent of the step, it is salutary to remind
" you, that, even to secure a retreat, the firmest valour is still
" indispensable. Peace must be procured by victory alone,
" not by a grovelling cowardice: For what safety could there
" be in flight, were you wildly to turn away those very arms,
" which, while they protected yourselves, might overpower
" your adversaries (52). Rest assured, when the battle rages,
" that it is the coward heart, that knows the least security.
" Valour spreads, over the head of its possessor, a broad shield
" of defence.

" Soldiers, when I call to mind your character, and the lustre
" of your achievements, I own, that they inspire me with a
" confidence of victory. From the vigour of your age, from

A. U. C. 691. "your daring spirit, and manly resolution, I augur every ad-
"vantage: Besides, stern necessity encreases my hope; for
"she can render even cowards valiant. As to our position,
"in these narrow defilés, superiority of numbers cannot avail
"the enemy; and they shall in vain attempt to outflank, or to
"surround you.—My friends, should you yet experience the
"malignity of fortune, be it yours to secure a great revenge!
"If taken prisoners, you know the consequence;—to be
"slaughtered, like cattle, at the will of the conquerors. Yet
"this you have in your power; you can die like men! and
"leave to your foes, if you gain not the day, a field dyed with
"their blood, and cause to water it with their tears (53)!"

Disposition of the two armies, previously to the Battle of Pistoria.

LXII. HAVING spoken thus, after a short pause, he ordered the trumpets to sound the signal to advance; leading down his men to a spot of ground more level, and, by consequence, more proper for the formation of the line (54). The cavalry were then ordered to dismount. Their horses were removed, to a convenient distance; and, by that arrangement, as the danger was rendered equal, without distinction of persons, a greater degree of confidence would be imparted to the men. He himself appeared on foot, making the most judicious disposition, that the nature of the surface, and the smallness of his numbers would permit.

5th January. The ground, pitched upon by Catiline, was an advantageous position; a small plain, surrounded by a ridge of hills on the left, and flanked, on the right, by a craggy rock. In the first line, he drew up eight Cohorts, stationing the remainder in the rear, but at closer order, and prepared to act as a body of reserve. All the Centurions of distinction, and resumed vete-

rans (55), he advanced to the foremost line; together with such of the common soldiers, as were tolerably armed, and in any wise distinguished by their former exploits. The command of the right wing was entrusted to Manlius; and a certain officer, a native of Fæsulæ (56), received the charge of the left. Catiline himself, supported by his Freedmen, and the resolute colonists of Sylla, took post in the centre, round his favourite Eagle (57), the same, it was said, that had been displayed by Marius, in his Cimbric victories. A. U. C. 691.

On the other side, Antonius led the army of the commonwealth: But, being seized with a fit of the gout, he was unable to be present in the action, and delegated the command to his lieutenant, Marcus Petreius (58). That officer also marshalled his troops in two lines. The Cohorts, which were composed of steady veterans, called forth to serve, on the breaking out of the rebellion, were posted in the front; and the second line, consisting of the remainder of his force, was drawn up in the rear, in order to support them. Petreius himself rode on horseback through the lines, spiritedly addressing, and animating his men. He called aloud to them by name, exhorting and beseeching them to reflect, what manner of adversaries they had now to cope with; miserable outlaws, and half-armed robbers. For themselves, he said, they nobly contended for their country and their children, for their hearths and altars.

Petreius was an officer of experience and ability, who had been in the service more than thirty years. He had filled, with great honour, the various stations of Tribune, and Præfect, and Prætor, and, at length, Lieutenant to the commander in chief (59). The veterans, by consequence, were intimately known to him. Acquainted with their persons, he could distinguish,

A. U. C. 691. by name, the greater number; and, by usefully reminding them of their brave exploits, he infused confidence into all, together with a generous emulation of their former character.

Obstinacy of the engagement. Defeat and death of Catiline.

LXIII. HAVING taken these measures, and sufficiently reconnoitered the ground, Petreius gave orders to sound the charge, directing the line to move forward at a slow, but steady pace. The troops of Catiline made a similar movement. As soon as the two armies drew so near, that the light-armed troops could commence the engagement, seized with mutual impatience, both threw away their javelins, and, with a loud shout, rushed, sword in hand, to the attack. A close action ensued. The veterans, under Petreius, mindful of their former deeds, fell on the rebels with furious valour: The latter, fighting hand to hand, received them with a firmness no less conspicuous. It was the combat of despair, against inflamed resentment.

Meanwhile, in the front of the line, Catiline, with the light troops, performed wonders. He supported the broken ranks: He relieved the wounded with fresh men; and kept a watchful eye on every exigency. Wherever the enemy pressed, there he was ready to charge in person. In a word, he braved danger in all its forms, and manifested himself, at once, a valiant soldier, and a consummate commander.

Petreius, when he perceived such skill and boldness, and that Catiline disputed the field, with far greater vigour than he at first expected, bore down, with the Prætorian Cohort (60), into the thickest of the enemy. The rebels were thrown into confusion. After some resistance, they completely gave way, and a dreadful havoc followed. Having carried his point,

Petreius, without delay, charged both the flanks of his opponent. Manlius, and the native of Fæsulæ, who commanded the rebel wings, were unable to stand before him, and they fell gallantly fighting in the foremost ranks. A. U. C. 691.

Catiline now saw that all was lost; the bulk of his force totally routed, and himself, with only a few followers, maintaining the combat. Mindful of an illustrious descent, and of his former dignity, he resolved to throw no disgrace upon the last moments of his life. Then rushing into the thickest of the enemy, he continued fighting with a brave despair, and was soon stabbed to the heart.

LXIV. When the action closed, the daring valour, and unshaken resolution of the troops of Catiline, were clearly displayed to view; the space of ground, which was occupied, by the soldier, during the conflict, being covered with his body, now dead and motionless. By the impetuosity of the Prætorian Cohort, a few were thrown from the ranks; but they had all involuntarily abandoned their station, and were pierced with honourable wounds. As for Catiline himself, his body was discovered, at a distance from his men, in the midst of the enemy, and among heaps of slain. Some signs of life were still discernible; and his features retained the same savage ferocity, which had animated him, while living. Of the whole rebel army, so determined was the temper, that, neither during the conflict itself, nor in the rout that followed, was a single free-born citizen made prisoner. Resolutely bent on giving no quarter to their adversaries, they had been equally regardless of their own lives (61).

A. U. C. 691. Nor had the army of the republic much to boast. The victory, which they gained, was embittered with sorrow, and purchased with an effusion of blood. The veteran ranks were sorely thinned. Scarcely a man, distinguished for his valour, but had either lost his life, or had left the field, covered with wounds. The crowds, which curiosity, or the love of plunder, attracted to the camp, beheld the field of battle, with strong emotions. In turning over the bodies of the slain, some discovered a friend, or a guest, and some a companion, or a relation; while others, with malicious pleasure, recognized their enemies. The effects, produced throughout the army, were thus opposite and various. They were, like the scene itself, a tumult of intermingled passions, of joy and grief, of regret and congratulation (62.)

END OF THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

NOTES

ON

THE HISTORY

OF THE

CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

NOTES

ON THE

CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

Page 3.

(1.) It would, at first sight, scarcely be imagined, that these introductory words of Sallust involved any doubt or obscurity, or were liable to the cavils of criticism. His proposition, as it is rendered in the text, seems sufficiently obvious; yet it has given rise to no small degree of controversy, among his Translators. The Abbé Thyvon has thought it worth while to compose an entire Dissertation on the subject, and has prefixed it to his translation of Catiline's Conspiracy. In this piece he discovers, that the usual, and, indeed, obvious method of rendering the former part of the passage, is not only injurious to Sallust, but even disgraceful to human nature itself; and to this he has subjoined a most elaborate enquiry, whether the historian had in view the conformation of the human body, and that of brutes, for the purpose of ascertaining the difference between the one and the other? In order, therefore, to set the whole to rights, he proposes, that the pronoun *qui* shall mean *quippe qui*, or *quoniam illi*, and that the adjective *prona* shall, as well as *obedientia*, govern *ventri*. Page 3.

Page 3. In so happy an effort, it were injurious to the ingenuity of M. Thyvon, not to allow him to speak for himself. *On ne trouvera pas mauvais* (says he), *que je n' adopte point un sens si injurieux à Salluste, et si honteux pour l' homme. . La premiére difficulté, que je trouve, est de sçavoir, s'il est nécessaire que l' homme fasse tous ses efforts, pour être au dessus de la bête? S'il n'y est pas, indépendemment de ses efforts? Quelle a été la pensée de Salluste, à cet égard? Et comme on doit entendre ces mots,* Qui student? *La seconde est de sçavoir, si Salluste a eû en vûe la conformation des corps de l'homme et de la bête, pour s'en servir à établir la différence de l'un, et de l'autre? Parce que c'est ce qui doit déterminer ici la signification du mot* Prona. . *Voici comment je fais la construction, et la traduction, mot à mot, de celui-ci;* Veluti pecora, quæ natura finxit prona ventri, atque obedientia ventri; "*De même que les bêtes, que la nature a* "*faites de maniere à n'avoir de pente que pour les sens, et à en être* "*entrainées.*" Dissertat. sur la 1ere. phr. de Sall. pp. 68. 74. 75.

Certainly, an example of more ingenious trifling than this could not well be produced, under the name of criticism. Yet the Abbé Thyvon is not the only writer, who has considered the passage in question as attended with difficulty. The learned Gruter, in order to solve the problem, proposed to leave out the word *animalibus* (or *animantibus*, as some MSS. have it) altogether: M. Le Clerc instituted an enquiry into it, in the 21st volume of his *Bibliothéque Choisie*, and M. Beauzée, without any acknowledgement, has, in a great measure, adopted the Abbé Thyvon's ideas. See Notes Critiques sur Sall. p. 142. To me, I confess, the proposition of Sallust seems so clear, and the sentiment it contains so simple and natural, as not to admit of any doubt, and scarcely of much illustration. In the former part of the passage, we see inculcated an admirable principle, the duty of vindicating, with vigour and diligence, the dignity of our rational nature; and, in the latter part, we can have little hesitation about the meaning of the word *prona*, when we call to mind its well known

application, in a like case, by Ovid, in the First Book of his Metamorphosis; Page 4.

*Prona*que cùm spectent animalia cætera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri,
Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.

Nearly the same idea is expressed by Juvenal, who uses *prona* precisely in a similar sense;

Separat hoc nos
A grege mutorum, atque ideo venerabile soli
Sortiti ingenium, divinorumque capaces,
Atque exercendis, capiendisque artibus apti,
Sensum à cœlesti dimissum traximus arce;
Cujus egent *prona*, et terram spectantia.
Sat. XV. 146.

Or we may adopt the more figurative meaning of the term, as has been done in the translation.—Seneca, in allusion to the sentiment contained in the above passage, in his pointed manner, observes; *Non fames nobis ventris nostri magno constat, sed ambitio. Hos itaque, ut ait Sallustius, ventri obedientes, animalium loco numeremus, non hominum; quosdam verò ne animalium quidem, sed mortuorum.* Epist. L. VIII. 60.

Page 4.

(2.) CICERO, in his Oration for Milo (Sect. XXXV.), has a fine passage on this subject, in which the same idea, as to the acquisition of fame, is introduced, but with a degree of amplitude and illustration, that marks the manner of the great orator, and distinguishes it from that of the historian. Of all the rewards of the great and good, says he, if we fairly consider that subject, is, beyond question, the immortal

Page 4. glory, which they so justly acquire. It is the pleasing hope of deserving the applause of posterity, that chiefly consoles us for the shortness of life; the fond idea, that, though absent, we shall be remembered, that, though dead, we shall survive, in the memory of after-times. It is, in a word, by this animating persuasion, that we seem to rise above the earth, and actually to aspire to the mansions of the skies! *Ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, si esset habenda ratio præmiorum, amplissimum esse præmium gloriam. Esse hanc unam, quæ brevitatem vitæ posteris memoriâ consolaretur; quæ efficeret, ut absentes adessemus, mortui viveremus: Hanc denique esse, cujus gradibus etiam homines in cælum viderentur ascendere!*

(3.) As we, in modern times, borrow from the classical nations of antiquity, so, at Rome, it was the practice, in the purest ages of her literature, to borrow from the Greeks. Nor was this regarded as any proof of poverty of genius: For poets, as well as prose-writers, were proud to have recourse, as to a valuable mine, not only for their diction and idioms, but also for their ideas and sentiments, to the fine compositions of that illustrious people. Quintilian has taken notice how very freely Sallust indulged in the practice; and we shall have occasion, in the course of these Notes, to show the justice of his remark. The present passage, on the fleeting nature of wealth, and beauty, and all such adventitious possessions, seems pretty evidently to have been taken from the First Oration of Isocrates. Ἡγῶ τῶν ἀπεσμάτων πολλὰ πολλῶν εἶναι χρημάτων κρείττω. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ταχέως ἀπολείπει, τὰ δὲ πάντα τὸν χρόνον παραμένει. σοφία δὲ μόνη τῶν κτημάτων ἀθάνατον.

It appears somewhat singular, that none of the numerous translators of Sallust, as far as I know, whether among ourselves, or among foreign nations, the Abbé Thyvon, and M. Beauzée excepted, have thought of giving, to the word *virtus*, in this place, what so obviously is the meaning, intended by the historian, namely, "genius, ability,

distinguished talents." Indeed, the whole tenour of the passage, as well as the scope of the context, leaves no room to doubt the fact. The main objects of comparison, throughout the three first Sections of this Proœmium, or introductory discourse, are not vice and virtue, but body and mind; a listless indolence, and a vigorous, and honourable activity. On this account, it is pretty evident, that, by *virtus*, Sallust could never mean the Greek ἀρετὴ, "virtue or moral worth," but that he had in his eye the well-known interpretation of Varro, who considers it, *ut viri vis* (De Ling. Latin. IV.), as denoting that useful energy, which enobles a man, and should chiefly distinguish him among his fellow creatures. In order to be convinced of the justice of this rendering, we need only turn to another passage of our author, in the Second Section of the Proœmium to the Jugurthine War, where the same train of thought is again pursued, although he gives it somewhat a different turn, in the piece last mentioned. The object, notwithstanding, of both these Discourses is to illustrate, in a striking manner, the pre-eminence of the mind, over extrinsic advantages, or bodily endowments, and to show, that it is by genius alone, that we may aspire to a reputation, which shall never die. *Igitur præclara facies, magnæ divitiæ, adhoc vis corporis, et alia hujusmodi omnia brevi dilabuntur: At ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt.* Page 4.

(4.) In this passage our author, it seems, has incurred the severe censure of some critics, for his ignorance of history, in stating Cyrus to have been the first conqueror, after the period of barbarism. It is utterly impossible that any well-educated person, among the Romans, could be ignorant of the priority, in point of time, attributed to Sesostris, Ninus, Semiramis, and other princes of the east; but they were considered as belonging rather to the heroic, or fabulous ages, than to those of sober, and authentic history. In this department, both the Greeks and Romans held Herodotus as their earliest guide;

Page 5. and he commences his account, with the reign of Cyrus. It was, therefore, natural for Sallust, in the slight glance, which he takes, of the revolutions of empires, to ascend no higher than the time of that prince. Even the Trojan war is not noticed by our author; because he probably regarded it, according to the opinion of his age, as too much disfigured by fable, and too much involved in uncertainty, to merit commemoration, in an historical narrative.

(5.) THE same maxim, which is here delivered, had before been laid down by Polybius, in speaking of Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, and an able general of the Carthaginians; whose genius and military skill easily triumphed over an army of Numidian, and other insurgents; because the latter, though formidable in point of numbers, possessed, in a far inferior degree, both the one quality, and the other. *Τότε γὰρ ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε συνιδεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας, πηλίκην ἔχει διαφορὰν ἐμπειρία μεθοδικὴ, καὶ στρατηγικὴ δύναμις, ἀπειρίας καὶ τριβῆς ἀλόγου στρατιωτικῆς.* L. I. 84. p. 119. Edit. Gronov.

Page 5.

(6.) SENECA, in his Epistles, has some spirited remarks upon the same subject. He alone, says that amiable moralist, can be truly said to live, that devotes himself to some purpose of usefulness and activity. The man, who indulges in apathy, and sinks into forgetfulness, renders his house like a sepulchre, in which he is virtually entombed. There we may place a monument on the threshold, and inscribe it with the name of the owner, as, in fact, he has anticipated his own funeral. Between a life of apathy, and a life of retirement, however, there is an essential difference; as great, indeed, as between existence and the grave; although retirement, in my mind, is little else than being buried alive, unless enobled with the occupations of literature. *Vivit is, qui se utitur. Qui verò latitant et torpent, sic in domo suo sunt, tanquam in conditivo. Horum licet in limene ipso*

nomen marmori inscribas, mortem suam antecesserunt. . Multùm interest inter otium et conditorium. Otium sine literis mors est, et vivi hominis sepultura. Epist. LX. LXXXII. Page 6.

Page 6.

(7.) AULUS GELLIUS, in a commentary, which he gives on this passage, and in which he vindicates Sallust, from the cavils of certain critics of that day, who were ignorant of his meaning, explains *arduum* by the Greek words δυσχερὴς or χαλεπὸς, that is, irksome, troublesome, or inconvenient, as well as arduous or difficult. This is the idea, kept in view in the translation; and it makes the sense entirely coincide with the illustration added by Sallust, when he adverts, not only to the difficulty, which the historian must encounter, in producing a style, adapted to his subject, but also states the irksomeness of being exposed, after he has done his best, to the various, and contradictory caprices of his readers. *Obnoxiam quippe, et objectam falsis existimationibus, eam rem dicendam magìs aiunt, quàm arduam. Quia, quod arduum est, sui operis difficultate est arduum, non opinionis alienæ erroribus. Hæc illi malevoli reprehensores dicunt. Sed* arduum *Sallustius non pro difficili tantùm, sed pro eo quoque ponit, quod Græci* δυσχερὲς, *aut* χαλεπὸν *appellant; quod est tum difficile, tum molestum, quoque et incommodum, et intrectabile. Quorum verborum significatio à sententiâ Sallustii non abhorret.* Noct. Att. L. IV. 15

The whole of the passage of Sallust in question seems to be imitated from the Second Book of Thucydides; but, though the sentiment is the same, it is here, as in other instances, far more compressed, than in the Greek historian. The words of Thucydides are a part of the Oration, spoken by Pericles, at the public funeral, voted to the heroes, who died for their country, in the last year of the Peloponnesian War. Χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν, ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιῶται. ὅ, τε γὰρ ξυνειδὼς καὶ εὔνους ἀκροατὴς, τάχ' ἄν τι ἐνδεεστέρως πρὸς ἃ βούλεταί τε καὶ ἐπίσταται, νομίσειε δηλῶσθαι· ὅ, τε ἄπειρος, ἔστιν ἃ καὶ

Pages 7. 8. πλεονάζεσθαι, διὰ φθόνον, εἴτι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτῶ φυσιν ἀκέοι. μέχρι γὰρ τῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπαινοί εἰσι περὶ ἑτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαί τι, ὧν ἤκεσε· τῷ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φθονῆντες ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστῦσιν. L. II. p. 103. Edit. Hudson.

(8.) See Essay First, p. 21. & seqq.

Page 7.

(9.) There is no topic, on which our author has more innocently incurred censure, from Symmachus, for example, and several others, than his declaring Agriculture and the Chace to be "servile employments," *Servilia officia.* A slight attention, however, to the true scope of this preliminary essay, which, as I have remarked above, is to show the pre-eminence of mental endowments, will convince us, that the historian's meaning is misapprehended. He had, by no means, as is supposed by these critics, forgotten the honourable toils of the Curii, or the Cincinnati, nor did he wish to detract from the dignity of their character. He intended only to represent Agriculture and the Chace as servile pursuits, when put in competition with the higher efforts of the intellect. Historical composition, as one of these, is deservedly placed above the sports, or labours of the field; because, says he, they are employments, in which the mind comparatively has little share. This, accordingly, is the sense, which is adopted in the translation.

Page 8.

(10.) The concise, and rapid manner, in which Sallust touches on events, and delineates characters, does not admit of his entering into minute particulars. He, therefore, does not inform us of the particular family, from which Catiline drew his origin, or of several other circumstances of his life, that might merit the notice of the reader.

Catiline was descended from the illustrious house of the Sergii, and not from that of the Cornelii, as some have erroneously conjectured. See Vell. Paterc. L. II. 34.—Ascon. Pedian. in Cic.—Port. Latron. Declam. in Catilin.—Plin. Hist. Natur. L. VII. 28.—Ammian. Marcellin. L. XXV. He was the son of Q. Sergius, who was Quæstor at Rome, during the Social War; in which capacity he served, with reputation, at the siege of Asculum. Catiline was born, about the year of the City 645, during the Consulship of Sulpitius Galba and Æmilius Scaurus, and was the first who had the surname of *Catilina*, i. e. the Spoiler or Plunderer (derived, according to Festus, from the word *Catillatio*); and which, as it is said, was bestowed on him, on account of his oppression and exactions, while governor of Africa. Page 8.

The Sergian family was, without doubt, among the most antient, and illustrious of the republic. Virgil (Æneid. L. V. 121.) derives it from Sergestus, one of the companions of Æneas, after the siege of Troy;

> Sergestusque, domus tenuit à quo Sergia nomen,
> Centauro invehitur magno;

and there were two of his descendants, one of whom flourished as early as the time of Romulus, and that of Tarquin the Proud. From the former, the 18th Tribe of Rome derived the appellation of the Sergian. But the most justly celebrated of the whole, was M. Sergius Silus, the great-grandfather of Catiline, who so eminently distinguished himself against Hannibal, during the second Punic War. In the opinion of the elder Pliny, who enumerates his exploits, no character upon record could justly be preferred to him, notwithstanding the shade, which the name of Catiline has thrown upon his family. *M. Sergio, ut quidem arbitror, nemo quemquam hominum jure prætulerit, licet pronepos Catilina gloriam nomini deroget.* Hist. Nat. L. VII. 28.

Page 8. There was, also, a brother of this Sergius, viz. Caius Sergius Silus, surnamed Orata, of whom Cicero, in the treatise called Hortensius, or *De Philosophiâ*, gives a most pleasing character, and who was not less remarkable, in the annals of luxury, than his brother Marcus, in those of war. The appellation of Orata, it seems, was given to him, on account of his predilection for gold fishes, of which he delighted in propagating, and improving the breed. Varr. de Re Rust. L. III. 3.—Columel. L. VIII. 16.—Macrob. Saturnal. L. II. 11. He was the first, that practised the confining, and feeding of oysters, and other kinds of fish, in ponds, or sea-inclosures *(Maria)*, constructed with vast labour and expense; thus forcing Neptune, as Valerius Maximus observes, to minister to his entertainments, and his luxury, and constantly preserving the variety of his dishes, in spite of the waves, and the tempests. *Ne gulam Neptuni arbitrio subjectam haberet, peculiaria sibi maria excogitavit; æstuariis intercipiendo fluctus, pisciumque diversos greges separatos molibus includendo, ut nulla tam sæva tempestas incideret, qua non Oratæ mensæ varietate ferculorum abundarent.* Exemp. Memorab. L. IX. 1. i. Orata likewise invented hanging baths at Rome, and the method of introducing heated air and water, into the houses of the rich and luxurious. See Valer. Max. ubi sup.—Plin. Hist. Natur. L. IX. 74.—Sen. Epist. XCI. &c.

(11.) The real distinction, between the epithets *Malus* and *Pravus*, does not seem to have been made by translators, in this place. *Malus* applies to that species of wickedness, which is radical, and inherent by nature; *Pravus* to that, which is the fruit of habit, and of exercise.

(12.) It is with good reason that our author represents Catiline as an adept in vice, and early familiar with scenes of blood and tumult. While yet a youth, he was the particular favourite of Sylla, and frequently employed, as the instrument of the monstrous cruelties, com-

mitted by order of that tyrant. In fact, there was no species of atrocity or crime, of which Catiline was not often guilty. He assassinated Q. Cæcilius, who had married his sister Sergia, from the apprehension, that a jealous husband might disturb the incestuous commerce, which he openly carried on with that infamous woman. By Sylla's orders, he exercised the most horrible barbarities on M. Marius Gratidianus (uncle to Cicero), whose only crime was that of being the brother, or, perhaps, the uncle of Caius Marius. Having driven him, like a dog, through the streets of Rome, to the tomb of the Lutatian family, which was situated beyond the Tiber, there to be sacrificed to the manes of Catulus, whom Marius had formerly put to death; Catiline ordered his limbs to be broken, his eyes torn out, his hands and ears cut off, and his whole body to be cut and mangled, with the most ferocious cruelty. And, what is unequalled, says Valerius Maximus, in the annals of barbarity, M. Pretorius, who chanced to be standing by, and swooned away at so shocking a spectacle, was massacred on the spot, as the punishment of his compassion! *Novus punitor misericordiæ, apud quem iniquo animo scelus intueri, scelus admittere fuit!* After glutting his rage against the unhappy Gratidianus, and carrying his head, in triumph, from the Janiculum to the temple of Apollo, he deliberately proceeded to wash the blood from his hands, in a fountain near the spot, which was sacred to that deity. See Quint. Cic. De Petit. Consulat. III.—Ascon. Pedian. in Tog. Candid.—Sen. de Irâ, L. III. 18.—Valer. Max. L. IX. 2. i.—Plutarch. in Syll. &c. *Dignus erat Marius* (as Seneca observes, who seems to have had no opinion of any of the parties), *qui illa pateretur, Sylla qui juberet, Catilina qui faceret.* Lucan, after describing the horrours of the scene, and supposing it revolting to the gentle spirit of the deceased Catulus, says, that it was almost incredible, how ingenuity of torture so various could be exercised upon any single individual; Page 8.

Page 8.

Cui victima tristes
Inferias Marius, forsan nolentibus umbris,
Pendit inexpleto non fando piacula busto. .
Vix erat ulla fides, tam sævi criminis unum
Tot pœnas cepisse caput!
Pharsal. L. II. 175. 186.

From these anecdotes, we may form some idea of the manner, in which Catiline, during his youth, was trained to familiarity with every sort of crime; and to this he added an unrestrained indulgence in luxury and vice, in profusion and debauchery. Besides the crimes of seducing a Vestal virgin, and deliberately murdering his own son (both of which are noticed by Sallust), he is also said, first to have had an intrigue with a lady of distinction at Rome, and afterwards to have married the daughter, who was the fruit of that illicit commerce! Hence Cicero (Orat. in Tog. Cand.) publicly accuses him of having found both a *mistress* and a *daughter*, by the same act of criminality; *Ex eodem stupro, tibi et uxorem, et filiam invenisti!*

After the death of Sylla, Catiline passed the greater part of his time among gladiators and buffoons, the former the instruments of his daring assassinations, the latter the ministers of his licentious pleasures. There was not a profligate character in Rome, from the highest Patrician to the lowest of the mob, a Curius, and an Annius in the Senate, a Pompilius, and a Vettius among the Knights, and a Sapala, and a Carvilius among the People, that was not united to him in the closest intimacy. See Q. Cic. De Petit. Consulat. III. His illustrious birth, however, and, above all, his talents for intrigue, procured an influence in the popular assemblies, and enabled him, as soon as his age would permit, to stand candidate for the offices of the state.

In the year of the City 674, or, in 676, soon after Sylla's death, he became Quæstor, and Lieutenant under Curio, in the army in Macedonia, where he distinguished himself by valour, and considerable military services. In 685, he obtained the Prætorship; and the government of Africa fell to him by lot, in the following year. In that

situation, he exercised a series of extortions, unexampled in the annals of provincial rapacity; and these, it is said, gave rise, not only to the surname of *Catilina*, but to the judicial prosecution by Clodius, at the instance of the Africans. It was while this suit was pending, that Catiline formed the design of his first Conspiracy, of which the origin and failure are recorded by Sallust. Page 8.

(13.) TACITUS, who is the professed imitator of Sallust, has, in numberless instances, copied the manner, and even the ideas of his master. The portrait of Sejanus is thus delineated by Tacitus, in the Fourth Book of his Annals, and is clearly taken from the character of Catiline: *Corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax, suî obtegens, in alios criminator, justà adulatio et superbia; palàm compositus pudor; intus summa adpiscendi lubido; ejusque causâ non modò largitio et luxus, sæpiùs industria ac vigilantia, haud minùs noxiæ, quotiens parando regno finguntur.* The character of Galba is given in the same style: *Famæ nec incuriosus, nec venditator. Pecuniæ alienæ appetens, suæ parcus, publicæ avarus.* Hist. L. I. 49. Marked and obvious as the resemblance here is, as well as in many other places, that could be mentioned, critics are not wanting, and those too of respectability and learning, who confidently assure us, that Tacitus is wholly an *original* author, and too proud, or too great, to borrow from any of his predecessors! I have endeavoured, in Note 35, of Essay Second, to set this errour in its true light, and to do justice to both historians. There will be frequent occasion hereafter to notice the subject.

(14.) IN order to complete this masterly portrait, there should be added, to this Section, the 14th, 15th, and 16th, that follow afterwards: For these, though separated from the present Section, by a retrospective view of the commonwealth, form, in fact, a part of the picture, intended to be held up, of the temper and manners of Catiline.

It will probably not be unpleasing, to the classical reader, to compare, with this, another able delineation, and also from a great master,

Page 8. who well knew, and had studied the genius of the man. Cicero describes him, as the most striking compound of contrary qualities; horribly depraved, but wonderfully versatile; and, if not actually possessed of virtue, yet ingenious, on every occasion, to assume its semblance, to seduce its adherents, and to turn the arts, by which it is displayed, to the most flagitious purposes. *Habuit ille (Catilina), sicuti meminisse vos arbitror, permulta maximarum non expressa signa, sed adumbrata virtutum. Utebatur hominibus improbis multis; et quidem optimis se viris deditum esse simulabat. Erant apud illum illecebræ libidinum multæ: Erant etiam industriæ quidem stimuli ac laboris. Flagrabant vitia libidinis apud illum: Vigebant etiam studia rei militaris. Neque ego unquam fuisse tale monstrum in terris ullum puto, tam ex contrariis, diversisque, inter se pugnantibus naturæ studiis cupiditatibusque, conflatum. Quis clarioribus viris quodam tempore jucundior? quis turpioribus conjunctior? Quis civis meliorum partium aliquando? quis tætrior hostis huic civitati? Quis in voluptatibus inquinatior? quis in laboribus patientior? Quis in rapacitate avarior? quis in largitione effusior? Illa, verò, in illo homine mirabilia fuerunt, comprehendere multos amicitiâ, tueri obsequio; cum omnibus communicare quod habebat; servire temporibus suorum omnium pecuniâ, gratiâ, labore corporis, scelere etiam, si opus esset, et audaciâ: Versare suam naturam, et regere ad tempus, atque huc et illuc torquere et flectere; cum tristibus severè, cum remissis jucunè, cum senibus graviter, cum juventute comiter, cum facinorosis audaciter, cum libidinosis l. xuriosè vivere. Hac illâ tam variâ, multiplicique naturâ, cùm omnes omnibus ex terris homines improbos audacesque collegerat; tum etiam multos fortes viros et bonos specie quadam virtutis assimulatæ tenebat.* Orat. pro Cœl. V. VI.

As Cicero delighted, both publicly and privately (indeed, *usque ad nauseam*), to dwell on the glory of his own Consulship, and, consequently, on the enormities of Catiline; or, as Plutarch says, Οὔτε γὰρ βελὴν, οὔτε δῆμον, οὔτε δικαστήριον ἦν συνελθεῖν, ἐν ᾧ μὴ Κατιλίναν εἶδε

ἀγυλλόμενον ἀπῆσαι καὶ Λέντλον; so there are, in his writings, several other eloquent passages, in which he describes the extraordinary qualities of this chief conspirator. See, particularly, Orat. in Catilin. II. 4. 5. Pro Syll. &c. See, likewise, the Declamation of Porcius Latro, a celebrated rhetorician of the following age, Sect. IX. Of the two candidates, who were competitors with him for the Consulship, Antonius and Catiline, Cicero used to say, that in high birth, and several other circumstances, they resembled each other: But, in regard to personal courage, the case was widely different. While Antonius trembled at his own shadow, Catiline was afraid of neither Gods nor men. Page 9.

Page 9.

(15.) THE account, given by our author, concerning the foundation of Rome, is the one generally current among the Roman writers, whether poets or historians. As modern critics, however, have been found, sufficiently sceptical to call in question altogether the existence of the Trojan War, so others have as pertinaciously denied the migration of Æneas to Italy. At the head of the authors last mentioned stands the learned Bochart, who, in a Letter to his friend M. Segrais, examines the point with great ingenuity. His opinion is founded on the three following grounds. 1st, That the account, given by Virgil, of Æneas's history, differs considerably from that of Homer, who tells us, that that celebrated chief reigned over the Trojans, on the extinction of the family of Priam. 2dly, That the evidence, afforded by both history and tradition, tends to prove the reality of the reign of Priam's sons, as well as of Æneas, in the Troad, i. e. at Scepsis and Antandros. And, 3dly, That neither the religion of the Trojans, of which M. Bochart enumerates the divinities, nor their language, of which he diligently collects the remaining expressions, seems in any wise to resemble the religion, or the language of the ancient Romans.

Page 9. These reasons are specious: But they do not appear to be sufficient to overturn a belief so widely diffused, and opinions so long, and so uniformly entertained. The supposed incongruity between Homer and Virgil is of no great importance; as it was very possible for Æneas to have reigned over the Trojans, although he did not reign over them in Phrygia: And as to the evidence that he reigned in the Troad, it seems to be far more than counterbalanced, by a crowd of authorities, by accounts and monuments of the highest antiquity, all tending to establish an opposite conclusion; and the greater number are brought forward, with equal industry and learning, by M. Bochart himself.

Without doubt, the argument to be drawn from similarity of religion and language is, of all others, the most satisfactory, in tracing the remote origin, and connection of nations; and there would be some ground for admitting the weight of M. Bochart's reasonings from that topic, if it could be brought to bear upon the present point. Had this ingenious scholar lived to peruse the enquiries of a Squire, a Passeri, a Monboddo, and others, into the real origin of the Greek, and Etruscan languages, and their affinity to that of Rome, he probably would have seen cause to alter his sentiments. In the time of the Romans, there were antiquaries, much better qualified than we are, both by opportunity and information, to decide the question, concerning the foundation of their city. Dionysius Halicarnassensis, in particular, the first part of whose history has come down to us, has treated the subject with great learning. That indefatigable writer was neither biassed by the prejudices, nor misled by the vanity, of a native Roman, in respect to the antiquity of his nation: He had resided two-and-twenty years at Rome, for the purpose of collecting materials for his historical work; and he had the advantage of living about nineteen centuries nearer, than ourselves, to the time of the Trojan War. Yet the result of his enquiries, both from an examination of antient monuments, and a comparison of the antient dialects of Greece and Italy, is in opposition to the theory of the French critic. He refers the

peopling of the latter country, and the founding of Rome, to several different colonies of Greeks; making the first to arrive, under Oenotrus, about seventeen generations before the War of Troy, and the last, under Æneas, after the final destruction of that city. See Essay Second, sub. init., and Notes 5. 6. & seqq. The theory of M. Bochart is somewhat like our late theories of the earth. It is extremely easy for men of learning to support, with plausible arguments, almost any system concerning the early ages of mankind, when once they resolve to give a loose to conjecture, and disregard the evidence of the antient historians. Page 10.

(16.) CATO, in his *Origines*, observes; *Primò Italiam tenuisse quosdam, qui Aborigines appellabantur; sed postea, adveniente Æneâ, Phrygibus junctos Latinos uno nomine nuncupatos.*

Page 10.

(17.) IT is a principle with the Romans, says Polybius, and deserving of the highest praise, that whatever injury or injustice is committed by individuals, it is the bounden duty of the republic to avenge; and they as constantly give succour to their friends in distress. Ῥωμαίοις μὲν κάλλιστον ἦθος ἐστὶ τὰ κατ' ἰδίαν ἀδικήματα κοινῇ μετατορεύεσθαι, καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις. L. II. p. 134. Edit. Gronov.

(18.) THIS seems to be taken from Thucydides, who makes Pericles say of the Athenians, that their uniform method of procuring friends, was not by receiving, but conferring favours: Οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ, ἀλλὰ δρῶντες, κτώμεθα τὺς φίλους. L. II. p. 106. Edit. Hudson.; to which the following admirable reflection is added by the historian. He who confers an obligation upon another, is ever the surest to continue steady in his friendship. The same benevolent temper, which prompted him to serve his friend, will generate a wish to continue the kindness, and secure his attachment. But the man, who labours under

Page 11. the weight of an obligation, experiences a feeling of far less alacrity: Gratitude, with him, is not an effort of generosity, but the repayment of a debt. Βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν, ὥστε ὀφειλομένην δι' εὐνοίας, ᾧ δέδωκε σώζειν· ὁ δ' ἀντοφείλων, ἀμβλύτερος, εἰδὼς ἐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδώσων. The younger Seneca has likewise imitated the thought; but he runs too much into diffusion; and, by endeavouring to give it a more ingenious turn, by no means improves on the Greek original. See Epist. LXXXI.

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(19.) THE Senate at Rome was instituted by Romulus, as the perpetual Council of the State. It consisted, in the beginning, of one hundred members, who were chosen from among the nobles. Dionys. Halicarnass. L. II. 12. Of these, three were named by each of the three original Tribes, and three by each of the thirty Curiæ, making, in all, ninety-nine; to which number Romulus himself added one, who was to preside in the Senate, during the prince's absence from the city. The Senators were called *Patres,* for the reason assigned, by Sallust, in the text, and their offspring *Patricii,* or Nobles. As to the origin of the name of *Patres,* Dionysius Halicarnassensis says; Εἴτε διὰ τὸ πρεσβεύειν ἡλικίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων, εἴθ' ὅτι παῖδες αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, εἴτε διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆ γένες· εἴτε διὰ πάντα ταῦτα. The number of Senators was at different periods encreased. In the time of Sylla, who added to it, it was at least four hundred (Cic. Epist. ad Attic. L. I. 14.); in that of Julius Cæsar nine hundred (Dion. Cass. L. XLIII. 47.); and, after his death, it amounted to no fewer than a thousand: But it was judiciously retrenched, and fixed at six hundred, by Augustus. See Sueton. in Aug. XXXV.—Dion. Cass. L. LIV. 14. The Senators created by Romulus were distinguished by the title of *Patres majorum gentium;* those appointed by succeeding monarchs, *Patres minorum gentium.*

It may here be proper, for the information of the young student, Page 11.
to give an explanation of the expression *Patres Conscripti*, which he so frequently finds in classical authors, as applied to the Senators, when assembled for deliberation. Those, who were appointed by Junius Brutus, after the expulsion of Tarquin, the last of the Roman monarchs, in order to supply the place of others, whom that tyrant had put to death, were said to be *Conscripti*, i. e. written down, or enrolled among the original members of the Senate. Hence the appellation of *Patres Conscripti* (i. e. *Patres* et *Conscripti*) was afterwards applied to the whole body of the Senators. *Quò plus virium in Senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, cædibus regis deminutum Patrum numerum, primoribus Equestris gradûs lectis, ad trecentorum summam explevit: Traditumque indè fertur, ut in Senatum vocarentur, qui Patres, quique Conscripti essent; conscriptos, videlicet, in novum Senatum appellabant lectos.* Liv. L. II. 1. fin.

Cicero, in his eloquent pleading for Sextius, gives the following account of the appointment of the Senate, and the important objects, for which it was constituted. *Majores nostri, cùm regum potestatem non tulissent, ità magistratus annuos creaverunt, ut consilium Senatûs reipublicæ præponerent sempiternum: Diligerentur autem in id consilium, ab universo populo, aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium civium industriæ ac virtuti pateret. Senatum reipublicæ custodem, præsidem, propugnatorem collocaverunt, hujus ordinis auctoritate uti magistratus, et quasi ministros gravissimi consilii esse voluerunt: Senatum autem ipsum proximorum ordinum splendore confirmari, plebis libertatem et commoda tueri, atque augere voluerunt.*

(20.) This revolution was brought about, by the profligacy of Sextus Tarquinius, son to Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh, and last of the Roman kings. Having been hospitably admitted into the house of Lucretia, in the absence of her husband Collatinus, he took

Page 11. the opportunity, at midnight, to ravish the wife of his friend. Lucretia immediately sent for her father, and her husband, who came, accompanied by Brutus and Valerius. In their presence, she recounted her wrongs; and, imprecating vengeance on the head of the adulterer, she heroically stabbed herself. The People, at the instance of Brutus, immediately flew to arms; and, having expelled the Tarquins, they abolished for ever the regal title. Hence Seneca says (Consol. ad Marc. XVI.), *Bruto libertatem debemus, Lucretiæ Brutum.* The character of this celebrated woman has descended, with high veneration, to posterity; insomuch, that Lucretia is still considered as another name for female chastity and virtue. See Cic. de Fin. L. II. 20. De Legg. L. II. 4.—Val. Maxim. L. VI. 1. i.—Dionys. Halicarnass. L. IV. 64. & seqq. The story is also told, at large, by Ovid, in Fast. L. II. 721.—853: But it is far better told by Livy, L. I. 57.—59., from whom the poet has obviously copied it.

(21.) It is a mistake to imagine, from a casual expression of our author's, or from the partial representation of any ancient writer, that *civil liberty*, in its true sense, was ever enjoyed by the Roman People. The regal power, indeed, was overturned, and the people were amused with a show of freedom; but it was, to them, only oppression in a different shape; as it mattered little, whether they experienced the latter, from a single tyrant, or from the caprice and pride of an insolent oligarchy. Of course, as often as they themselves possessed the power, they were sure to break out, into the most intolerable licentiousness. One of the ablest of their writers, who had closely studied their character, gives the following admirable definition of what was regarded, as the *ne plus ultrà* of enjoyment, in respect to freedom, among a people, whose political condition has so often, but so unjustly, among us, been a subject of envy. The man, says he, is considered as possessing true liberty at Rome, who has power to disregard the Senate and the magistrates, the laws and the tribunals; who, in

a word, can set at nought the whole of the manners, and institutions of our ancestors, whether in the administration of the commonwealth, or the discipline of the camp. *Ea demum libertas Romæ est, non Senatus, non magistratus, non leges, non mores majorum, non instituta patrum, non disciplinam vereri militiæ.* Liv. L. V. Page 12.

(22.) The Roman youth, when they had completed their 17th year, laid aside the *Toga prætexta*, and put on the *Toga virilis*, or manly gown; at which age they were considered, as fit for military service *(Militiæ patientes)*. That they sometimes bore arms earlier appears from Vegetius (L. I. 4. *Incipiente pubertate*); and also from the law, framed by Caius Gracchus, to prohibit the enlisting of youth, until their seventeenth year. See Plutarch. in Gracch. Silius Italicus, in mentioning the subject of military service, seems to corroborate the sentiment of Vegetius;

Rubescit miles castris, galeâque teruntur
Nondum signata flavâ lanugine mala.

Page 12.

(23.) The Romans omitted not any means, that the brightest rewards, and the most flattering distinctions could suggest, of promoting valour in the field; and, accordingly, no nation on earth ever surpassed them, in acts of heroism. They had, 1st, the Civic Crown *(Corona Civica)*, which was bestowed on him, who had saved the life of a citizen (Cic. Orat. pro Planc. XXX.—Liv. L. VI. 20. X. 46. —Aul. Gell. L. V. 6. &c.): 2dly, The Crown of the Camp *(Corona vallaris, v. castrensis)*, conferred for the exploit of first mounting the enemy's rampart (Val. Maxim. L. I. 8.): 3dly, The Mural Crown *(Corona Muralis)*, for first scaling the walls of a city, during an assault (Liv. L. XXVI. 48.): 4thly, The Naval Crown *(Corona Navalis)*, for first boarding the ship of an enemy (Fest. in voc.—

Page 12. Aul. Gell. L. V. 6.): 5thly, The Golden Crown, for any singular or uncommon act of courage (Liv. L. VII. 10. 26.): And, 6thly, the Crown of Blockade *(Corona Obsidionalis)*; which last was bestowed, by the soldiers, on the general, who freed an army from a blockade: It was made of the grass, which grew in the place, where the troops had been blocked up, and was held as the greatest of all military honours (Liv. L. VII. 37.—Plin. Hist. Natur. L. XXII. 4. 5.—Aul. Gell. L. V. 6.). Besides these, there were several other inferior rewards, such as the *Vexillum, Phaleræ, Torques, Armillæ*, &c.

These presents, or premiums, were always conferred in the field, in the most public manner, and by the general of the army, excepting only the *Corona Obsidionalis*, as above mentioned. They were ever after worn, on all public occasions; and those, who could boast of them, were treated with extraordinary respect. When any person, having the Civic Crown, appeared at the spectacles, he sat next the Senate; and the whole audience rose up to receive him, as he entered. See Plin. Hist. Natur. L. XXI. 4. Well might Sallust say of the unrivalled valour of his countrymen; *Talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper, aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus; virtus omnia domuerat.* Lucan, who, with all his faults, has some of the most beautiful sentiments of any poet of antiquity, said afterwards, with no less justice than energy, of the same unconquerable spirit;

Sitis, ardor, arenæ,
Dulcia virtuti; gaudet patientia duris;
Lætius est, quoties magno sibi constat honestum.

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(24.) The perpetual wars, in which the Romans were engaged, during the five first centuries of their history, were utterly hostile to the

cultivation of eloquence or literature (See Essay Second, Notes 1. 2.); pursuits, as Cicero observes, which are incompatible with war and tumult, with the caprice of tyranny, or the changefulness of revolution. In truth, says he, the Muses are the companions of peace, and the favourites of freedom; and they cannot exist, except amidst perfect security, and wise political institutions. *Nec in constituentibus rempublicam, nec in bella gerentibus, nec in impeditis, ac regum dominatione devinctis, nasci cupiditas dicendi solet. Pacis est comes, otiique socia, et jam bene constitutæ civitatis quasi alumna quædam, eloquentia.* De Clar. Orator. XII. Page 13.

(25.) Δυοιν ὄντων δι' ὧν σώζεται πολίτευμα πᾶν, τῆς πρὸς τὰς πολεμίους ἀνδρείας, καὶ τῆς πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτὰς ὁμονοίας. Polyb. L. VI. p. 681. Edit. Gronov.

(26.) *Hæc enim ratio ac magnitudo animorum in majoribus nostris fuit, ut cùm, in privatis rebus, suisque sumptibus, minimo contenti, tenuissimo cultu viverent; in imperio, atque in publicâ dignitate, omnia ad gloriam splendoremque revocarent. Queritur enim, in re domesticâ, continentiæ laus, in publicâ dignitatis.* Cic. Orat. pro Flacc. XII. Horace (Carm. L. II. 15.), in contrasting the simple manners of the antient Romans with the luxury of his own times, has the following beautiful encomium on the former, in which he touches nearly on the same topics, as Cicero and Sallust had done before him.

Non ita Romuli
Præscriptum, et intonsi Catonis
Auspiciis, veterumque normâ.
Privatus census illis erat brevis,
Commune magnum: Nulla decempedis
Metata privatis opacam
Porticus excipiebat Arcton:

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Nec fortuitum spernere cespitem
Leges sinebant; oppida publico
Sumptu jubentes, et Deorum
Templa novo decorare saxo.

(27.) POLYBIUS, in his account of the first Punic War, attributes the success of the Roman armies, and their superiority to their opponents, in a great measure, to their admirable discipline; in conformity to which, he says, the man, who deserted his post, or swerved from his rank, in the day of battle, was uniformly punished with death. Ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν ἐθισμῶν διαφορὰ, καὶ τότε καὶ πολλάκις ἤδη σέσωκε τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα. τὸ γὰρ προστιμον παρ' αὐτοῖς, θάνατός ἐστι τῷ προεμένῳ τὸν τόπον, καὶ φογόντι τὸ παράπαν ἐξ ἐφεδρείας. L. I. p. 23. Edit. Gronov.

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(28.) ΚΑΙ τοῦτο πολλῷ ξυμφερώτερον ἡγεῖμαι, ἐς τὴν κάθεξιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἥκοντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικηθῆναι, ἢ δικαίως ἕς μὴ δεῖ διαφθαρεαι. Thucyd. L. III. The whole of this, and of the two foregoing Sections, exhibit, without doubt, a delightful picture, delineated in our author's best manner, and adorned with some of the most pleasing specimens of his energy and eloquence. But it is proper to observe, that descriptions of this sort, among the Roman historians, as well as poets, though just in part, are often too highly coloured. Cicero, Sallust, and Livy, Tacitus, Florus, and other writers, while they were allowably proud of the glory of their country, were apt to forget, amidst a blaze of civil, as well as military virtues, that dazzled in its character, the monstrous excesses of tyranny, and cruelty, and gross injustice, with which it was disfigured. No man will deny, that the great arts of war and government the Romans might justly claim as their own,

Duo sunt, quibus extulit ingens' Page 14.
Roma caput, virtus belli, et sapientia pacis.

During the four first centuries of the republic, and even during the two that followed, until the conquest of Greece, and the destruction of Carthage, they exercised, in a great degree, the virtues of courage, of patience, of prudence, and fortitude, although with a considerable portion of that inflexible sternness, which was inseparable from their character: And Sallust, who omits no opportunity of lashing the vices of more cultivated periods, has, in order to enhance his contrast, rather exaggerated those early virtues, and artfully kept in the shade all the unamiable qualities, with which they were blended. In the commencement, however, of his great History, as appears from a fragment, preserved by Servius and St. Augustin, he has expressed himself with greater freedom, and, perhaps, may be said to have spoken out more upon the subject, than most of their writers. See Fragment. L. I. But, from the time that the commonwealth was left without a rival, what were the ruling vices of its government? Enormous ambition, dissention, and injustice; while the private character of its citizens was avarice and luxury, at once the worst, as Sallust says, and, to appearance, the most inconsistent of vices. The Romans, it is true, after being themselves civilized, by the arts and manners of Greece, in their turn, spread cultivation and knowledge over a vast portion of the habitable globe; but it was always at the expence of the peaceful countries which they overran, and the unoffending nations whom they sacrificed. To form any thing like an impartial judgment concerning this celebrated people, we must endeavour to divest ourselves of classical impressions, and popular prejudices: We must make a due allowance, both for national partiality in them, and for the fascinating influence, on ourselves, of their inimitable compositions. In this sober view, if their character be to be summed up,

Page 15. it must be in terms very different from the senseless panegyrics, that have sometimes been pronounced upon it.—As a nation, although they were able, magnanimous, and wise, they were, at the same time, no less selfish, tyrannical, and profligate.

(29.) FLORUS, in his representations, is tolerably candid. In making some reflections upon the condition of the commonwealth, after the third Punic War, he thus speaks: *Hactenus populus Romanus pulcher, egregius, pius, sanctus, atque magnificus: Reliqua seculà, ut grandia æquè, ita vel magìs turbida, et foeda, crescentibus, cum ipsâ magnitudine imperii, vitiis; adeò ut si quis hanc tertiam ejus ætatem transmarinam, quam ducentorum annorum fecimus, dividat; centum hos priores, quibus Africam, Macedoniam, Siciliam, Hispaniam domuit,* aureos *(sicut poëtæ canunt) jure meritòque fateatur; centum sequentes,* ferreos *planè, et cruentes, et si quid immaniùs . . tum ad illa civium scelera, turpesque, et impias pugnas revertemur.* L. II. 19.

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(30.) IT has, as I think, been idly attempted by some critics, to make it appear, that Sallust, in this passage, is at variance with himself. He had said before (Sect. X.), that "First the love of wealth, and then the love of power arose" *(Primò pecuniæ, deinde imperii cupido crevit);* and he now states, that, "In the first stages of corruption, it was ambition, and not avarice, which laid the strongest hold on the minds of men" *(Primò magis ambitio, quàm avaritia, animos hominum exercebat).* The meaning seems perfectly evident, and it is this: Although avarice was the first to make its appearance at Rome, yet, after both had had existence, it was ambition that, of the two vices, laid the stronger hold on the minds of men, and more speedily grew to an inordinate height.

(31.) THERE is a material difference between the phrases *Recipere,* and *Capere, vel occupare rempublicam,* which has, by no means, been sufficiently attended to by translators. By the former expression is meant, the recovery, and restoration of the commonwealth; by the latter, its seizure by illegal violence. As there is no writer, who is more eminent for precision than Sallust, or who more carefully distinguishes the different shades of meaning, so there is no one, whose expressions should be considered with greater accuracy. In the present instance, "the restoration," as I have rendered it, "of, at least, the forms of the constitution," is historically true, and justly characterizes the nature of Sylla's first successes, when he defeated Cinna and Marius, and freed his country from military oppression. In the same manner, the historian, in the Second Epistle, addressed to Cæsar, complacently tells his patron, that "the commonwealth, instead of being enslaved by his arms, was rescued by his exertions;" *Non captam, sed receptam à te rempublicam.* He was willing to varnish the usurpation of Cæsar, with the specious names of patriotism and magnanimity, and to make it appear, as if it had really been restored to its antient freedom, from the dangerous machinations of Pompey's faction. Page 16.

For the rise and character of Sylla, the reader may turn to the Jugurthine War, Sect. C., and Notes; for an account of his "forbearance, or moderation in the outset," which Sallust here notices, to Vol. I., Epist. 1st to Cæsar, Sect. IV., and Note 3. pp. 492. 493; and for the horrible cruelties, which he practised, after overcoming his enemies, and assuming the Dictatorship, to Vol. I., p. 498, & seqq.

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(32.) IT is not here intended, by Sallust, to assert, that the present is the *first* example of corruption among the Romans, in consequence of their Asiatic conquests. He could not be ignorant of the splendid

Page 18. victories of Manlius, and likewise of Scipio, who, on that account, was surnamed Asiaticus, more than a hundred years before this period, and of the prodigious quantities of gold and silver, ornamental vases, and other articles of luxury, then imported into Italy, together with an admiration of the eastern manners. See Liv. L. XXXVIII.—Plin. Hist. Natur. L. XXXIII. 11.—Flor. L. II. 11. The historian could mean only to refer to Asia, as the *quarter (Ibi primùm)*, from whence luxury of every sort had come, and not to the *time* of its first appearance; being justly of opinion, in regard to debauching the troops, that all that had been done, in the age of Scipio, was nothing to those indulgences, which Sylla unhappily permitted.

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(33.) It seems probable, that our author had in his eye, in this place, his illustrious friend Lucullus, whom he himself, in several points, resembled; as Lucullus was no less celebrated for his learning, and his victories, than his turn for the most extraordinary magnificence and luxury. On his return from the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, in Asia, being disgusted with Pompey, and still more with his own reception at Rome, he determined to retire from all public employments; and, finding himself in the possession of immoderate wealth, to dedicate the remainder of his days to ease and retirement. The vast sums, which were lavished on his different villas in the country, on his house in Rome, on his extensive library, which last he generously threw open, for the use of the learned, would seem incredible in our days, were they not vouched by the testimony of so many antient authors. His principal villas, at Misenum and Tusculum, were decorated in a style of the most princely magnificence. At the former place, in the vicinity of Naples, he actually covered a great part of the sea, with the buildings; levelling some hills, and perforating others, for the admission of water, into his grounds and fish-ponds. See Plutarch, in Vit. XXXIX. Edit. Reisk. The last mentioned

work, according to Pliny, cost him a much larger sum, than even what he had laid out, in building his villa *(Majore impendio quàm villam ædificaverat)*. When Tubero, the Stoic, went to visit him at this luxurious residence, and surveyed his stupendous works, on the sea-coast; the mountains that were excavated, for his vaults and cellars, the reservoirs and canals, for feeding his fish, and the cool, and delightful summer-houses, erected in the sea itself, the philosopher declared, that he was truly Xerxes in a gown *(Xerxes togatus)*; alluding to the Persian monarch of that name, who, when he invaded Greece, dug a navigable canal through Mount Athos, for the navigation of his fleet. Τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς παραλίοις, καὶ περὶ Νέαν πόλιν ἔργα, λόφες ἀνακρεμαννύντος αὐτῷ μεγάλοις ἰρύγμασι, καὶ τροχὲς θαλάσσης, καὶ διαδρομὰς ἰχθυοτρόφες τοῖς οἰκητηρίοις περιελίσσοντος, καὶ διαίτας ἐναλίες κτίζοντος, ὁ Στωϊκὸς Τυβέρων θεασάμενος, Ξέρξην αὐτὸν ἐκ τηβέννε προσηγόρευσεν. Plutarch. in Vit. ubi sup. So valuable was the stock of fish, which these waters contained, that, at his death, they sold, to the epicures of Rome, for about L. 24,000, or, according to some writers, L. 32,000 of our money. Page 18.

Horace, the cotemporary of Lucullus, more than once complains, that such was the number of princely palaces, which rose at the command of the rich and great, that they threatened to abridge the labours of the husbandman; and even the fish of the sea felt that element contracted, by the piles of building, which were daily raised in it.

> Jam pauca aratro jugera regiæ
> Moles relinquent . .
> Contracta pisces æquora sentiunt,
> Jactis in altum molibus.
>
> Carm. L. II. 15. III. 1.

The entertainments of Lucullus were uniformly celebrated, as the most splendid in Rome, and may be quoted as a specimen of the pro-

Page 18. ...digious luxury of this period. It was his custom, it seems, to distinguish the halls, or eating-rooms of his house, by the different names of the Gods, and to affix the sums of money, that were to be expended, on giving an entertainment in each. Pompey and Cicero, as Plutarch relates the story, met him, one day, in the Forum; and, intending to take him by surprise, said they would sup with him, in the evening; on the condition, that he should promise to give them no other fare, than what was intended for himself. Lucullus seemed to hesitate, and requested that they would put off their visit, till the following day. On this, they both insisted, that it should be that very evening: And they would not even consent to his speaking with his domestics, lest he might privately order some addition to the repast. At his particular request, however, they permitted him to say, to one of the servants, in their presence, that "he should, that evening, sup in the Apollo," which was the name of one of his most magnificent apartments. His two friends had no notion of the stratagem: But each of the eating-rooms had its particular expense allotted to it, its service of plate, and other appointments; so that the servants, on being told what room he would sup in, accurately knew what expense they were to incur, and what arrangements they were to make. The stated charge, for an entertainment in the Apollo, was 50,000 drachmas (more than L. 1600 of our money); and that entire sum being laid out on the occasion, Pompey was no less astonished at the sumptuousness of the entertainment, than at the extraordinary expedition, with which the whole must have been prepared. *Ἀσπασάμενος ὁ Κικέρων αὐτὸν, ἠρώτησεν, ὅπως ἔχει πρὸς ἔντευξιν· τῦ δὲ φήσαντος, ὡς ἄριστα, καὶ παρακαλέντος ἐντυγχάνειν· Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, βελόμεθα δειπνῆσαι παρά σοι τήμερον ἔτως, ὅπως ἐστί σοι παρεσκευασμένα. Ἀγυπλομένε δὲ τῦ Λεκέλλε, καὶ μεταλαβεῖν ἡμέραν ἀξιῶντος, ἐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψειν, ἐδ' εἴων διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς οἰκέταις, ἵνα μή τι πλέον κελεύσῃ γενέσθαι τῶν αὐτῷ βελομένων. πλὴν τοσῦτο μόνον αἰτεμένῳ συνεχώρησαν εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἕνα τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἐναντίον ἐκείνων, ὅτι σήμερον ἐν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι δειπνήσει· τῦτο γάρ τις*

εἶχε τῶν πολυτελῶν οἴκων ὄνομα. καὶ τοῦτο σεσοφισμένος ἐλελήθει τὰς ἄνδρας. Page 18.
ἑκάστῳ γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, δειπνητηρίῳ τεταγμένον ἦν τίμημα δείπνου, καὶ χορηγίαν ἰδίαν καὶ παρασκευὴν ἕκαστον εἶχεν· ὥστε τὰς δύλας ἀπέσαντας, ὅπου βέλεται δειπνεῖν, εἰδέναι, πόσον δαπάνημα, καὶ ποῖόν τι κόσμῳ καὶ διαθέσει γενέσθαι δεῖ τὸ δεῖπνον. εἰώθει δὲ δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι πέντε μυριάδων. καὶ τότε τοσούτου τελεσθέντος, ἐξέπληξε τὰς περὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον ἐν τῷ μεγέθει τῆς δαπάνης, τὸ τάχος τῆς παρασκευῆς. Vit. Lucul. XLI. Edit. Reisk.

On reading of instances of extravagance so enormous, who is there, that is not ready to cry out, with the poet,

O prodiga rerum
Luxuries! nunquam parvo contenta paratu,
Et quæsitorum terrâ pelagoque ciborum
Ambitiosa fames, et lautæ gloria mensæ,
Discite quàm parvo liceat producere vitam,
Et quantùm natura petat.

Lucullus, notwithstanding, was an amiable, and most accomplished character; and it was a just reflection of Cicero's, on the general tendency of such examples, that ten men were to be found, who would emulously copy the profusion of Lucullus, for one who would attempt to equal his learning, or to imitate his virtues.

Notwithstanding the advances, which in after times were made, in the arts of elegance and luxury, the gardens of Lucullus were numbered among those of kings: They were long accounted among the most noble of antiquity; and, together with his beautiful villa at Misenum, they became the property of the Roman emperors. Tiberius died at the latter place; and it was in the retirement of the former, that Messalina was killed by Narcissus, the Freedman of Claudius. See Plutarch. in Lucul. XXXIX.—Tacit. Annal. L. XI. 32. 37.

(34.) In the time of the younger Seneca, it is not to be supposed that these vices had declined. The following animated picture of the

Page 19. 20. luxurious and effeminate of his day, which, in many respects, resembles that delineated by Sallust, is given by this lively writer. *Mala sua illos sequuntur, ut nec bibant sine ambitione, nec edant. Nec illos quidem inter otiosos numeraveris, qui sellâ se et lectica huc et illuc ferunt, et ad gestationum suarum, quasi deserere illas non liceat, horas occurrunt. Quos, quando lavari debeant, quando natare, quando coenare, alius admonet; et usque eo nimio delicati animi languore solvuntur, ut per se scire non possint, an esuriant. . Vomunt, ut edant; edunt, ut vomant; et epulas, quas toto orbe conquirunt, nec concoquere dignantur. . O miserabiles! quorum palatum nisi ad pretiosos cibos non excitatur: Pretiosos autem, non eximius sapor, aut aliqua faucium dulcedo, sed raritas, et difficultas parandi facit.* De Brev. Vit. XII. Consol. ad Helv. IX.

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(35.) *Quis totâ Italiâ veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subjector, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quæ mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilinâ non familiarissimè vixisse fateatur?* Cic. Orat. in Catilin. II. 4.

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(36.) This was Fabia Terentia, sister to Terentia, Cicero's wife, who afterwards married Sallust. See Essay First, p. 52, and Essay Second, p. 247, and Note 48. A. U. C. 680, about nine years before the present period, this affair had made much noise at Rome. Clodius, who afterwards became Tribune of the People, instituted a prosecution against Fabia: Several other Vestals, it seems, were also implicated; and some of the first men in Rome, such as Cato, Cutulus, and Cicero, interested themselves in the cause. Piso made a most able speech for the defendants; and Cato himself, whether actually

persuaded of the innocence of Fabia, or disapproving, from public motives, of the conduct of Clodius, proceeded against him with such vigour, that he was forced to leave Rome. By Cato's exertions, and the interest of Catulus and Cicero, Fabia was acquitted (Ascon. in Tog. Cand. Ciceron.—Oros. L. VI. 3.); although no doubt was entertained, by many, concerning Catiline's guilt; as it is certain, that he had found his way, either into the temple of Vesta, or into the palace of Numa, where the Vestal virgins resided. Cicero, in his oration *In Togâ Candidâ*, in reproaching Catiline with the heinousness of his attempt, openly declares, that such was the profligacy of his character, that his entrance only into a place, sacred to religion, was sufficient to defile it, although no imputation of criminality could attach to the inhabitants. *Ita vixisti, ut non esset locus tam sanctus, quo non adventus tuus, etiam cùm culpa nulla subesset, crimen adferret.* Page 20.

It appears, that the hatred of Cicero to Catiline originated, at first, in the murder of Cicero's uncle, Marius Gratidianus; and it was afterwards exasperated, by the intrigue with Fabia. When Catiline, therefore, applied himself to plot against the commonwealth, he was sure to find, in the great orator, not only an inveterate opponent, to counteract his views, but a most sagacious observer, who was acquainted with his character.

It may be proper to mention, that the Vestal virgins were priestesses, consecrated to the service, and worship of the goddess Vesta. They were appointed by Numa, the second king of Rome (See Liv. L. I. 20. —Dionys. Halicarnass. L. II. 64. 65.—Plutarch. in Num. &c.), and were, at first, four in number; but that was afterwards encreased to six. The principal duty of the Vestals, besides guarding the *Penates* of the Roman people, was to keep the sacred fire constantly burning. If they violated their vow of chastity, the punishment was, to be buried alive, with funeral solemnities, in the *Campus Sceleratus;* and their paramours, on conviction, were sentenced to be scourged to death, in the Forum. Dionys. Halicarnass. L. III. 67. The com-

Page 20. mission of this crime was rare at Rome; but, when it occurred, it was held as ominous to the state. All investigations upon the subject naturally excited the public interest; and the crime itself was expiated with solemn, and extraordinary sacrifices. See Liv. L. VIII. 15. XIV. 22.—Dionys. Halicarnass. L. I. 78. II. 67.—Sueton. in Domit. VIII. &c.

(37.) The name of Catiline's first wife remains unknown: The marriage, however, must have taken place, at a very early period, since we find, that, at the age of about forty, he had a son grown up (*Ætate adultus*), and, as our author tells us, become formidable to his intended step-mother. Lucceius, the historian, as it appears, in some Orations, which he composed against Catiline, but which are now lost, accuses him of having had an intrigue with the wife of Aurelius Orestes, whose daughter, Orestilla, he now married; and Plutarch seems to allude to the same atrocious circumstance. See Vit. Ciceron. X. p. 767. Edit. Reisk. Hence, we find Cicero publicly declaring (as has been already mentioned in Note 10.), that Catiline, by one and the same act of criminality, had procured, for himself, both a mistress and a daughter!—Cnæus Aurelius Orestes appears in the list of the Prætors of Rome, for the year of the City 677.

The marriage of Catiline with Aurelia Orestilla must, consequently, have been ushered in, with a multitude of crimes, the most unnatural and unexampled, in the annals of wickedness. In the first place, he had contrived, by violent methods, as we learn from Cicero, to get rid of his first wife, in order to make room for his second choice (*Morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuam fecisset.* Orat. in Catilin. I. 6.). In the second place, he was guilty of incest, in marrying his own daughter: And, in the third place, according to Valerius Maximus, he poisoned an only son, who was already grown up to man's estate, and stood in the way of this infamous connection;

thus kindling, at the funeral pile of the youth, the flame of the hyme- [redacted] e 20.
neal torch, and offering the perpetration of such a deed, as a grateful marriage-gift, to his intended bride! *Vesano amore Aureliæ Orestillæ correptus, cùm unum impedimentum videret, quò minùs nuptiis inter se jungerentur; filium suum, quem et solum, et ætate jam puberem habebat, veneno sustulit; protinusque ex rogo ejus maritalem facem accendit, ac novæ maritæ orbitatem suam loco muneris erogavit.* Valer. Max. L. IX. 1. ix. See also Cicero (Orat. in Catilin. I. 6.), who well knew the fact; but, in his celebrated Oration, which drove Catiline from Rome, he barely hints at it, without going into particulars.

When we reflect on such a monster in the human shape, our wonder will cease, at the strong reprobation of him, so uniformly expressed by all antient writers; and the representation, contained in the three well-known Orations of Cicero, instead of being considered as a rhetorical description, will appear only to be an eloquent statement of authenticated facts. Even Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote in a distant period, could not celebrate the valour of Marcus Sergius Silus, Catiline's illustrious predecessor, and his receiving no fewer than three-and-twenty wounds in the service of his country, without observing, that the fame of his family was sullied, with stains never to be effaced, by having such a monster as Catiline, for the last of his descendants. *Miretur super his Sergium, qui vicies et ter vulneratus est; cujus posteritatis ultimus Catilina, claras majorum adoreas sempiternis maculis obumbravit.* L. XXV.

Catiline was, by no means, the last of the Sergian family, as Ammianus seems to intimate. A branch of it long after appeared, sprung from Sergius Lænas, from which branch the mother of the Emperor Nerva was descended. This is clear, from an antient inscription, discovered near Antium, which runs as follows; SERGIÆ. LÆNATIS. F. PLAUTILLÆ. MATRI. IMP. NERVÆ. CÆSARIS. AUG. And several other persons of distinction are found, of the same race, in the time of the

Page [redacted] Antonines. When St. Paul, the Apostle, in his voyage from Salamis, touched at the island of Paphos, he found a Roman Proconsul of the name of Sergius, who seems to have listened to his doctrines, and to have received the gospel.

(38.) To this picture of the power of conscience over the guilty mind, I shall add another, by the hand, also, of a great master, in which the same secret admonitions are strikingly depicted. It is that of the Emperor Tiberius, in the island of Capreæ; where, according to Tacitus, he lived a perpetual prey to terrour, suspicion, and remorse. "What to write, Conscript Fathers (says he, in a fit of "distraction, addressing himself to the Senate), in what terms to ex- "press myself, or what to refrain from writing, is a matter of such "perplexity, that, if I know how to decide, may the just Gods, and "Goddesses of vengeance, doom me to die in pangs worse than those, "under which I linger every day." Here (as the historian observes) we have the features of the inward man. His crimes retaliated upon him, with the keenest retribution; so true is the saying of the great philosopher, the oracle of antient wisdom; that, if the minds of tyrants were laid open to our view, we should see them gashed and mangled, with the whips and stings of horrour and remorse. By blows and stripes the flesh is made to quiver, and, in like manner, cruelty, and inordinate passions, malice and evil deeds, become internal executioners, and, with unceasing torture, goad and lacerate the heart. Of this truth Tiberius is a melancholy instance. Neither the imperial dignity, nor the gloom of solitude, nor the rocks of Capreæ, could shield him from himself. He lived on the rack of guilt, and his wounded spirit groaned in agony. "*Quid scribam vobis, Patres "Conscripti, aut quomodo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam, hoc "tempore, Dii me Deæque pejùs perdant, quàm perire me quotidie "sentio, si scio.*" *Adeò facinora atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant. Neque frustrà præstantissimus sapientiæ firmare*

solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus; quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitiâ, libidine, malis consultis, animus dilaceretur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris, suasque ipse poenas fateretur. Tacit. Annal. L. VI. 6. Page 21.

The great philosopher above mentioned was Socrates; and the saying, to which Tacitus seems to allude, is to be found in a fine passage of the Republic of Plato, where that philosopher makes Socrates say, concerning the character of the tyrant; *Ἔστιν ἄρα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, κἂν εἰ μή τῳ δοκῇ, ὁ τῷ ὄντι τύραννος, τῷ ὄντι δοῦλος, τὰς μεγίστας δωπείας καὶ δουλείας, καὶ κόλαξ τῶν πονηροτάτων· καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐδ' ὁπως τι ἔν ἀποπιμπλὰς, ἀλλὰ πλείστων ἐπιδεέστατος· καὶ πένης τῇ ἀληθείᾳ φαίνεται, ἐάν τις ὅλην ψυχὴν ἐπίστηται θεάσασθαι, καὶ φόβε γέμων διὰ παντὸς τε βίου, σφαδασμῶν τε καὶ ὀδυνῶν πλήρης.* Tom. II. p. 579. Edit. Serran.—The above beautiful translation of the passage from Tacitus is Mr. Murphy's; and he would be a bold man, who should attempt to render it anew, with such an effort before his eyes.

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(39.) THESE, as Cicero informs us, were adherents of Sylla's, of whom he had established a colony, in the district of Fæsulæ, in Etruria. As their wealth had been suddenly and unexpectedly acquired, so it was as easily and thoughtlessly dissipated. Launching out, he says, into a career of wild extravagance, they erected villas; they purchased domains; they figured away, with their train of servants, their splendid equipages, and sumptuous entertainments; until they contracted a load of debt, such as nothing could discharge, unless they could have summoned Sylla from the other world, to relieve them. *Hi sunt homines, ex iis coloniis, quas Fæsulis Sylla constituit . . qui se insperatis, repentinisque pecuniis sumptuosiùs insolentiùsque jactârunt. Hi, dum ædificant, tanquam beati; dum prædiis, lecticis, familiis magnis, conviviis apparatis delectantur, in tantum*

Page 22. *æs alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sylla sit iis ab inferis excitandus.* Orat. in Catilin. II. 9.

(40.) WHILE Pompey was engaged in finishing the war against the Pirates in Cilicia, to which he had set out, A. U. C. 686, Manilius, one of the Tribunes of the People, got a law passed, investing him with still more ample powers, to carry on the war against Mithridates, king of Pontus, which Sylla had begun, and Lucullus had conducted, with such extraordinary success (Vell. Paterc. L. II. 33.); and it was on this command that Pompey was employed, when Catiline began seriously to meditate his enterprise. The war against Mithridates was, in the end, finished by Pompey, with great glory; three powerful kingdoms being added, by him, to the empire, viz. those of Pontus, Syria, and Bithynia, and all the other princes and nations, as far as the Tygris, rendered tributary to the republic. But Pompey did not return to Rome, till 692, more than a year after Catiline's Conspiracy was suppressed. See Plutarch. in Pomp.—Cic. Orat. de Provin. Consular. XII.

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(41.) CLODIUS, at the instance of the Africans, had before set on foot a prosecution against Catiline, for extortion in the government of his province *(Repetundarum res factus)*, which, consequently, disabled him from standing candidate for the Consulship, for the year of the City 688, when Manlius Torquatus, and Aurelius Cotta were elected. He found means, however, to buy off Clodius. Accordingly, the prosecution fell to the ground; and Catiline, being acquitted, again commenced his canvass for the following year, viz. 689. This is the situation of affairs, alluded to by our author, when Catiline had actually hopes of succeeding in his suit.

It is proper to observe, that the text of Sallust, in this place, is not correctly translated. *Ipse Consulatum petundi magna spes*, should

be rendered, "Catiline himself had great hopes of being admitted a candidate for the Consulship, &c." See Corrections at the end of the Volume. The meaning of the word *petere* is not "to obtain," as it has generally been translated, but to petition to be admitted a candidate for the office. No man was allowed to petition, till the age of forty-three, or while under the stigma of any judicial prosecution. The designation was made, in the latter end of October; but the office was not entered on, until the 1st January following. Our too frequently overlooking this peculiarity in the election of the Roman magistrates, has occasioned great errours in chronology; and still more have proceeded from the arbitrary method, in use at Rome, of inserting intercalary days into the calendar. Page 22.

(42.) THE Romans divided the month into three parts, distinguished by the names of Kalends, Nones, and Ides. The Kalends, or 1st day, were so called, from the antient custom of a priest calling out, to the people, that it was New Moon (from *καλῶ voco.*) The Nones usually fell upon the 5th day, and the Ides on the 13th. The Ides had their name from the old word *iduare*, to divide, because they divided the month; and the Nones, because, reckoning inclusively, they were nine days distant from the Ides. In March, May, July, and October, the Nones fell on the 7th, and the Ides on the 15th day. The Romans, in marking the days of the month, counted backwards; a circumstance, which seems extremely awkward to us, and renders their dates somewhat perplexing to the English reader. Thus, the last day of December was called "the day before the Kalends of January" *(Pridie Kalendas,* sc. *ante,* or *pridie Kalendarum Januarii);* the day before that, or 30th December, was named "the third before the Kalends of January" *(Tertio Kal. Jan.,* sc. *die ante,* or *ante diem tertium Kal. Jan.);* the 29th, "the fourth before the Kalends of January;" and so, in the same manner, in all the divisions of the months, throughout the year. An accurate notion of this cannot properly be conveyed, without a

Page 22. comparative Table of the antient and modern methods of computation, which the reader will find, in Dr. Adam's Roman Antiquities, p. 331.

It may here be useful to add, that the antient Greeks and Romans did not divide their time, as we do, into Weeks, in consonance with the practice of Jews, from whom we have derived that method. Every ninth day, the country-people came to market, to Rome; whence these days were called *Nundinæ*, having seven intermediate days for labour. See Var. de Re Rust. in Præfat.—Macrob. Saturnal. L. I. 15. 16. But *Nundinum* afterwards came to have a very different meaning. The practice of dividing time into weeks (*Hebdomades* or *Septimanæ*), was introduced under the emperors. Dion Cassius, who lived under Alexander Severus, tells us, that the naming of the different days of the week after the seven planets, was a custom borrowed from Egypt. It took place only a little earlier than the period, in which he wrote; but it was, he says, then in universal use. See L. XXXVII. pp. 42. 43. Edit. Stephan.

(43.) Lucius Cæsar was son to the person of the same name, who held the Consulship A. U. C. 663., and first cousin to Cæsar, the Dictator. Lucius's sister Julia had married M. Antonius Creticus. She was the mother of Mark Antony, the Triumvir; and, on the death of her first husband, she espoused P. Lentulus Sura, one of the principal Conspirators, associated with Catiline. Lucius Cæsar was among the best, and most respectable characters of his time. Cicero highly extols him, for the patriotic views which he displayed, at the period of the Conspiracy, and for the just detestation, which he entertained, of his brother-in-law's principles and conduct. See Philip. II. 6. During the second Triumvirate, when Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus were making out their list of proscriptions, Antony agreed to sacrifice his uncle Lucius Cæsar, if Octavius would agree to the death of Cicero. Cicero unfortunately fell; but Cæsar escaped

through the firmness, and virtuous exertions of his sister Julia. See Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. IV. p. 956. & seqq. Edit. Toll. Page 22.

(44.) It may, perhaps, be satisfactory to the reader to receive some more particular account of these accomplices of Catiline, than is consistent with our author's concise, and rapid narrative. I shall, therefore, notice such of them, as seem to have been distinguished by their birth, their influence, or other circumstances.

Publius Cornelius Lentulus, surnamed Sura, was of the great family of the Cornelii, and grandson to the illustrious person of the same name, who was Prince of the Senate, and who chiefly figured among the Patrician party, during the Consulship of Opimius, in those memorable disturbances, that terminated in the death of the Gracchi. See Cic. Philip. VIII. 4. Orat. in Catilin. IV. 6. This younger Lentulus, as has been said in the foregoing Note, married Julia, the sister of Lucius Cæsar. Although endued with genius and talents, he was among the most dissolute men of his time. Vicious, profligate, and indolent to a degree, he was remarkable, among his cotemporaries, for being addicted, at once, to the most monstrous extravagance, and the most extraordinary love of sleep. Cicero, in the beautiful tract *De Claris Oratoribus* (Sect. LXVI.), speaks favourably of him as an orator: But, in some editions, it must be acknowledged, that the person alluded to is there named Cnæus, instead of Publius.

Although the character and manners of Lentulus were well known at Rome, yet, through the interest of his family, and the popularity, which he always courted, he gradually rose in the gradation of public honours; and, in the year of the city 682, he obtained the Consulship, together with Aufidius Orestes. Being some time after, on account of improper conduct, expelled the Senate, he had, at the era of the Conspiracy (i. e. A. U. C. 690.), become Prætor for the second time, for the purpose of recovering his Senatorian rank. See Dion.

Page 22. Cass. L. XXXVII. 30.—Plutarch. in Ciceron. p. 868. Instigated, as it appears, by wild ambition, by excessive vanity, and embarrassed circumstances, he, at last, associated himself with Catiline; and he listened, with an easy credulity, to the flatteries of the diviners, who pretended to foretel his future elevation. Three of the Cornelian family, they said, mysteriously denoted by the three C's, were, according to the Sibylline Books, to obtain the supreme power at Rome. Cinna and Sylla had already appeared; and it was reserved for himself, as they asserted, to fulfil those ancient prophecies. See Bel. Catilin. XLVIII.—Porc. Latron. Declam. in Catilin. &c.

He acquired the surname of Sura, as was common among the Romans, from the most trivial, and often ludicrous incidents, on the following occasion. Being Quæstor under Sylla, as Plutarch relates, and having squandered away a very large sum of the public money, Sylla was enraged at his conduct, and openly demanded a settlement of his accounts, in the Senate: On which Lentulus declared, with a contemptuous indifference, that he had no accounts to produce, but formally presented to him the "calf of his leg;" alluding to the custom among boys, who, in playing at tennis, when they missed their stroke, held out, to one another, the calf of the leg, in order to receive, by way of punishment, a certain number of blows upon it; and *Sura* is the name of that part of the body, in Latin. Ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Σύλλαν χρόνοις ταμιεύων, συχνὰ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἀπώλεσε καὶ διέφθαρεν. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα, καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτοῦντος ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ, προελθὼν ὀλιγώρως πάνυ καὶ καταφρονητικῶς, λόγον μὲν οὐκ ἔφη διδόναι, παρέχειν δὲ τὴν κνήμην· ὥσπερ ποιεῖν εἰώθεισαν οἱ παῖδες, ὅταν ἐν τῷ σφαιρίζειν ἁμάρτωσιν. ἐκ τότε Σύρας παρωνομάσθη· Σύραν γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν κνήμην λέγουσι. Vit. Ciceron. XVII. Edit. Reiske.

Publius Autronius, surnamed Pætus, seems to have been a man of no great distinction, and remarkable only for the profligacy of his manners. He was about the same age as Cicero. They were Quæstors together, A. U. C. 678, and had the department of Sicily

assigned them; the one being stationed at Syracuse, and the other at the promontory of Lilybæum. See Cicero, in Orat. pro P. Syllâ, where he pronounces a severe invective, against the whole character, and conduct of Autronius. Page 22.

Lucius Cassius Longinus was of the Cassian family, and had stood candidate for the Consulship A. U. C. 689, together with Cicero and Catiline. He appears to have entered into the treasonable designs of the latter, after they had both failed in their suit. Cassius was, in general, esteemed more stupid and indolent, than wicked or depraved: Yet he was said to have been the chief promoter of the atrocities, which the conspirators intended to perpetrate. See Ascon. Argument. in Tog. Cand. It was Cassius who had the charge of setting fire to Rome; and he was the first to desert the cause, as soon as the Conspiracy was discovered.

Caius Cornelius Cethegus was of the Cornelian family, and son, or brother to Publius Cethegus, so well known for his influence, as Tribune of the People, and for the part which he took, in the dissentions between Marius and Sylla.—See Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. I. p. 669. Edit. Toll.—Ascon. Pedian. in Verr. II. 3.—Plutarch. in Lucul.—Middleton, in his Life of Cicero, seems to have confounded them together. The younger Cethegus was of a temper the most bold and daring. He had been concerned in the first Conspiracy, planned by Catiline, Piso, and Autronius, and was, on that occasion, sent to Spain; where, meeting with some opposition to his views, he had the audacity to insult the Proconsul Q. Metellus Pius, and even to wound him, in the public street. *Quis de C. Cethego* (says Cicero), *atque ejus in Hispaniam profectione, ac de vulnere Q. Metelli Pii cogitat, cui non ad illius poenam carcer ædificatus esse videatur?* Orat. pro Syll. XXV. Sallust characterizes him as equally fierce, active, and impetuous, and therefore admirably fitted for any desperate enterprise *(Naturâ ferox, vehemens, manu promptus)*: Accordingly, in the plan, which Catiline laid, for the conflagration and massacre at

Page 22. Rome, Cethegus was to play the first part, and undertake the murder of Cicero. See Bel. Catilin. XLIV.

Publius Cornelius Sylla, and Servius Sylla, were both sons to the elder Servius, brother to Sylla the Dictator. Thus, we find, that no fewer than four of the great Cornelian family were among the number of Catiline's accomplices. Publius Sylla was Quæstor during the Dictatorship of his uncle, and was afterwards Consul, with Autronius; but, being both condemned for bribery at the elections, they were prevented from entering on their office. Bel. Catilin. XVIII. After the Conspiracy was discovered, Sylla was prosecuted for being an accomplice of Catiline; on which occasion, he was successfully defended, by Cicero and Hortensius. In the civil wars, he sided with Cæsar; and commanded the right wing of the conqueror's army, at the battle of Pharsalia. Cæs. de Bel. Civil. L. III. 89.

Lucius Calpurnius Piso Bestia. This man was grandson to Calpurnius Bestia, who had been Consul A. U. C. 642, and commanded the army in Numidia, in the war against Jugurtha. Appian erroneously calls him L. Sestius. While the designs of the Conspirators were in agitation, Bestia was elected one of the Tribunes of the People, an office which always gave extraordinary influence; and for that reason, we find, that it was he, who had it in charge to harangue the people, and endeavour to prejudice them against the public conduct of Cicero. Bel. Catilin. XLIV.

Quintus Annius appears to have been a person of the most abandoned manners, greatly despised in the Senate, and an intimate companion of Catiline. See Q. Cic. Petit. Consulat. III. This man is supposed to be a descendant of that Annius, who figured as one of the Tribunes of the People, in the time of the Jugurthine War (Sallust. XLI.), and was well known, during the power of Marius, as the assassin of Marcus Antonius, the famous orator; an account of whose death, and of the surprising effect of his eloquence, on the soldiers

sent to murder him, are preserved by Plutarch. In Vit. Mar. XLIV. p. 890. Edit. Reisk. See likewise Cicero's memorable mention of the same event. De Orator. L. III. 3. Page 22.

Quintus Curius was descended from M. Curius Dentatus, the same who conquered the Samnites and Lucanians, drove Pyrrhus out of Italy, and was so celebrated for his temperance and contempt of gold. So venerable was his character, as a pattern of ancient manners, that Juvenal (Sat. II. 3.), in reproaching the luxurious pretenders to temperance, in his days, says,

Qui Curios simulant, et Bacchanalia vivunt.

The Curius here mentioned by Sallust, was one of the most notorious gamesters, and most profligate characters of his time; on which account the Censors, Gellius and Lentulus, had, in 683, degraded him from his rank in the Senate. It will appear of what importance he was, in bringing the Conspiracy to light. Suetonius says, that he had the boldness to denounce Cæsar as an accomplice, before the Senate: But Cæsar had recourse to Cicero, and to other persons then in power; who, whatever might be their private sentiments, did not dare to implicate a man, who stood so high in favour with the People. The consequence was, that, when public rewards were distributed to the promoters of the discovery, the name of Curius was, through Cæsar's interest, struck off the list. See Sueton. in Cæs. XVII.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 713. Edit. Toll.

Marcus Fulvius Nobilior sprang from a family, which, although not Patrician, had risen, at Rome, into considerable notice. Its principal branches were those of Pætus, Centumalus, Flaccus, and Nobilior. Of this family Lucius Fulvius Curvus had been Consul, so far back as the year of the city 432. The branch of Nobilior had likewise given four Consuls, and two Censors, besides several other magistrates to the commonwealth. The conspirator Fulvius was probably the grandson, or great-grandson of one of the two Consuls,

Page 22. surnamed Nobilior, the one in 595, and the other in 601.—It is, however, proper to distinguish between the present Fulvius, and another young man of the same name, called, by Sallust, "the son of a Senator" (Bel. Catilin. XL.), whom his father ordered to be put to death, for setting out to join Catiline.—The Fulvius just now named in the list of the accomplices, is called only a Knight, and was probably not of an age to be admitted into the Senate.

Publius Gabinius Capito. This Conspirator, who was surnamed also Cimber, belonged to a family, originally from Gabii, which began to be distinguished about the close of the seventh century of the city. Of the Gabinius in question we know very little, only that he was Prætor A. U. C. 664, and was prosecuted for extortion in Achaia, at the instance of Lucius Piso (Cic. Orat. pro Arch. V. Divinat. in Cæcil. XX.): But he must not be confounded with another person of this name, of great influence, who afterwards became Consul, and is so often mentioned by Cicero. The Gabinius last mentioned was the particular friend, and confident of Catiline, whose death, as well as that of his kinsman Capito, he laboured to revenge. Accordingly, by uniting his efforts with those of Clodius, he at length brought about Cicero's banishment, during the year of the city 695, when himself and Piso were Consuls.

Caius Cornelius probably was descended from a Plebeian family, of the same name as the great *Gens Cornelia.* It appears that he had a son, who some years after, became one of Sylla's accusers, for being concerned in the Conspiracy; a proceeding certainly the more singular, that the father had himself been an accomplice, and, on that account, deservedly suffered the pains and penalties of the Plautian law.

Besides the principal conspirators, here enumerated in the text, several others are named, in the sequel, as more or less implicated in the plot; viz. Septimius, Cœparius, Umbrenus, Sitius, Manlius, Piso, Flaminius, Fulvius, Volturcius, and two females, Fulvia and Sempronia.

Cicero mentions Q. Magius Clilo, Tongillus, Publicius, Cincius, Munacius, and Furius. To this list may fairly be added, Crassus, Julius Cæsar, the Consul Antonius, and Paulus, brother to Lepidus, who was afterwards one of the second Triumvirate. Not that men of such distinction, as the two first mentioned in particular, openly joined the Conspiracy: Yet there is little doubt, from the whole tenour of their conduct, that they secretly favoured it. They were, as Sallust observes, *Paulò occultiùs participes;* and, had it been successful in the outset, they would, like Crassus, very willingly have put themselves at its head. Page 23.

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(45.) TACITUS, in Annal. L. IV. 3., seems to have had, in his eye, this passage of our author. *Atque illa, cui avunculus Augustus, socer Tiberius, ex Druso liberi, seque, ac majores, et posteros, municipali adultero foedabat; ut, pro honestis et præsentibus, flagitiosa et incerta expectaret.*

(46.) THIS was Marcus Licinius Crassus, surnamed Dives, or the Rich. He was son to Licinius Crassus, who, together with Cn. Lentulus, held the Consulship A. U. C. 656, and grandson to M. Crassus, called ἀγέλαστος, because he was never known to laugh in his life. Plin. Hist. Nat. L. VII. 19.

In the war between Marius and Sylla, Crassus, having escaped from the cruelty of the former, by flying into Spain, at length joined Sylla in Italy, where he rendered him the most important services, in contending against Marius; and in the dreadful battle, gained by Sylla, at the gates of Rome, Crassus commanded the right wing of the victorious army. Plutarch. in Crass.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 680. Edit. Toll. It was the marked, and invidious preference, shown, at this period, by Sylla to Pompey, who was a much younger man than Crassus, that first excited his jealousy and resentment, and

Page 23. rendered him, as Sallust here mentions, a mortal enemy to his more youthful rival. In the year of the city 683, Crassus held with him the Consulship; and, to shew his superior magnificence, he entertained the people, at no fewer than ten thousand tables.

There is little doubt, from the evidence of Cicero, as well as of Sallust, that Crassus was concerned in both the first, and the second Conspiracy. But the situation, in which he principally figured, was as one of the Triumvirate, with Cæsar and Pompey. He was the only person, in this critical period, who possessed the power to mediate between them; and it was well known, that he was ready to throw the weight of his influence into what might seem the lighter scale. Unfortunately for the commonwealth, as for himself, avarice prompted him to embark in a war against the Parthians, where he fell a victim to his own rashness and imprudence. His army was surrounded, and cut to pieces, and himself taken prisoner, and put to death. The Parthians, in derision, poured melted gold into his mouth, in order, as they said, that he, whose soul had so immoderately thirsted for that precious metal, should have his lifeless trunk completely sated with it. *Aurum liquidum in rictum oris infusum est; ut, cujus animus arserat auri cupiditate, ejus etiam mortuum et exsangue corpus auro ureretur.* Flor. L. III. 11. xi. See also Dion. Cass. L. XL. p. 149. Edit. Stephan. The overthrow of Crassus was one of the most memorable disasters, ever sustained by the Romans; for no fewer than 10,000 of their best troops were taken prisoners, and 20,000 left dead upon the field. See Appian. de Bel. Parth.

Crassus was a man of popular character, as well as respectable talents. The enormous fortune, which he amassed, enabled him to be generous, and hospitable to strangers. He lent money to his friends, often without interest; and he kept an open table, at which he daily entertained numbers, and particularly of the commonalty at Rome. As an orator, according to Cicero, he was pleasing and popular, without being able to vie with Cæsar or Hortensius. There was no

cause, however unimportant, that he would not assiduously undertake; Page 23.
and there was not a citizen, however mean, whom he would not salute, and whose salutation, by name, he would not as graciously return. See Plutarch. in Vit.

The chief vice of Crassus, says his judicious biographer, was avarice, which he carried to a culpable height, and it cast a shade upon his many virtues. The greatest part of his fortune was, to his eternal disgrace, gleaned from civil war, and the frequent fires, that desolated the capital; by which he may be truly said to have made a traffic of the public calamities. *Τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τούτων, εἰ δεῖ μετὰ βλασφημίας εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀληθές, ἐκ πυρὸς συνήγαγε καὶ πολέμου, ταῖς κοιναῖς ἀτυχίαις προσόδῳ τῇ μεγίστῃ χρησάμενος.* In the time of Sylla's usurpation, he purchased, for small sums, and sometimes even illegally seized, the estates of the proscribed; and in the fires, to which the city was liable, on account of the closeness of the houses, he, in the same manner, bought up, at a low price, whole streets at a time; so that a great part of Rome at length became his property. The value of the estates, which he acquired, according to Pliny (Hist. Nat. L. XXXII. 10.), amounted to about L. 1,614,583 sterling *(Sestertium bis millies)*, besides slaves, money, and other moveables, which were moderately valued at as much more; although he had left him, by his father, only three hundred Talents. So anxious and unremitting was his pursuit of wealth, and so high the notion, which he entertained, of a splendid fortune, that he used to say, that he considered that man as poor, and worthy only of commiseration, who could not, at his own expense, maintain an army. *Οὕτω γὰρ δὴ περὶ τὰ χρήματα καίτοι πολυχρήματος ὤν, ἐσπεδάκει, ὡς πένητας οἰκτείρειν τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους στρατόπεδον κατολόγου οἴκοθεν δρέψειν.* Dion. Cass. L. XL. p. 149. Edit. Stephan. See also Cic. de Offic. L. I. 8.

In fact, the number of Crassus's slaves is said to have been equal to that of a moderate army; and these he took care to employ in such a manner, as to be enabled not only to subsist themselves, but conti-

Page 23. nually to add to the wealth of their master. Above five hundred of them were masons and carpenters, who constantly worked at rebuilding or repairing his houses in the city, which he let out to great advantage. But, amidst the passion, that prevailed among the rich and luxurious, for a variety of houses and villas, Crassus built for himself but one house, in which he constantly resided; declaring it to be his firm conviction, that the man, who was possessed with the rage of building, would soon be ruined, and that he stood in need of no other enemy. Τοσούτους δὲ κεκτημένος τεχνίτας, οὐδὲν ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτὸς, ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν, ἀλλ' ἔλεγε τὸς φιλοικοδόμους αὐτὸς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν καταλύεσθαι, χωρὶς ἀνταγωνιστῶν. Plut. in Vit. II. Edit. Reisk.

From this idea of the peculiar temper, and enormous wealth of Crassus, we may easily perceive how he was able, without any surprising ability, to acquire in the state, and particularly in the Senate, that extraordinary influence, which Sallust, on more occasions than one, ascribes to him.

(47.) The Romans had several laws against bribery and corruption, that were called *Leges ambitûs*, or *Leges de ambitu*, instituted to secure the freedom of elections. One law, brought forward by Petilius, punished heavily all undue, and indirect methods of procuring popular favour. Another, by Fabius, restrained the number of the candidate's followers. Another, by Acilius Glabrio, and Calpurnius Piso, not only fined the delinquent, but degraded him from his Senatorian rank, and rendered him incapable of holding any public office. A decree of the Senate, in the same year in which Catiline's Conspiracy broke out, not only prohibited presents of every sort, but even feasts and shows, to be given to the People. A law of Cicero went still further, and punished Senators, found guilty of corruption, with banishment for ten years. But the vigilance of the legislature, at Rome, proved of no more avail, than it does, at this hour, among ourselves, or in any other country, where the legislator derives his title from a popular election.

While the rich and profligate continued to bribe, in defiance of the laws, the virtuous and honest were forced, in order to succeed, to resort to the same corrupt, and ruinous expedient. Page 24.

(48.) THE ordinances, which were framed to regulate the conduct of the judges, and other officers in the city, as well as that of the provincial magistrates, were extremely severe, although they were no less frequently violated. The exaction of money under false pretences, a present received for the discharge of duty, or a bribe for the speedier administration of justice, was regarded as a heinous offence. Persons found guilty of such, were, by the Junian law, condemned to refund the full amount, and, besides, to suffer the punishment of exile; and, by the Acilian, those penalties were enforced, not by the slow forms of the courts, but in the most immediate, and summary manner. The extorted monies, or effects thus recoverable, were denominated *Res*, or, as in the present passage of our author, *Pecuniæ repetundæ*. Catiline had, at this time, returned from his African government, in which, with the rank of Prætor, he had exercised extortion of every species, and he was brought to trial, for that crime, by Clodius, on the petition of the Africans: But he escaped, by bribing both his prosecutor, and his judges.

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(49.) LITERALLY "to profess" *(Profiteri)*, that is, to give in his name, by which he professed, or declared himself a candidate. This, by law, was to be done within a limited time, previous to the election; and, that time being at hand, and Catiline's trial still pending, he could not, as an accused person, be admitted "to profess."

(50.) THIS probably was Cnæus Calpurnius Piso, brother to Caius Piso, who was Consul A. U. C. 695, and uncle to Calpurnia, who married Cæsar. He was of the Calpurnian family, one of the most

Page 24. illustrious in Rome; which, according to the ancient Grammarians, derived its origin from Calpus, a son of King Numa. See Fest. in voc. The race of the Calpurnii obtained the name of Piso, from the word signifying "Pease;" and, like many other distinguished families, such as the Fabii, the Lentuli, the Pilumni, the Cicerones, the Bibulci, on account of being early promoters of agriculture, an art constantly held, by the Romans, in the highest veneration. See Plin. Hist. Nat. L. XVIII. 3.—Lucan says, of the great antiquity of the Pisos,

Hinc tua Piso
Nobilitas; veterisque citant sublimia Calpi
Nomina, Romanos inter fulgentia gentes.

Our author, in the present passage, has given a true character of this Piso; and it is fully confirmed by Asconius, who classes him among the most dangerous, and turbulent associates of Catiline. See Comment. in Cornelian. I. p. 959.

It appears that the quarrel, which Sallust states as subsisting between Piso and Pompey, had made a considerable noise at Rome. In a prosecution, instituted by the former, against Manilius Crispus, who had been notoriously guilty of some crime laid to his charge, and about to escape, because he was defended by Pompey, Piso, stimulated both by the ardour of youth, and his eagerness in the cause, launched out into the most severe, and marked allegations against Pompey himself. On this, Pompey demanded, why, if he considered as true what he so confidently advanced, he did not, at once, rather prefer a criminal accusation against himself? Give but security, replied the undaunted Piso, that, by your usual intrigues, you will not stir up a civil war, and, before proceeding further in the affair of Manilius, I am the man, who will undertake to bring you to justice. *Cn. Piso, cùm Manilium Crispum reum ageret, eumque, evidenter nocentem, gratiâ Pompeii videret eripi, juvenili impetu, ac studio accusationis provectus, multa et gravia crimina præpotenti defensori objecit. Interrogatus*

deinde ab eo, cur se quoque non accusaret; Da, inquit, prædes, rei- Page 24.
publicæ te, si postulatus fueris, civile bellum non excitaturum; etiam de tuo priùs, quàm de Manilii capite, in consilium judices mittam. Val. Maxim. L. VI. 2. 4.

It may here be observed (and it should have been noticed in its proper place), that several writers give the celebrated adventure with Fausta, the wife of Milo, to this Manilius Crispus, who seems to have been a well-known character at the time, and not to Sallustius Crispus, the historian. Varro, in his Commentaries, is quoted as their authority. He is supposed to tell the same story, in regard to Milo, on this occasion, as is mentioned by Aulus Gellius, and to record the same pecuniary fine, and the same corporal chastisement, said to be inflicted on the lover; and it is by no means an unnatural supposition, that, when the copyists met with the surname of Crispus, they prefixed to it another name, with which they were more familiarly acquainted, than with that of Manilius. Such is the doubtful nature of an anecdote, which, when found to be connected with the name of Sallust, has been diligently repeated, from one commentator to another, with all the confidence and certainty of truth. See Vol. I. pp. 17. 18. and Notes.

By so violent an opposition, and hatred to Pompey, Piso attained his object, which probably was, to raise himself into public notice. Pompey's power had, before this period, become formidable to the commonwealth; and "good men," as Sallust says, "began to look "towards Piso, with the hope, that, in a genius like his, the ascen- "dency of the other would find a salutary counteraction." Even Cato and Metellus Creticus, who had both sufficient reason to be disgusted with Pompey, united their influence with that of Crassus, in procuring, for Piso, the government of Spain, where he most probably was cut off, by the intrigues of his rival; as the latter had long commanded, and had many obsequious dependants, in that country. Tacitus (Annal. L. IV.) ascribes Piso's death to another cause, viz. the extortions, which he practised on the inhabitants of Termeste.

Page 24. There is a marble monument, still extant at Rome, which records, at once, the fact, that the government of Spain was bestowed on Piso, and the accuracy of Sallust in stating, that, although vested, by the Senate, with the rank of Prætor, he held no higher an office than of Quæstor, at the time. The inscription runs as follows:

CN. CALPURNIUS.
CN. FILIUS. PISO.
QUÆSTOR. PRO. PR. EX. SC.
PROVINCIAM. HISPANIAM.
CITERIOREM. OBTINUIT.

(51.) Lucius Manlius Torquatus was descended from the Manlian family, which had given Consuls to Rome, from the earliest times of the republic. He was, as we learn from Cicero, his particular friend, one of the most amiable, and accomplished persons of this period; distinguished alike by the strength of his eloquence, the soundness of his judgment, and the charming urbanity of his manners. *L. Torquatus, elegans in dicendo, in existimando admodum prudens, toto genere perurbanus.* De Clar. Orator. LXVIII. In the year, in which the Conspiracy of Catiline broke out, he had the province of Macedonia assigned him, and was declared *Imperator*, by a decree of the Senate, moved by Cicero. Orat. in Pison. XIX. Torquatus is many times mentioned, in terms of peculiar applause, in the correspondence between Cicero and Atticus. There is reason to believe, that, during the troubles which arose, at the close of the Republic, he went along with his friends, in supporting Pompey, and that, during the course of the war, he lost his life.

Lucius Aurelius Cotta was of the house of the Aurelii, which consisted of three principal branches, the Cottas, the Scauri, and the Orestes. At this period, there were three brothers of the name of Cotta, Lucius, Caius, and Marcus, and they all rose to the rank of Consul. Lucius, the brother now in question, had been Prætor, in

the Consulship of Pompey, and afterwards he was Censor, together with Isauricus, A. U. 689, when Cicero stood candidate for the supreme magistracy. Cotta, it seems, was well known, as a convivial character, and remarkable for his love of wine; so that, in the discharge of so grave an office, as that of Roman Censor, as the guardian of temperance, and of the public manners, he was sometimes exposed to the lash of raillery. Cicero (as Plutarch pleasantly tells us,) when during his canvass, he was attended by Cotta, and some other friends, happening, one day, to be very dry, called for a draught of water. You do well to hide me, said he to his friends, who stood closely round him as he drank, from the eyes of the Censor; for you know how severely I should be called to account, if he only suspected me of drinking water. Λευκίῳ δὲ Κόττα τιμητικὴν ἔχοντος ἀρχὴν, φιλοινοτάτῳ δ' ὄντος, ὑπατείαν μετιὼν ὁ Κικέρων ἐδίψησε, καὶ τῶν φίλων κύκλῳ περιστάντων, ὡς ἔπινεν· Ὀρθῶς φοβεῖσθε, εἶπε, μή μοι γένοιτο χαλεπὸς ὁ τιμητὴς, ὅτι ὕδωρ πίνω. Plutarch. in Ciceron. XXVII. Edit. Reisk.—There are medels still remaining of both Cotta and Torquatus, which are preserved in the cabinets of the curious. Page 24.

(52.) The *Fasces* and *Secures*, among the Romans, were the insignia first of the Regal, and afterwards of the Consular dignity. These insignia consisted of a number of rods or switches, bound up in a bundle, in the midst of which was placed an axe, with the head appearing above the rods. The Fasces were carried before the Consuls, by officers named Lictors, who, at the command of those magistrates, inflicted punishment on criminals; in the case of petty offences, by scourging, and by beheading, in that of deeper guilt. The Fasces were originally borrowed from the Tuscans (Sallust. Bel. Catilin. LI.—Flor. L. I. 5.). Each Consul, on the expulsion of the Tarquins, had twelve carried before him: But murmurs soon arising among the people, as if two Kings, instead of one, had thereby been

Page 25. set over them, the privilege was limited to one of the Consuls at a time, and for one month alternately. By a law, also, of Valerius Publicola, they were deprived of the power of life and death, within the city, although they fully possessed it, in every other situation. See Dionys. Halicarnass. L. V. 2. & 19.—Liv. L. II. 1. XXIV. 9.

(53.) SPAIN, which was little known to the Romans, till after their wars with Carthage, was divided by them into two parts, Hither and Farther Spain, denoting their respective situations, in regard to Rome (*Hispania Citerior* and *Ulterior*. See Liv. L. XXXII. 28, XLV. 16.). The former, or Hither Spain, comprehended the provinces now known by the names of the Two Castiles, Leon, Gallicia, Catalonia, Arragon, Navarre, Murcia, Valentia, Biscaye, and Asturia. Farther Spain included Granada, and the whole of Portugal. By Augustus the country was divided into three parts, or provinces; the first, Tarraconensis, from Tarraco, a town built by the Scipios; the second, Bætica, so called from the river Bætis, which ran through it; and the third, Lusitania, now the kingdom of Portugal. See Pomp. Mel. L. II. 6.—Dion. Cass. L. LIII. The former distinctions, however, of *Citerior* and *Ulterior* were not entirely laid aside; and, accordingly, we find them used, by both Tacitus and Pliny. On the antient division of Spain, consult Plin. Hist. Nat. L. III. 1.

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(54.) FROM the rapid, and compressed manner, in which Sallust's narrative is conducted, it sometimes is necessary, in order to illustrate it, to call in the aid of other writers; and on no occasion does such collateral information seem more necessary, than concerning the circumstances that accompanied, and the persons that figured in this first Conspiracy.

In the year of Rome 687, Catiline returned from his government of Africa, and had thoughts of standing for the Consulship, for the ensuing year. The other candidates, for the office, were P. Sylla, Autronius, Torquatus, and Cotta. Scarcely had Catiline, according to the usual form, waited on the Consul, Volcatius Tullus, to announce to him his suit, when deputies from Africa arrived at Rome, for the purpose of complaining of the horrible exactions of the late governor; and they engaged Clodius, the same who had appeared against him in the attempt upon Fabia, to stand forward, as prosecutor, on this occasion. A decree of the Senate passed, excluding Catiline from the list of candidates; and directing, that he should comply with the law, by which it was enacted, that all competitors for the magistracy should give in their names, and make known their intentions, before an assembly of the People, seven-and-twenty days preceding the election. As no man, under the stigma of a criminal accusation, could appear as a candidate, Catiline saw himself, for this year, baffled in his design, it being, as Sallust says, impossible, that he could offer himself, within the number of days, which the law prescribed; *Quòd intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit.* Page 25.

Meanwhile, Sylla and Autronius carried on their canvass, with unremitted diligence; and such was the openness, with which they corrupted the electors, that the Consul Piso was obliged to bring forward a new ordinance against bribery, with far severer penalties, than any that had preceded it. By this law it was enacted, that offenders, in the first place, should be incapacitated from succeeding in their suit, and reaping the fruits of their crime; and that they should pay, in the second place, a heavy fine, and suffer degradation from their Senatorian rank.

Autronius and Sylla, notwithstanding, continued their corrupt practices, and fairly prevailed over Cotta and Torquatus, being declared Consuls, by the suffrage of the Centuries. The unsuccessful candidates were determined to be revenged. They immediately commenced

Page 25. an action against the Consuls elect, on the new Calpurnian law; and so manifest were the proofs of corruption, that the election was annulled, and Cotta and Torquatus appointed Consuls in their stead; a severe example, as Cicero declares; which, though necessary at the moment, in so deplorable a condition of the public manners, was yet most unhappy as a precedent, and, on account both of its nature, and its tendency, big with future mischief. *Ut spectaculum illud duorum designatorum Consulum calamitate, re, et tempore salubre ac necessarium, genere et exemplo miserum ac funestum, videremus.* Orat. pro Cornel. p. 631. Edit. Verburg. 4to, & Ascon. Pedian. in eand.

It may, in this place, be observed, that the word *interrogare*, used, by Sallust, to denote the preferring an accusation, and a common one with Cicero, Tacitus, and other writers, had its origin in the form of words, which was employed on such occasions. When the prosecutor appeared before the Prætor, he thus addressed the accused: *Aio te contra leges magistratum obtinuisse.* If the latter remained silent, it was held as a virtual confession. If he denied the charge, as generally happened, the prosecutor then demanded, of the court, a certain time, for the purpose of arranging the indictment, and producing the evidence *(Dies inquirendorum criminum petebat)*: Accordingly Sallust, in his concise notice of the business in question, says; *P. Autronius, et P. Sylla, designati Consules, legibus ambitûs interrogati, poenas dederant.*

Notwithstanding the openness of this condemnation, the restless genius of Sylla was not to be deterred from fresh machinations. Cæcilius, his brother-in-law, who then happened to be Tribune of the People, was soon brought over to the views of his relation. This man undertook to propose a new law, which was to render that of Piso of no effect; and, assisted in the scheme by the boldness of Autronius, and a body of hired Gladiators, Sylla determined to carry the measure by force. The commotions that ensued were excessive, and alike disgraceful to the laws, and to the actors: But, by the firmness

of the Consul, supported by the Tribune Cornelius, the insurgents were at length repulsed, and obliged to desist from their attempt. Cicero, in his pleading for Sylla, speciously varnishes these criminal excesses of his client, and represents him in a light, neither according with the portrait of him, held up by other authors, nor with that which is to be found, in different parts of his own writings. It appears, that both Sylla and Autronius soon after formed a union, with Catiline and Cnæus Piso, whose character is so clearly given by Sallust; as the three first were equally disappointed in their ambitious projects, and all the four were ready for any attempt against the state. Page 25.

Into this first Conspiracy, of which our author takes so rapid a survey, it appears that Crassus and Cæsar also entered. Cæsar, at that time, was only in his Ædileship; which gives occasion to Cicero to remark, in a Letter to Accius, that Cæsar was able to bring to bear, during his Consulship, those schemes of ambition, which he had planned while he was Ædile, but could not realize, at that early period. See Sueton. in Cæs. IX. Whether Sallust did not know, or whether he dissembled the fact, it is impossible to ascertain: But Suetonius cites, as his authority, Actorius Naso, and Tanusius Geminus the historian, both authors deserving of credit; besides the Edicts of Bibulus, which were then extant, and the numerous Orations of the elder Curio.

The views of this Conspiracy were sufficiently daring and extensive. Crassus was immediately to be invested with the Dictatorship; and he was to appoint Cæsar next in command, and Master of Horse. Sylla and Autronius were then to be reinstated as Consuls; and, after cutting off as many of the Senators, as were hostile to their designs, they would be able to new-model the government, in whatever manner they thought fit. See Liv. Epit. CI.—Sueton. ubi sup.—Dion. Cass. L. XXXVI. 27. Edit. Reimar. The time fixed for carrying the plot into execution, Cicero says, was the day before

Page 25. the Kalends of January, that is, the last of December, A. U. 687, and one day previous to the time, when Torquatus and Cotta were to enter upon their office: But, according to Sallust, it was on the Kalends of the first mentioned month, or the first of January. On the day appointed, the Conspirators repaired to the Senate-house, with arms under their robes; when Crassus, as Suetonius relates, either touched with compunction, or seized with terrour, failed to appear; and Cæsar, omitting to give the signal, which was preconcerted, by throwing his gown off his shoulders, the insurrection did not take place, and the execution of the scheme was deferred, till the Nones of February following. The charge of giving the signal was now entrusted to Catiline, whose rashness and precipitancy again confounded the plot. Instead of calmly waiting, as our author informs us, until a sufficient number of armed conspirators had invested the Senate-house, he prematurely gave the signal, before the gates. A general alarm was soon communicated, and the whole fortunately fell to the ground.

In a few days, the Senate found it expedient to get rid of Piso, by making him governor of Spain (Dion. Cass. ubi sup.—Bel. Catilin. XIX.), with the rank of Prætor, although he was possessed only of that of Quæstor at the time *(Quæstor pro Prætore missus)*. This appointment took place, through the influence of Crassus; and it gives a greater colour to the universal suspicion, entertained against him. In Spain and Gaul, it was agreed that Piso should endeavour to collect a powerful force, while Cæsar and Crassus remained at Rome, for the purpose of forwarding the interests of the faction. But the death of Piso, when just entering on his new career, obscured, for a time, these promising prospects, and left the field open for Catiline to concert a plot, of which the history is now about to be given by Sallust, and which that conspirator hoped would be more powerful in numbers, and more successful in execution. As we learn from the text, some of the first men in Rome were certainly engaged

in it. Many more, who were not ignorant of its existence, connived at it in silence; trusting that, by that means, they should successfully cope with their opponents, and rise to an envied, and independent authority. Page 25.

As to the prosecution against Catiline, which has been already noticed, it was opened by Clodius, with great vigour, before the Prætor, and the tribunal for taking cognizance of peculation and extortion. The Consul Torquatus undertook Catiline's defence. Cicero, likewise, intending soon to stand for the Consulship, had thoughts of engaging on the same side of the cause. His object seems to have been, both to gain over Catiline, and to propitiate Cæsar and Crassus: For Catiline, as he says, by his consummate address, had nearly imposed on him; passing himself for a good, and worthy citizen, and, notwithstanding some irregularities, as abundantly capable both of honest emulation, and real friendship. *Me ipsum, me inquam, quondam penè ille decepit, cùm et civis mihi bonus, et optimi cujusque cupidus, et firmus amicus ac fidelis, videretur.* Orat. pro Cœl. VI.—It is worthy of remark, that, while Torquatus was thus kindly standing forth as Catiline's advocate, the scheme must have been laid, to procure his assassination, and which, as we have seen above, failed only through the delay, or the timidity of Crassus.

The principal evidence, produced against Catiline, seems to have been that of the Roman Knights, who received the revenues of the empire; Metellus Pius, who has been noticed above; and several cities of Africa, which produced their accounts. Catiline, on the other hand, distributed his African gold, with the utmost profusion, among the judges, and highly bribed Clodius himself, to desist from the prosecution. Accordingly, he was acquitted, by a majority of the three orders; but his pockets, says Asconius, were rendered as empty, by the expense thus incurred, as those of the judges themselves had been, previously to the trial.

Page 26. It is confidently asserted, by the historian Fenestella, that Cicero pleaded Catiline's cause. This mistake Asconius, in his Notes on the Oration *In Togâ Candidâ*, takes care to refute. It is striking enough to observe, among several passages of severe invective against Catiline, which he produces, one in particular, wherein Cicero plainly foretells Catiline's end. After enlarging on the clearness of his guilt, the conduct of the judges, and the variety, and respectability of the evidence against him, the great orator predicts, that, though acquitted now, by a corrupt tribunal, he is thereby only reserved, for some severer punishment, and for a more memorable, and more merited fate. The entire passage is as follows: *Quid ego, ut violaveris provinciam, prædicem? nam, ut te illic gesseris, non audeo dicere, quoniam absolutus es: Mentitos esse equites Romanos, falsas fuisse tabellas honestissimæ civitatis, existimo: Mentitum Q. Metellum Pium, mentitam Africam. Vidisse puto nescio quid illos judices, qui te innocentem judicârunt. O miser! qui non sentias illo judicio te non absolutum, verùm ad aliquod severius judicium, ac majus supplicium, reservatum.*

Page 26.

(55.) It has been disputed, whether this house, in which Catiline held the first meeting of the conspirators, was his own, or that of Marcus Læca, one of the accomplices, as the latter is afterwards mentioned, as a place of rendezvous. The question, though not material, has employed the ingenuity of the commentators, who are, for the most part, of opinion, that Læca's is the house, alluded to by Sallust. In support of this, they quote what is said, both by Cicero, in his First Oration against Catiline (Sect. IV.), and by Porcius Latro, in his fictitious Declamation. To me the opinion appears improbable, from the expressions of Cicero himself, as well as from the time, when he pronounced the First Oration against Catiline. P. Latro calls Læca's house, *Sedem et officinam deterrimæ conjurationis;* and describes

it as situated in an unfrequented part of the city, and every way adapted to such an assembly. Such studious secrecy, therefore, does not seem to have been needful, before any suspicion had gone abroad, concerning Catiline's machinations, or Curius had made any discovery to Cicero. Page 26.

There is another opinion on the subject, which none of the critics, as far as I know, have noticed, namely, the opinion of Asconius Pedianus, nearly a contemporary, who avers, that it was in the house of either Cæsar or Crassus, that they assembled. He has a Note, expressly to that purpose, in his Commentary on Cicero's invective Oration, against Catiline and Antonius, *In togâ candidâ, contra Competitores, in Senatu.* The date, it is certain, correspondsentirely with the first meeting of the conspirators; for it was after the 1st June, A. U. C. 689, during Cicero's canvass for the Consulship, the very time, when he pronounced the Oration in question. He plainly told the Conscript Fathers, that both Catiline and Antonius had, the very night before, held a meeting of their associates, in the house of a certain man of rank and influence, and who was well known, for the profusion of his largesses to the people. *Dico, Patres Conscripti, superiore nocte, cujusdam hominis nobilis, et valde in hoc largitionis quæstu noti et cogniti, domum Catilinam et Antonium cum sequestribus suis convenisse.* Asconius on this observes, *Aut C. Cæsaris, aut M. Crassi domum significat. . Et hoc ipse Cicero in expositione suorum consiliorum significat,* &c. See Orat. in Tog. Cand. sub. init.; with the Commentary of Asconius. This, then, we may pronounce the most probable opinion, not only on the authority of Asconius, but of Cicero himself.

Catiline's house, whether it was, or was not the place of meeting, was well known at Rome. It was situated on Mount Palatine, near the Basilica of Opimius, and opposite to the Temple of Concord, which stood on the Capitoline Hill. It is singular enough, that it was afterwards purchased by Augustus, and became a part of the

Page 27. imperial palace. See Sueton. de Illust. Grammat. XVII.—Marlian. Topogr. Urb. XI. XVII.

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(56.) THE expression here put into the mouth of Catiline, *Pauci potentes*, is evidently of much the same complexion and import, as *Paucorum factio*, a phrase, as I have already said, in the Notes on the Epistles to Cæsar (Vol. I. p. 533.), which was constantly applied, by the popular party, to their Patrician opponents, and is very common with both Cæsar and Sallust. Some will have it, that our author here alludes to a particular junto, which acquired the name of "the Seven Tyrants," and are supposed to have consisted of the following persons; Lucius Lucullus, and his brother Marcus, Crassus, Catulus, Hortensius, Metellus, and Philippus. However that may be, there is too good ground to believe, that the influence of the aristocratical party at Rome, and the abuse which they made of their power, was among the proximate causes of the disorders of this period, of the extinction of the republic, and of civil liberty. The oligarchy, which had continued from the days of Sylla, now subsisted in full force; so that Sallust, with his usual attention to verisimilitude in his Speeches, instead of intending the picture, held up by Catiline, of the wealth and arrogance of the present rulers, as party declamation, meant rather to give it as an historical fact. That he had ample cause for such a representation, appears clear from every account, which we have of this period. Cicero, who will not be suspected of favouring the popular party of his time, gives evidence, on various occasions, to the same effect. In his pleading against Verres (L. V.), we find an account of the use, which the nobles made of their power, and particularly of the rapacity, with which they seized the treasures and curiosities of the conquered provinces, for the decoration of their houses and villas, not very different from that, put into the mouth of Catiline. *Patimur enim* (says he) *jam multos annos et silemus, ad paucos*

homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse. Quod eò magìs ferre æquo animo, et concedere videmur, quia nemo istorum dissimulat, nemo laborat, ut obscura sua cupiditas esse videatur. In urbe nostrâ, pulcherrimâ atque ornatissimâ, quod signum, quæ tabula picta est, quæ non ab hostibus victis capta, atque asportata sit? At istorum villæ sociorum fidelissimorum, et plurimis, et pulcherrimis spoliis ornatæ refertæque sunt. Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum esse arbitramini, quibus nunc omnes egent, càm Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samum, totam denique Asiam, Achaiam, Græciam, Siciliam, jam in paucis villis inclusas esse videatis. Page 27.

Just as we may believe this delineation to be of Patrician rapacity, it must be observed, on the other hand, that the advocates for sedition and rebellion have uniformly been the same, in all ages and nations; and, whether in Rome or Britain, have constantly complained of the same grievances, and held out, to their followers, the same arguments, for resisting or overturning established authority. There is, in the Notes on Catiline's Conspiracy, published under the fictitious name of George Frederic Sydney, an ingenious parallel, drawn by the author, between the Speech of Catiline to his accomplices, and the political tenets of those infatuated Societies, which, a few years ago, had formed the plan of new-modelling our constitution, after their own visionary theories. As the resemblance is curious, and certainly is as accidental, between the great Roman conspirator, and the Societies just now mentioned, I shall, for the amusement of the reader, present it to him, as it stands in Mr. George Frederic Sydney's own words. When I do so, however, let it be understood, that I enter not into the question at issue between Lord Lauderdale and Mr. Sydney, and that I mean no personal disparagement of the ingenious nobleman, whom he makes pretty conspicuously to figure in his parallel.

'It is worthy of notice,' Mr. Sydney observes, 'that the topics, which Catiline urges, in the course of his artful Speech, are to be

Page 27. found in the dispatches of the Corresponding Societies, and in Lord Lauderdale's pamphlet. (His Address to the Peers of Scotland, published in 1793, or 1794.) Catiline says; "All power is in the hands "of a few imperious demagogues, while he and his associates are a "mere vulgar herd, without place or preferment." The London Corresponding Society, in their Address to the People, declare, that "Their plaints are derided by those in power; a band of placemen, "pensioned with the extorted produce of the peasant's labour; a "proud nobility, wallowing in riches, acquired somehow; a set of "pensioned, and all devouring locusts in office." Catiline says; "The People were obliged to bend to a set of proud oppressors, who, "if a strong combination was formed, would tremble before men, "determined to assert their rights." The London Corresponding Society says; "Unite with hand and heart, claim what is your right, "persevere, and be free; for who shall dare to withstand your just "demands? Oppression, already trembling at the voice of indivi- "duals, will shrink away, and disappear for ever." Catiline says; "An insolent oligarchy has engrossed all power and riches, and left "nothing to the people but disgrace, contempt, and danger, with the "terrour of prosecutions." The London Corresponding Society says; "Unjust and wicked judgments have been executed, with rancour "and malignity: Our respectable, and beloved fellow-citizens have "been cast fettered, among felons, in the hulks; and Muir and "Palmer are martyrs to freedom. The bill-sticker of our Society has "suffered under the most unjust prosecution, by a stretch of prero- "gative, and an abuse of power." Lord Lauderdale agrees with "Hardy. He says; "We have seen the mild practice of the British "law departed from; obsolete statutes resorted to for temporary pur- "poses, and temporary constructions given to known, and defined "laws." Through the whole tenour of Catiline's Speech, there is not an argument, which we do not see displayed and enforced, by the seditious clubs in London, Norwich, Sheffield, and elsewhere. Catiline

talks of agrarian laws: The Corresponding Societies say, common lands must be restored to the public. Catiline pours forth a torrent of invective, against all the eminent men in Rome, and bestows the highest encomium on his partizans: In the same manner, Lord Lauderdale is lavish in praise of the *Rump* opposition, to which he belongs; and to vilify the Duke of Portland, and Mr. Pitt, he employs all the flowers of rhetoric, which may be culled every day at Billingsgate. For the same purpose, the Society for Constitutional Information proposed to have a BLACK AND WHITE BOOK.' P. 220 —222. Page 29.

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(57.) NOTHING can be more natural, or better imagined, than the whole of this spirited address, which is attributed to Catiline; for it is difficult to conceive that the historian should have acquired any very certain information, as to the particulars of Catiline's discourse to his assembled accomplices. Let the classical reader compare what, according to Cicero, passed upon the occasion, and he will perceive the coincidence. *Meministis, enim, cùm illius nefarii gladiatoris voces percrebuissent, quas habuisse in concione domesticâ dicebatur, cùm miserorum fidelem defensorem negâsset inveniri posse, nisi eum, qui ipse miser esset: Integrorum et fortunatorum promissis saucios, et miseros credere non oportere: Quare, qui consumpta replere, erepta recuperare vellent, spectarent quid ipse deberet, quid possideret, quid auderet: Minimè timidum, et valde calamitosum esse oportere eum, qui esset futurus dux, et signifer calamitosorum.* Orat. pro Muren. XXV.

(58.) THE original has *Tabulæ novæ*, New Tables. It was the practice at Rome, in order to give security to the creditor for the payment of debts, to register them in Books or Tables, kept for the purpose. When the common people became so loaded with debts,

Page 30. that they were unable to discharge them, it was their custom loudly to demand what was termed New Tables, or a suppression of the antient registers. Hence *Tabulæ novæ*, by metonymy, came to signify a general remission of debts.

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(59.) THE story of this man (who is called by Cicero P. Cincius) is somewhat singular. He was originally a native of the town of Nuceria, in Campania or Umbria, from which place he derived the surname of Nucerinus. Being prosecuted, as we learn from Appian, for some misdemeanour at Rome, and not chusing to stand his trial, he fled to Spain. There he contrived to draw together a considerable body of troops, at the head of which, as a soldier of fortune, he passed over to Africa. The princes of that continent were then at war with one another; and Sittius, by siding sometimes with one, and sometimes with another, was sure, in general, to derive some advantage from the quarrel. As he usually fought with success, he acquired great military reputation, and soon was considered as a powerful chief, throughout both Africa and Italy. See Appian. Bel. Civil. L. IV. p. 996. Edit. Toll. By Catiline, therefore, it was hoped, if his designs at Rome were attended with success, that the assistance of such a leader might prove of extraordinary utility.

In the time of the civil war, this active partizan declared for Cæsar, against the Pompeian chiefs in Africa: He even equipped a fleet, and rendered the most important services to the Dictator. He defeated Sabrura, the general of King Juba, and took the town of Cirta, one of the strongest places in the Numidian territory. After the famous battle of Thapsus, he dispersed Scipio's fleet, and made Afranius and Faustus Sylla prisoners. As a reward for these, and other services, Cæsar bestowed upon him the town of Cirta, with a large portion of the adjoining district, which had formerly belonged to King Manasses, the friend of Juba, and dignified it with the title of *Colonia Julia*

Sittianorum. But Sittius himself was, at last, treacherously murdered by Arabio, the son of Manasses, and the little kingdom, which he had erected, was thus wholly destroyed. See Appian. ubi sup.—Dion. Cass. L. XLIII. p. 214. Also Hirt. de Bel. Afric. XCV. XCVI.—Epist. ad Attic. L. XV. 17. Page 80.

(60.) CAIUS ANTONIUS, surnamed Hybrida, was the son of Marcus Antonius, the celebrated orator, whom Marius so cruelly put to death, and brother to M. Antonius Creticus. He was, therefore, uncle to Mark Antony, the Triumvir. Antonius commenced his career, by serving under Sylla, in the war against Mithridates; on which occasion, when he commanded a detachment of the army, he plundered Greece, and was condemned for that crime, on the accusation of Cæsar. During his Ædileship, he laboured to gain the affections of the People, by the prodigious expense, and elegance of his shows; means which, when aided by the lustre of descent, seldom failed of effect. The whole decorations and furniture of the theatre were, on this occasion, of pure silver. By these, and other acts of extravagance, he ruined his fortune.

Antonius, without doubt, may be classed among the worst characters of any period; and he was suffered to rise to the dignities of the state, merely from the respect and admiration, still felt for the merit of his father. A. U. C. 683, the Censors, Gellius and Lentulus, expelled him from the Senate, both on account of his pecuniary embarrassments, and his dissolute manners; yet he afterwards contrived to regain his rank, and was candidate, together with Cicero, for both the Prætorship, and the Consulship. See Q. Cic. de Petit. Consulat. & Orat. in Tog. Cand., with the useful Commentary of Asconius. Also Orat. pro Cœl. XIX. Pro Flac. XXXVIII. Epist. ad Fam. L. V. 5. &c. That Antonius was concerned in Catiline's Conspiracy is perfectly ascertained, as well as that he was guilty of a variety of other crimes. It is singular that Sallust does not openly name him, in the list of

Page 31. the accomplices; since his conduct escaped judicial cognizance, at this time, only through the policy, and prudence of Cicero. How he afterwards conducted himself will appear, in the course of the present history.

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(61.) ALL the Roman writers, who have given an account of Catiline's Conspiracy, Sallust only excepted, seem to believe the authenticity of this circumstance. Florus, agreeably to the report stated in the text, but with a rhetorical turn in the conclusion, after the manner of the schools, says; *Additum est, pignus conjurationis, sanguis humanus, quem, circumlatum pateris, bibere; summum nefas; nisi amplius esset, propter quod biberunt.* L. IV. 1. iv. Plutarch relates, that the conspirators, having chosen Catiline as their leader, among other methods of ratifying their engagements of secrecy and fidelity with one another, sacrificed a man, and ate of his flesh. According to Dion Cassius, Catiline sacrificed a boy, in presence of his associates; tore out his reeking entrails; and, after making all take the oath of fidelity, they all likewise partook of this horrible repast. Τοῦτον ἓν προστάτην οἱ πονηροὶ λαβόντες, ἄλλας τε πίστεις ἀλλήλοις ἔδοσαν, καὶ καταθύσαντες ἄνθρωπον, ἐγεύσαντο τῶν σαρκῶν. Plutarch. in Ciceron. X. Edit. Reisk. Παῖδα γάρ τινὰ καταθύσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων αὐτῶν τὰ ὅρκια ποιήσας, ἔπειτα ἐσπλάγχνευσεν αὐτὰ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων. Dion. Cass. L. XXXVII. p. 48. Edit. Stephan. From Sallust's well-known accuracy, however, in stating facts, as well as the silence of Cicero, it is generally supposed, that these reports were fabricated, not only for the usual purpose of exciting wonder, but for the political object, mentioned in the text. It seems incredible, it is alleged, that Cicero, on the variety of occasions, on which he has introduced the subject of Catiline and the conspirators, should have omitted a circumstance, so well calculated to impress the public mind; or that he should have neglected to make use of it, in the poem on his own Consulship, as one of the

happiest topics for the exercise of his fancy. From the poem, however, no conclusive inference can be drawn, as we are possessed of only some fragments of that favourite production. Page 31.

The tasting of human blood, for the purpose of sealing, or cementing solemn engagements, appears to have been among the most antient customs of barbarous nations. It is said to have originated with the Scythians: It was well known among the Medes; and it found a place in the superstitions of almost every antient people. It is the constant practice of the Scythians, says Herodotus, in all their treaties, to conclude and ratify them, with the following ceremonies. They pour, into an earthen vessel, a quantity of wine, and proceed to mix with it some blood, from the bodies of the contracting parties. That is procured, by means of a slight wound, inflicted with a knife or sword: On which, they dip a scymitar, some arrows, a hatchet, and a javelin into the vessel, and promise fidelity, with many vows and adjurations. The wine is then reverently drunk, not only by the parties themselves, but also by their attendants of the highest rank. *Ὅρκια δὲ ποιεῦνται Σκόθαι ὧδε, πρὸς τὲς ἂν ποιέωνται· ἐς κύλικα μεγάλην κεραμίνην οἶνον ἐγχέαντες, αἷμα συμμίσγουσι τῶν τὰ ὅρκια ταμνομένων, τύψαντες ὑπέατι ἢ ἐπιταμόντες μαχαίρῃ σμικρὸν τῷ σώματος. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάψαντες ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἀκινάκεα, καὶ ὀϊστὲς, καὶ σάγαριν, καὶ ἀκόντιον· ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κατεύχονται πολλά. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποπίνεσι αὐτοί τε οἱ τὸ ὅρκιον ποιεύμενοι, καὶ τῶν ἡπομένων οἱ πλέστε ἄξιοι.* L. IV. p. 246. Edit. Gale. See also Solin. Polyhist. XXV. The traces of this custom are visible, in the religious ceremonies, antiently practised at Rome, particularly in those, which were appointed for the ratification of a treaty of alliance. After the usual libation was made, the victim slain, and a part of it burnt upon the altar, and a part eaten by the parties, a cup of blood, mingled with wine, was humbly offered to the divinity, and placed before his image. This potion was called *assiratum*, or, more antiently, *assir*, which denoted blood. See Pomp. Fest. p. 255. Edit. Gothof.

Page 31. Whether Catiline had, or had not recourse to some imposing solemnity of the same sort, it was, at least, extremely natural that he should have adopted it; not from any religious sentiments, that weighed with himself, but from the popular prejudices, which were in favour of the rite, and from its fitness to impress the imaginations of men. Indeed, the notion of its awfulness and solemnity has been faithfully handed down to later times, and is discernible among the customs of most modern nations. As I have already said, however (Essay Second, p. 252. 253.), Sallust regarded, with a philosophic contempt, the extraordinary love of the marvellous, so common with the historians both of Greece, and of his own country. Any fact or circumstance, therefore, though probable in itself, whose origin could be referred to that popular propensity, he appears to have considered, not only with suspicion, but even with repugnance and incredulity; and a better instance, than the present, needs not be desired, of the truth of the remark.

(62.) See Note 44. anteh. page 139, where a particular account of Curius is given, as among the number of Catiline's principal associates.

(63.) Florus, in opposition to Sallust and Plutarch, calls this woman a courtezan of the lowest class *(vilissimum scortum)*: But probably the censure of Florus may be pointed against her manners, rather than her birth. Her manners, beyond question, were bad enough, if we may believe an anecdote, related of her by Valerius Maximus, when in company with Mucia, the wife of Pompey, who appears to have been little better, at a grand entertainment, given by one Gemellus, to Metellus Scipio. *Flagitiosum illud convivium, quod Gemellus, Tribunicius viator, ingenui sanguinis, sed officii intra servilem habitum deformis, Metello Scipioni Consuli, ac Tribunis plebis, magno cum rubore civitatis comparavit. Lupanari enim domi suæ instituto, Muciam et Fulviam, tum à patre, tum à viro utramque abductam, et nobilem*

puerum Saturninum, in eo prostituit. L. IX. 1. viii. By some, this Fulvia is supposed the same person, who was daughter to Fulvius Flaccus, and so well known for having first married Clodius, and afterwards both Curio and Mark Antony. See concerning her, Plutarch. in Cæsar.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 74. &c. Page 32.

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(64.) MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, one of the most eminent statesmen, and, certainly, the greatest orator, philosopher, and critic, that Rome ever produced, was born, A. U. 647, at Arpinum, in the country of the Samnites, and now a part of the Neapolitan territory. This inconsiderable town had formerly been the birth-place of Caius Marius: So that it may be truly said to have boasted of men, who exemplified the character, given by the younger Pliny, of true glory, "by doing what deserved to be written, or by writing what deserved to be read."

Cicero was son to M. Cicero, a man of antient, though only of Equestrian family, and also of considerable learning; but who never had emerged from private life: Hence the son was, as Sallust here expresses it, an "upstart," or new man *(Homo novus)*, being the first of his race, who attained to the honours of the state. See a former Note, on the distinction, made among the Romans, between Nobles and Patricians, Vol. I. p. 502. Cicero had the advantage of being educated under some of the first men in Rome, and according to the directions of Marcus Crassus, the celebrated orator. Like other young men, he began his career, by serving in the army; and this he did under Pomp. Strabo, in the Italic War, and then under Sylla (Philip. XII. 11. De Divin. L. I. 33. II. 30.): But he soon turned his attention to the more congenial studies of oratory and jurisprudence.

It is utterly impossible, in the short compass of a Note, to give any thing like a delineation of this extraordinary man. Suffice it to say, that, after accomplishing himself, in Greece, under the most celebrated orators and philosophers, he returned to Rome, to form

Page 32. a new era in Latin eloquence, and far outstripped all his cotemporaries. A. U. C. 678, he obtained the Quæstorship, and, in 683, the office of Ædile. Two years after, he stood candidate for that of Prætor; and so great was the affection, entertained for him by the people, and the integrity and ability, which marked his conduct, that he was unanimously elected first of all the ten Prætors, by the suffrage of the Centuries. One great object still remained, the possession of the supreme magistracy; and to that he looked forward, with the most anxious expectation. Whatever may be thought of his courage and firmness on other occasions, it is certain, that, in this station, he stood forward, with the greatest resolution. He felt, that by his talents he could benefit his country; and no private considerations, nor personal fears could deter him, from exerting them to the utmost.

It was in the year before the Conspiracy broke out, A. U. 689, that he offered himself a candidate for the Consulship; a bold attempt at this period, notwithstanding all his merit and popularity. Since the time of Sylla, who had given a fatal blow to the popular interest, none but men of noble birth had ventured to aspire to this high office. By the system, which he established, the Patricians had completely recovered from their depression under the Gracchi, and other restless demagogues, and regained their antient ascendency in the state. Yet such, says our author, was "the exigency of the moment," that Cicero was raised to the supreme magistracy, by the general concurrence of the nobles themselves, as well as that of the people. He was the first "new man," who, for forty years, had obtained the office, reckoning from the first Consulship of C. Marius. See Orat. cont. Rull. II. 2. Pro Muren. &c. On that account, he himself every where speaks of his success, not only with complacency, but with the greatest triumph and exultation.

It was not, however, to the peculiar circumstances of the times, that this event was altogether to be attributed. There were, besides Cicero, six principal candidates for the Consulship, and all of them men of

noble birth, though two only were of Patrician families: namely, P. Sulpicius Galba, L. Sergius Catiline, C. Antonius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Q. Cornificius, and C. Licinius Sacerdos. See Ascon. in Argument. In Tog. Cand. Of these by far the most powerful were Antonius and Catiline, who united their interests, in order to purchase votes. They carried on their canvass with unceasing diligence, and every species of bribery; and they were openly supported, by all the influence of Cæsar and Crassus; as those two began to regard, with jealous eyes, the growing ascendency of Cicero. Page 32.

Cicero, on the other hand, made head against his rivals, with vigour and address. He engaged Lucius Cæsar, the Consul elect, to bring forward certain new regulations concerning bribery, and to threaten the delinquents, with the pains and penalties of the Calpurnian law, on which Sylla and Autronius had formerly been found guilty. He himself personally attacked Antonius and Catiline, in the most open manner, by pronouncing against them, in the Senate, habited in the white robe, appropriated to candidates, that invective Oration, from thence called *In Toga Candidâ, contra Competitores,* of which a considerable part still remains, together with the Commentary of Asconius. In this speech, he severely laid open the characters of his opponents, their shameless bribery, their horrible crimes, their dissolute, and scandalous manners, which rendered them, he said, wholly unworthy of the public confidence. He even ventured to glance at Cæsar and Crassus themselves, and pointed out the house of one of them, as the rendezvous of the conspirators. Not content with this, he employed his brother Quintus, to compose a small tract, or, as we should now call it, a political pamphlet, on the approaching elections *(De petitione Consulatûs)*; or he probably composed it himself, in Quintus's name, and assiduously distributed it all over the city.

Of the six competitors, Galba, Cornificius, and Sacerdos were men of great respectability, and from them Cicero had little to fear: But the wickedness and profligacy of Longinus, Antonius, and Catiline,

Page 33. were, in this publication, most bitterly attacked by him, their whole life and conversation minutely displayed to the view, and strikingly contrasted, with the merits of their Equestrian opponent. All modern political abuse, or personal hostility, is nothing to the severity, which pervades these two pieces.

It may be observed, that we have here one proof, among many, of Sallust's unwillingness to do justice to Cicero: For, if he succeeded in his suit, with such uncommon applause, it was no less owing to his own active exertions, and talents for intrigue, than to the critical circumstances of the times; which last, according to the historian, alone operated, in placing him at the head of affairs, at this juncture.

(65.) This Manlius, or, as some editions have it, Mallius, was a native of Fæsulæ; a bold and experienced officer, who had served under Sylla, and, like many of the followers of that usurper, amassed a prodigious fortune. Cicero, in addressing himself to Catiline, calls Manlius, *Audaciæ satellitem, atque administrum tuæ.* Orat. in Catilin. I. 2. Being, as Dion Cassius informs us, a man of no character, and addicted to extravagance of every kind, he soon dissipated his wealth; and he was delighted with the prospect of another revolution, which he, of course, hoped would afford the means of restoring it. See Dion. Cass. L. XXXVII. p. 49. Edit. Stephan.

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(66.) There is little known of this woman, except what we learn from Sallust, who has given her portrait, with the hand of a master. From what is afterwards said, in Sect. XLI., we find, that she was the wife of Decimus Junius Brutus, who was Consul A. U. C. 676; and their son, of the same name, became one of the conspirators, in the assassination of Cæsar. Care, however, should be taken, not to confound this younger D. Brutus, with Marcus Junius Brutus, the nephew

of Cato, and intimate friend of Cicero, and who, together with Cassius, Page 33. was at the head of the conspiracy.

There are some Commentators, perspicacious enough to find out, that Sallust is altogether mistaken in the above account; for the wife of D. Brutus, they say, according to Cicero, was named Polla. Besides, they remind us, that D. Brutus is called "a young man" by Cæsar, in the Commentaries on his wars in Gaul; and that the age of Sempronia, by the account of Sallust himself, was, at this time, too much advanced, to render her supposed union with Brutus in any degree probable. Cic. Epist. ad Fam. L. XI. 8.—Cæs. de Bel. Gall. L. VII. 9. While we must smile at the confidence of critics, who know so much more of both persons and events, in a distant age, than an accurate, and contemporary historian, it may be observed, that Cæsar's mention of Brutus as "a young man," pretty clearly designates the *son*, and not the *father;* and the mother of the former, as I have said above, probably was Sempronia. Cicero's Letter, likewise, in which he makes mention of Brutus's wife Polla, we know, was written A. U. 710, the year in which the battle of Mutina took place, and must necessarily have been to the younger Brutus, whom he calls, in the address, "Consul elect," and by no means to his father, who held the office four-and-thirty years before. Besides, it is possible, that the elder Brutus might have had two wives, and Sempronia have been the second.—But it was considerably easier, and certainly more authoritative, at once to pronounce Sallust in the wrong, than to make the requisite investigation, to prove him to be in the right.

Tacitus, who, on so many occasions, has drawn after his master Sallust, seems to have made this portrait of Sempronia his model, when he delineated that of Poppæa, the celebrated wife of Nero, in the 13th Book of his Annals; and several of Sallust's expressions are even borrowed on the occasion. In fact, the lady last mentioned appears to have possessed not a few of the qualities, both of mind and person, by which this accomplice of Catiline was distinguished. *Huic mulieri*

Page 33. (Poppææ) *cuncta alia fuere, præter honestum animum. Quippe mater ejus, ætatis suæ fœminas pulchritudine supergressa, gloriam pariter et formam dederat. Opes claritudini generis sufficiebant. Sermo comis, nec absurdum ingenium, modestiam proferri, et lasciviâ uti. Rarus in publicum egressus, idque velatâ parte oris, ne satiaret aspectum, vel quia sic decebat. Famæ nunquam pepercit, maritos et adulteros non distinguens; neque affectui suo, aut alieno obnoxia. Unde utilitas ostenderetur, illuc libidinem transferebat.*

In a Note of Professor Meisner's, on this passage, I perceive, that he is among the number of those late critics, who chuse to stand up for the *originality* of Tacitus; considering, I suppose, his genius as too sublime, "to permit him to copy any writer." As M. Meisner finds it impossible to deny, that several even of Sallust's expressions are adopted, in the character of Poppæa, he gravely remarks, how very singular so close an imitation must seem, in *such* a writer as Tacitus! *Dass ihn nachher Tacitus wörtlich in seiner Schilderung Poppæens nachgeahmt hat, ist immer sonderbar—für einen Tacitus.* pp. 83. 84. Thus it is with those gentlemen. They first confidently assure us, that their favourite Tacitus is too mighty an original, to condescend to borrow from any writer; and then, on every new demonstration of the contrary, they as gravely wonder at the singularity of the fact!! It is to be hoped, that we shall hear no more of this sort of foolery, at least from scholars, whose information should be more correct.

(67.) Sallust does not mean to say, that singing and dancing were reprehensible, as accomplishments, but only that Sempronia's proficiency in them was of that loose, and immodest sort, that did not become a woman of virtue.

It is an errour to imagine, as has been done by some authors, that singing and dancing were disreputable among the Romans, particularly in antient times. On the contrary, it is certain, that they were highly esteemed, and practised not only at festivals, and in religious ceremo-

nies, but on occasions of merriment and recreation, by persons of the highest rank. But it was the modest, and graceful practice of those arts, not as they afterwards were corrupted, in the hands of pantomimes and stage-players. The practice of dancing was at first brought into fashion by the Salii, or priests of Mars, at their festivals, when they accompanied it with singing, in honour of the God. Dionysius Halicarnassensis, in describing the Salii, as originally erected into an order by Numa, and the augmentation of their number by Tullus Hostilius, not only mentions the rank of the persons appointed, but the high estimation, in which dancing was held. *Οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ πατέρων εὐγενῶν, ἐνοπλίους ὀρχήσεις κινέμενοι πρὸς αὐλὸν ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις, καὶ ὕμνους τινὰς ᾄδοντες πατρίους. . Ἐπιχώριον δὲ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πάνυ τίμιον ὁ κεχρημένοις, ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι, μάλιστα δ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς πομπὰς τάς τε ἐν ἱπποδρόμῳ καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις γινομένων.* Antiq. Rom. L. III. 32. & L. II. 71. Edit. Reisk. In this species of dancing, Appius Claudius, one of the gravest persons of his time, greatly excelled, and is said to have surpassed all his cotemporaries. See Macrob. Saturnal. L. II. 10. Page 33.

But it was not to religious purposes alone, that dancing was antiently applied. Quintilian, in the 1st Book of his Institutes, bears testimony to the fact, and he quotes the instructions of Cicero, to his accomplished Orator, not to omit the exercise, in order to give a manly gracefulness to his action. This sort of dignified and graceful dancing, says Quintilian, has continued down to the present period, without reproach; although I myself never continued it, beyond my boyish years; and, even then, I had little turn for the recreation. *Cujus etiam disciplinæ usus in nostram usque ætatem sine reprehensione descendit. A me tamen nec ultra pueriles annos retinebitur, nec in his ipsis diu.* Sect. XI. fin.

It were needless to multiply examples of the partiality, which was entertained, for this elegant exercise. The Romans wisely considered, that the mind, constituted as it is, cannot always be upon the stretch;

Page 33. and that relaxation of some sort is indispensable, even to men of the severest tempers, and the most vigorous habits of application. Socrates, it is well known, did not blush to divert himself with children: Cato sought, in the joys of wine, a grateful solace from public business; and the great Scipio, accustomed as he was to camps, and honoured with triumphs, used oftentimes to dance to the sound of music. But it was not in dances, such as afterwards came in vogue, that that great man was seen to partake; dances, which were disfigured by effeminate movements, and theatrical inflections; but of that manly, free, and noble kind, such as those antient worthies were wont, in solemn, or in festive seasons to practise; and of which they had no cause to be ashamed, had they been witnessed by their enemies. *Non in eâdem intentione æqualiter retinenda mens est, sed ad jocos revocanda. Cùm pueris Socrates ludere non erubescebat; et Cato vino laxabat animum, curis publicis fatigatum; et Scipio triumphale illud, et militare corpus movit ad numeros, non molliter se infringens, ut nunc mos est, etiam incessu ipso ultra muliebrem mollitiem fluentibus; sed ut illi antiqui viri solebant, inter lusum, ac festa tempora, virilem in modum tripudiare, non facturi detrimentum, etiam si ab hostibus suis spectarentur.* Sen. de Tranquil. Anim. XV. p. 673. Edit. Dalechamp.

It appears, likewise, that dancing made a part of the education of women of condition. It was of that modest sort, customary at the celebration of religious festivals, when the instruments of sacrifice were borne, sometimes by maidens, and sometimes by married women, who moved with a graceful, and measured step;

> Ut festis matrona moveri jussa diebus;
> Intererit Satyris paulùm pudibunda protervis.
> Hor. Art. Poët. 232.

Macrobius (Saturnal. L. II. 10.) quotes Sallust's words, in the present passage, to support the honours of dancing and music; and he has

preserved a curious fragment of a Speech of Scipio Africanus, against a law, which Tiberius Gracchus had brought forward to the people. In this Oration, Scipio heavily complains of the indecent, and theatrical mode of both singing and dancing, that was begun to be taught, to boys and girls, even in his days; which is precisely what Sallust calls, *Psallere et saltare elegantiùs, quàm necesse est probæ.* The evil, in the historian's time, had, of course, risen to a much greater height, until singing and dancing, wholly degenerating from their former character, became the acquirements principally of stage-players and buffoons. Cornelius Nepos, in describing Epaminondas's proficiency in playing on the lyre, which, among the Greeks, was esteemed a first-rate accomplishment, takes notice, that neither music nor dancing, in his own country, was becoming in men of high rank; and, in fact, the effects of a taste for the soft dances of Ionia, were too visible on the females of the succeeding generation: Page 33.

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo, et fingitur artubus
Jam nunc, et incestos amores
De tenero meditatur ungui.
Hor. Carm. L. III. 6.

In the days of Ammianus Marcellinus, who flourished under Constantius, we may fairly presume, that the manners had attained the *ne plus ultrà* of corruption. Accordingly, in a curious delineation of those of Rome, in the time of that Emperor, we can trace, in the style of dancing, which then prevailed, a complete maturation of that effeminate taste, of which Horace has above described the prevalence. *Licet quocunque oculos flexeris, fœminas adfatim multas spectare cirratas, ad usque tædium pedibus pavimenta terentes, jactari volubilibus gyris; dum exprimunt innumera simulacra, quæ finxere fabulæ theatrales.* L. XIV. p. 23. Edit. Gronov. Fol. Had this "philosophic soldier," as

Page 34. Mr. Gibbon quaintly styles the historian just now quoted, been fortunate enough to live in our days, and to see the incomparable *Waltzes*, which, for the improvement of the *modesty*, as well as the agility of our women, we have, with so much judgment, imported from Germany, it might have been imagined, that it was in admiration of their merit, that he penned his description; for it is impossible for any thing to be more truly correct.—I will not extend the present Note, by any invidious comparison, between the grave, and graceful dancing of antient Rome, and the above exhibitions, in fashion among ourselves. That they would have escaped the censure of Sallust there is considerable doubt; and they certainly would not have attracted the praise of a Quintilian, or the partiality of a Scipio.

On the subject of ancient dancing, I shall add another curious circumstance, as recorded by Theodoret (Hist. Eccles. L. III. 28.). The primitive Christians, he says, on occasions of rejoicing, always used to dance in the churches, and in the tombs of the holy martyrs. At Antioch, when the news arrived of the Emperor Julian's death, the whole city gave itself up to feasting and revelry. Not only the churches and martyrs' tombs were immediately filled with companies of dancers, but the same rites took place, in the theatres themselves, for the purpose, as it was said, of predicting a lasting victory, to the cross of Christ, over heathenish superstition. The Fathers of the church prudently condemned these pious demonstrations of joy and zeal; and, by the Council of Toledo, all such Ballets (*Ballematia*), usual, also, on the birth-days of saints, were consequently prohibited. See likewise Synod. Roman. sub Eugen. II. A. D. 826.

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(68.) THIS was the second time, that Catiline had stood a candidate for the Consulship. The other competitors were, S. Sulpicius, L. Licinius Murena, and D. Junius Silanus. Persuaded, that on the success of his suit depended, in a great measure, that of the Conspiracy,

he strained every nerve to make good his election. He entered Page 34.
into a union of the closest kind with Antonius. He scattered bribes with extraordinary profusion. He drew together a band of desperate ruffians, composed partly of the former followers of Sylla, and partly of the inhabitants of Fæsulæ and Arretium, who had been gained over by Manlius; and he appeared in the streets of Rome, publicly at their head. These proceedings did not fail to inspire the most serious alarm. Men began, in good earnest, to perceive in them a faithful resemblance to the days of Sylla, which were still fresh in their recollection; and they dreaded a renewal, under so experienced a pupil, of the same lawless usurpation, and the same horrible atrocities.

Cicero, on this, brought forward a new law against bribery, in aid of the Calpurnian, with the additional penalty of ten years exile: Moreover, prohibiting all shows of Gladiators, within two years from the time of suing for any public office; unless expressly ordered, by the will of some person deceased, and on a certain day, specified by that will. See Orat. pro Muren. XXIII. In Vatin. XV.

It was unfortunate, that the weight of this law, which was chiefly directed against Catiline, chanced, soon after, to fall on Cicero's particular friend Murena. Being accused upon it, at Cato's instance, Cicero successfully defended him, in that excellent pleading, *Pro Murenâ*, a considerable part of which is still extant; and it is the more especially valuable, for containing several particulars, not elsewhere to be found, concerning the Conspiracy. It was on this occasion, that the great orator, with that admirable talent for raillery, which he possessed, so keenly directed it against the Stoics, and their paradoxical philosophy, clearly demonstrating its utter unfitness for the purposes of life; insomuch, that he kept the whole court in a roar of laughter, at their expense. Cato, who felt himself the indirect object of Cicero's ridicule, was content only to observe, with a smile, to those who stood near him, That Rome, indeed, was blessed with a most *laughable* Consul! Ὦ ἄνδρες, ὡς γελοῖον ὕπατον ἔχομεν. Plutarch. in Caton.

Page 34. Minor. XXI. Edit. Reisk. *Dii boni, quàm ridiculum Consulem habemus!* It is impossible, in English, to give the double meaning of γελοῖος, which signifies any thing either ridiculous in itself, or exciting laughter in others; although the Latin *ridiculus* far better expresses it. The remark, therefore, of Mr. Langhorne, on the passage, is perfectly just, that the translators who have rendered it "pleasant or facetious," have by no means conveyed the sarcasm, intended by Cato.

It is proper here to state, that Sallust, contrary to his usual correctness, has somewhat confounded the order of the events, of which he makes mention, from Section XXVII. to Section XXXI., as may be seen by the dates, which I have affixed to the margin, and by the Chronological notices, at the commencement of the Volume. I shall, then, give a short view, from Cicero, and other writers, of these transactions, as they actually took place, with the addition of various circumstances, which are omitted, in the rapidity of our author's narrative.

It was not long, until Catiline perceived, that Cicero, by his authority as Consul, intended, from time to time, to put off the election of the new magistrates, and that the late law, against bribery, was principally levelled at himself. He, therefore, formed the design, by means of his mob, of assassinating Cicero, and all the other competitors, in the Campus Martius, on the 20th October, the time at last fixed for holding the Comitia. Of this daring attempt Cicero was privately informed, and, on the day before, intimated it to the Senate; in consequence of which, the elections were further put off, in order to give time for deliberation, on an affair of such magnitude. On the 20th October, in a full meeting of the Fathers, whom he summoned for the purpose, he openly called on Catiline to free himself from the foul suspicions, which had gone abroad against him; when the latter, as Cicero says, without any reserve, without pretending to deny, or to palliate the matter, fairly declared, that there were two bodies in

the state, meaning the Senate and the People, of which the one was weak, from the inefficiency of its head, and the other, though vigorous, without a head at all; but, that the claims of the last mentioned on his best services were such, that it should never want a head, while he lived to supply it. A few days before, he had, in his place, thrown out similar insinuations; and when Cato, astonished at the impudence of the man, immediately rose, and threatened him with an impeachment, he fiercely answered, that if, through the contrivances of his enemies, any flame should be excited in his fortunes, he would extinguish it, not with water, but with the general ruin! *Atque ille, ut semper fuit apertissimus, non se purgavit, sed indicavit atque induit. Tum enim dixit, duo corpora esse reipublicæ, unum debile, infirmo capite; alterum firmum, sine capite: Huic, cùm ita de se meritum esset, caput, se vivo, non defuturum.. Cùm idem ille, in eodem ordine, paucis diebus antè, Catoni, fortissimo viro, judicium minitanti ac denuntianti, respondisset, si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aquâ, sed ruinâ restincturum* Pro Muren. XXV. Plutarch makes him address the enigmatical language, about the Senate and the People, to Cicero himself; probably with a view, both to intimidate the Consul, and to display his principles to those present, many of whom were not averse to the idea of a revolution. Page 34.

Ὁ δὲ πολλὰς οἰόμενος εἶναι τὰς πραγμάτων καινῶν ἐφιεμένας ἐν τῇ βελῇ, καὶ ἅμα τοῖς συνωμόταις ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Κικέρωνι ἐ μαλακὴν ἀπόκρισιν· Τί γὰρ, ἔφη, πράττω δεινὸν, εἰ, δυοῖν σωμάτων ὄντων, τῷ μὲν ἰσχνῷ καὶ κατεφθινηκότος, ἔχοντος δὲ κεφαλὴν, τῷ δ' ἀκεφάλῳ μὲν, ἰσχυρῷ δὲ καὶ μεγάλῳ, τούτῳ κεφαλὴν αὐτὸς ἐπιτίθημι. In Ciceron. XIV. p. 774. Edit. Reisk.

These hints, which were by no means equivocal, alarmed the Senate. The majority were convinced, that nothing less than a dangerous Conspiracy, in which a part of their own body was concerned, could possibly have produced an effrontery so daring. As violent measures threatened to ensue, Catiline thought fit to alter his tone, and

Page 34. more calmly observed, that, as he felt his conscience to be void of offence, he was ready to be tried by the laws of his country; and, should it be thought, that he meant to shrink from any charges, which might appear against him, he was, at that moment, ready to deliver himself into custody *(in liberis custodiis)*, with whatever member of their body the Fathers should appoint. On turning to Lepidus, and offering himself to him, the proposal was declined by that Senator. Catiline then artfully observed, that, if agreeable to the Senate, he would lodge with the Consul: But Cicero instantly replied, that he should take good care, how he admitted under the same roof with him a man, with whom it was dangerous enough to live within the same city! *(Me nullo modo posse iisdem parietibus tutò esse tecum, qui magno in periculo essem, quòd iisdem moenibus contineremur.)* On this Catiline, in great agitation, quitted the assembly. He next had recourse to Metellus Celer, the Prætor, who likewise excused himself; until, at length, M. Marcellus was persuaded to take charge of him. See Cic. in Catilin. I. 8.—Dion. Cass. L. XXXVII. p. 49. Edit. Stephan.

While Cicero continued anxious as to the decision of the Senate, an occurrence took place, which tended to confirm the general suspicions. About two hours after midnight, three of the most considerable men in Rome, M. Crassus, M. Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, came to the Consul's door, and, calling up the porter, desired him to awake his master, with whom, they said, they had business of the utmost importance. When Cicero rose, he was informed by Crassus, that that same evening, after supper, a person unknown had left, at his house, a packet of letters, addressed to divers men of Senatorian rank. One, intended for himself, he had opened, and perceived it to be anonymous; but it was to admonish him of a horrible massacre, meditated by Catiline, and to leave the city, with all possible expedition. The other letters, he said, he had judged proper to bring, as he received them, to Cicero. For this conduct Crassus evidently had

cogent reasons. He both felt apprehension, on account of the threatened danger; and it was his design, by a show of patriotism, to take off the odium, which his connection with Catiline had so justly brought upon him. Cicero, after deliberating with his three guests, resolved to lay the whole before the Senate. See Plutarch. in Cicero. XV. Page 34.

That body, however, came to no resolution to proceed against Catiline. Divided by their interests, and distracted in their councils, the members were split into two parties, of which the one was pusillanimous, on account of its apprehensions, and the other was passive, from having nothing to apprehend. They had an understanding with the conspirators, and hoped to share in the success of the plot. *Partim ideo fortes in decernendo non erant, quia nihil timebant; partim quia timebant.* Pro Muren. XXV.

The decree passed, usual in cases of extraordinary emergency, empowering the Consuls "To take such measures, as should preserve the Commonwealth from impending danger." Cicero doubled his guard. He ordered a body of troops to march into the city; and, the next day, when the elections came on, with a design to proclaim his own, and the public danger, he took care, in the procession to the Campus Martius, to throw back his robe, and expose to the view a coat of mail, which he wore under it. By this contrivance, as he afterwards told Catiline (In Catilin. I. 5.), he prevented his design of assassinating himself, and the other competitors for the Consulship. The People were incensed, and immediately gathered about him; with one consent forming a body-guard to the magistrate, to whom they looked up for protection. As Plutarch remarks, in speaking of the power, almost Dictatorial, which he at this time enjoyed, and in comparing him with Demosthenes, that he truly verified the saying of Plato; that it was then that a state might look for deliverance from calamity, when, by the favour of fortune, extraordinary power, together with consummate justice and wisdom, were united in the person, who was

Page 34. placed at its head. Ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ, λόγῳ μὲν ἀποδειχθεὶς ὕπα-
ἐξεσίαν δὲ λαβὼν αὐτοκράτορος καὶ δικτάτωρος ἐπὶ τὲς περὶ Κατιλίναν, ἐμαρτύρησεν ἅμα τῷ Πλάτωνι, μαντευομένῳ παῦλαν ἔξειν κακῶν τὰς πόλεις, ὅταν εἰς ταὐτὸ δύναμίς τε μεγάλη καὶ φρόνησις ἔκ τινος τύχης χρηστῆς ἀπαντήσῃ μετὰ δικαιοσυνης. Tom. IV. p. 848 (Edit. Reisk.

It is related by Suetonius (In Aug. XLIV.), that it was during this meeting of the Senate, to deliberate concerning Catiline's machinations, that the Emperor Augustus was born. His father Octavius, it seems, was, that day, late in coming down to the assembly, and assigned, as his reason for the accident, that his wife was in childbed, and had just brought him a son. Nigidius Figulus, the celebrated mathematician and astrologer, who was then present, enquired as to the hour of the child's birth; and, having cast his nativity, publicly declared, that this son of Octavius would become master of the world; or, addressing himself to the father (as Dion Cassius tells the story), In that boy, said he, you have given us a master. Καὶ μαθὼν τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀνεβόησεν ὅτι, Δεσπότην ἡμῖν ἐγέννησας. L. XLV. p. 306. Edit. Stephan. So greatly disturbed was Octavius with the prediction, that, had it not been for Nigidius, he would have put the child to death, in order to render the completion impossible.

The decree of the Senate, above mentioned, passed on the 13th before the Kalends of November, that is, October 20th; and the elections were held upon the following day, when Catiline once more failed in his suit, and Silanus and Murena were declared Consuls, for the ensuing year. On the 22d October, Catiline was accused, by Lucius Paulus, of sedition and violence *(De vi)*, on the Plautian law, and, on the 27th, his confederate Manlius threw off the mask, by openly taking the field in Etruria.—These occurrences, as well as the others above noticed, a part of which only are recorded by Sallust, all took place *previously* to, and not *after* the meeting at Læca's house, on the night of the 6th November (See Sect. XXVIII.), and, consequently, before the attempt to assassinate Cicero.

There was another well-planned measure, in which Catiline fortu- Page 34.
nately failed, on the 1st November, and that was, to surprise the town of Præneste, about twenty-five miles from Rome, and one of the strongest places in Italy. Cicero, suspecting his design, sent orders to the place, to reinforce the guards; so that, when Catiline arrived at the gates, during the night, he found the troops so much upon the alert, that he desisted from the enterprise. See Orat. in Catilin. I. 3.

(69.) It was usual, at Rome, to assign, to the Consuls and Prætors, certain provinces, which, on the expiration of their magistracy at home, they were sent to govern, with Proconsular powers; which governments were the certain means of acquiring a fortune. See Vol. I. pp. 50. 61. & Notes. The three methods of allotting these governments, whether Consular or Prætorian, were the following: 1st, The different candidates might agree among themselves, and then they were said, *Comparare provincias.* 2dly, The business might be determined by lot, which was called *Sortiri provincias.* 3dly, If they could not agree, by either of these methods, the Senate interposed its authority, and ended the dispute. There was, indeed, another way, but that was seldom resorted to. When the Senate was averse to come to a determination, it was settled by a decree of the People.

In the partition of the provinces, for the present year, it happened that Macedonia, one of the most desirable governments in the empire, for both wealth and command, fell to the lot of Cicero: But he immediately gave up the appointment to his colleague, for Cisalpine Gaul, in all respects inferior, with the patriotic view, which is mentioned in the text. He well knew that Antonius, from the load of debt, with which he was encumbered, had deeply entered into the views of Catiline; and he was desirous to point out some honourable, and certain method of recruiting his fortune. He, at the same time, contrived, that his own particular friend Sextius, a steady and virtuous

Page 35. character, should be appointed Quæstor to Antonius, in order to prove a check upon a governor of such a temper. Cicero yet did more. He resigned Cisalpine Gaul to another friend, Metellus Celer, being resolved, as he said, in a speech on his inauguration, to administer the high office of Consul in such a manner, as to put it out of any one's power, either to tempt, or to terrify, him from the line of his duty; since he neither sought, nor would accept of any province, honour, or emolument whatsoever, for its performance. This, in his judgment, was the only way, in which a man could fill the station, with real dignity and freedom; and the only one, that could enable him properly to chastise those factious Tribunes, who wished ill to the Commonwealth, or to despise others, who wished ill to himself. *Cùm mihi deliberatum et constitutum sit, ita gerere Consulatum, quo uno modo geri graviter et liberè potest, ut neque provinciam, neque honorem, neque ornamentum aliquod, aut commodum, neque rem ullam, appeturus sim. . Sic me in hoc magistratu geram, Populo Romano, ut possim Tribunum Plebis reipublicæ iratum coercere, mihi iratum contemnere.* Orat. cont. Rull. I. 8. This, like the rest of Cicero's public conduct, was truly virtuous and noble, and should be recorded as an example, well worthy the imitation of every magistrate, in every country.

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(70). It would be difficult to produce, in the whole course of the history of Rome, a period, better calculated than the present, to show the miserable condition of its government; and how very little the *liberty*, of which it boasted, is entitled to the applause of modern times. In fact, it was no other, than a fierce, and, often, a bloody civil war, carried on in the streets, and in the Forum of the capital, where the different factions attacked, and massacred one another, under the forms of a constitution, which was, at once, a mockery of all civil government, and a disgrace to the character of a polished people.

Notwithstanding the evidence, which, but the day before, had appeared in the Senate, of Catiline's machinations, we here find him coming down to the Comitia, as if nothing had happened; with the fixed intention of assassinating Cicero, the then Consul, and all his own competitors, in the very midst of the assembly; in consequence of which he expected, that that dignity was to be conferred upon himself! He arrived at the spot, at the head of the principal conspirators, with arms under their robes, and an immense concourse of ruffians, at his devotion. Next came Autronius, bringing with him his slaves, and a strong body of Gladiators. Cicero, on the other hand, had not been idle in preparing for his security. He left his own house, attended by some of the principal persons in Rome, and all the well-disposed citizens he was able to collect. A crowd of noble youths, who had, the same morning, made a tender of their services, soon joined him; and at their head Publius Clodius, afterwards his mortal enemy, was particularly distinguished. The Consul, as has been noticed above, in order to proclaim the imminent danger, which he knew threatened his person, had previously put on a suit of armour, over which he threw his purple robe, leaving it open at the collar, so as to exhibit the shining breast-plate, to the eyes of the spectators. *Cum illâ latâ insignique loricâ* (as he says), *ut omnes boni animadverterent, et in metu et periculo Consulem viderent.* Page 35.

A sort of dumb show, so unusual and significant, utterly discredited Catiline's cause. The People immediately flew to the aid of Cicero; and the consequence was, that the conspirators, not finding themselves sufficiently in force, durst not venture on the perpetration of the massacre. Sulpicius, the most powerful of the candidates, was terrified by the tumult, and desisted from his suit; so that Silanus and Murena were declared duly elected, for the succeeding year. On coming out of the Comitia, Cicero openly declared, that one important point, at least, had been gained, by that day's transactions. Rome would now see her most inveterate enemy, not, as he had

Page 35. hoped, at the head of her magistrates, but forced into the [illegible] leader only of his own predatory banditti!

What, then, are the reflections, which will occur to the reader?—The British reader, at least, on contemplating so deplorable a picture of antient liberty, or, on turning, in the present period (1804), to the no less miserable state of modern despotism, and the degraded condition of almost every European government, will be inclined to regard, with fresh veneration, and truer attachment, that glorious CONSTITUTION, by which, under God, his own country is distinguished; a constitution equally unknown to any antient people, and to any modern state; a constitution which Tacitus, one of the most penetrating of the antient writers, ventured, indeed, to prefigure; but he considered it only as a delightful vision, that could never be realized (See the passage, in Hist. L. IV. 33.).—These, I know, are trite sentiments: But they very naturally rise out of the subject; and I am among the number of those, who shall ever think, that they cannot be too warmly felt, and, to the young student in particular, too strenuously enforced, or too frequently repeated.

(71.) SALLUST says, that Catiline constantly went "armed," and commanded his associates to do the like; that is, he went with a poniard, or dagger, concealed under his gown; because, within the city, none, not even military officers themselves, were permitted, by law, to carry arms.—In addition to the description, which is given by the historian, of the vigilance, perseverance, and activity of this arch-conspirator, I shall present, to the reader, another by Cicero, who thus eloquently, and more minutely, paints the same prominent qualities to the People, after having obliged Catiline to leave Rome, and secured his principal accomplices.

"When Catiline," he says, "was removed, I did not conceive that I had any thing to fear, from the lethargic torpour of Lentulus, the unwieldy corpulence of Cassius, or the headlong rashness of Cethegus.

Their chief was, indeed, to be dreaded. Of all his crew, he, and he alone, could keep us in constant alarm; but that was only while he remained within our walls. He knew every thing that passed: He had access to all descriptions of men. He could tempt, invite, solicit, and enveigle all, whom he thought fit for his purposes; and what he could do he dared: Every way fit for the most desperate designs, he had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute. He possessed the exact measure of every man's abilities, and could assign, to each, his proper station. He thought nothing done, because he had issued his orders: He was sure, in person, to follow his blow. He watched, he laboured, he saw every thing executed; active, vigilant, indefatigable, and, to a degree almost incredible, patient of cold, of thirst, and of hunger. Such was the man. And if, with his various talents, his subtle craft, his consummate boldness, his active spirit, and universal genius for mischief, he had not been driven from his post in Rome, and forced to take the field, in open rebellion, I scarcely think (for I speak my mind with freedom), that I should have been able to avert the terrific storm, which hung over your heads. "*Remoto Catilinâ, nec mihi erat P. Lentuli somnum, nec L. Cassii adipem, nec Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam. Ille erat unus timendus ex his omnibus; sed tamdiu, dum moenibus urbis continebatur. Omnia norat; omnium aditus tenebat: Appellare, tentare, sollicitare poterat, audebat: Erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum; consilio, autem, neque lingua, neque manus deerat. Jam ad cæteras res conficiendas, certos homines delectos ac descriptos habebat. Neque verò, cùm aliquid mandaverat, confectum putabat: Nihil erat, quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret: Frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat. Hunc ego hominem tam acrem, tam paratum, tam audacem, tam calidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam in perditis rebus diligentem, nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulissem (dicam id, quod sentio, Quirites), non facilè* Page 35.

Page 36. *hanc tantam molem mali à cervicibus vestris depulissem*—In Catil. III. 7.

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(72.) THIS Cornelius, we find, had been in the habit of paying his court to Cicero, by attending at his levee; so that the visit, on that account, would be the more unsuspected.—It was the custom, at Rome, for the clients and friends of the great, to wait upon them, at a very early hour in the morning, often as soon as it was light, and, consequently, long before their patrons were up. To dependants, in process of time, this daily attendance became extremely irksome, and, from the arrogance of their patrons, at length insupportable. Under the Emperors, the evil had risen to a prodigious height, as we learn from both Juvenal and Martial. The former poet, in his Fifth Satire, gives a spirited detail of the circumstances of this, and other mortifications, to which the poor were subjected, notwithstanding all their assiduity. The spirit of the passage is no less admirably preserved by Mr. Gifford.

> For, first, of this be sure; whene'er thy lord
> Thinks proper to invite thee to his board,
> He pays, or thinks he pays, the total sum
> Of all thy pains, past, present, and to come.
> Behold the meed of servitude! The great
> Reward their humble followers with a treat,
> And count it current coin: They count it such,
> And, though it be but little, think it much.
> If, therefore, after two whole months, he send
> A billet to his long-neglected friend,
> (Though but to fill a vacant couch), and say,
> You, Master Trebius, dine with me to-day;
> Thy joys o'erflow.—Trebius for this must rise,
> (The dew of sleep yet lingering on his eyes)

While the faint stars yet gleam, and round the pole Page 36.
The wain of slow Boötes seems to roll;
Trembling, lest every levee should be o'er,
And the full court retiring from the door.

P. 139.

Primo fige loco, quòd tu, discumbere jussus,
Mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum.
Fructus amicitiæ magnæ, cibus: Imputat hunc rex,
Et, quamvis rarum, tamen imputat. Ergo duos post,
Si libuit, menses, neglectum adhibere clientem,
Tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcitra lecto;
Unà simus, ait. Votorum summa; quid ultrà
Quæris? Habet Trebius propter quod rumpere somnum
Debeat, et ligulas dimittere; sollicitus, ne
Tota salutatrix jam turba peregerit orbem,
Sideribus dubiis, aut illo tempore, quo se
Frigida circumagunt pigri saracca Boötæ.

V. 12.—23.

(73.) This happened early in the morning of the 7th November. Catiline, by that time, had contrived to make his escape, from the house of Marcellus. Antonius, he found, began to waver: Lentulus, constitutionally indolent, protracted and procrastinated every thing; so that, notwithstanding the number of his agents, the task of superintending, and giving vigour to the enterprise, still fell upon himself. On account of the presence of Marcellus, and the vigilance of Cicero, it was impossible for him to act, by the 26th October, the day at first intended for the execution of the plot: But he now fixed a time with Manlius, when that active partizan should take the field. He sent forward a consecrated standard, a silver Eagle, which he had long preserved in his house, as the earnest of victory, and directed the troops in Etruria to begin their march, with orders to halt for him, at

Page 36. Forum Aurelium, a small town in that district. Orat. in Clod. l. 9. II. 6. &c.

On the night of the 1st November, as above mentioned, the attempt to seize the town of Præneste fell entirely to the ground. On that of the 6th, the conspirators were summoned to meet, at the house of Læca, situated in a quiet, and retired part of the city, round the Street of the Ironmongers *(Inter falcarios)*, surrounded with trees and gardens, and every way adapted to such a purpose. Here it was, that the ultimate arrangements were made, to strike the blow. Catiline himself, together with Autronius, determined to set out for Manlius's camp. Lentulus, being Prætor, could not quit the capital, where he was, therefore, to remain, as the head of the Conspiracy. Cethegus, it was agreed, was to direct the massacre, and Cassius the conflagration, intended at Rome; and Cornelius and Vargunteius voluntarily undertook, within a few hours, to assassinate Cicero, in his own house.

The Consul, as related by Sallust, did not continue long unapprized of this diabolical project. Late at night, he communicated the intelligence to some illustrious friends, who were with him at the time; predicting the very hour of the morning, when the attempt would be made, and the two individuals, who had volunteered the execution. Let us hear the great orator himself, on the subject; when, on the 8th November, the following day, in his Speech against Catiline, in the Senate, he openly upbraided him, with the infamy of the machination. Indeed, the passage gives a curious view, both of the assurance of that conspirator, and the state of imminent danger, to which a Consul, armed, as he was, with Dictatorial powers, and a Roman Senate were reduced, in this critical juncture. For Cicero, as we shall see, although he descended, in his Speech, to the minutest particulars, yet he durst not venture to name those members of the Senate, who were then present, and whom he well knew to be

privy to every part of the Conspiracy. *Nihil agis, nihil moliris,* Page 36.
nihil cogitas, quod ego non modò non audiam, sed etiam non videam, planèque sentiam. Dico te, priori nocte, venisse inter Falcarios (non agam obscurè), in M. Læcæ domum; convenisse eòdem complures ejusdem amentiæ scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? Quid taces? Convincam, si negas: Video enim esse hîc in Senatu quosdam, qui tecum unà fuere.—O Dii immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? In quâ urbe vivimus? Quam rempublicam habemus? Hîc, hîc sunt, in nostro numero, Patres Conscripti, in hoc orbis terræ sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de meo, nostrûmque omnium interitu, qui de hujus urbis, atque adeò orbis terrarum exitio cogitent! Hosce ego video Consul, et de republicâ sententiam rogo; et quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce vulnero!—Fuisti, igitur, apud Læcam, illâ nocte, Catilina: Distribuisti partes Italiæ: Statuisti quò quemque proficisci placeret: Delegisti quos Romæ relinqueres, quos tecum educeres: Descripsisti urbis partes ad incendia: Confirmasti, te ipsum jam esse exiturum: Dixisti paululum tibi esse etiam tum moræ, quòd ego viverem. Reperti sunt duo equites Romani, qui te istâ curâ liberarent, et sese, illâ ipsâ nocte, paulò ante lucem, me in meo lectulo interfecturos pollicerentur. Hæc ego omnia, vix dum etiam coetu vestro dimisso, comperi: Domum meam majoribus præsidiis munivi atque firmavi: Exclusi eos, quos tu manè ad me salutatum miseras, cùm illi ipsi venissent; quos ego jam multis ac summis viris, ad me id tempores venturis esse prædixeram. In Catilin. I. 3. 4. And in another place, he says, alluding to the same circumstance; *Ego sum ille Consul, Patres Conscripti, cui non forum, in quo omnis æquitas continetur; non campus, Consularibus auspiciis consecratus; non Curia, summum auxilium omnium gentium; non domus, commune perfugium; non lectus, ad quietem datus; non, denique, hæc sedes honoris, sella curulis, umquam vacua mortis periculo, atque insidiis fuit!* IV. 1.

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(74.) On this occasion, it was said, that a multitude of spectres and apparitions were seen; the cries of strange, and unknown birds were heard; that earthquakes, in various places, shook the earth; and streams of fire (probably the Aurora Borealis in a resplendent state) illumined all the western quarter of the sky. Dion. Cass. L. XXXVII. p. 46. Edit. Stephan. Portents and prodigies of this sort, which figure so conspicuously in the narrative of Livy, our author passes over, with a philosophical indifference. It is certain, however, that reality, in some degree, then united with fiction, in striking the minds of men. Not long before, the Capitol was struck with lightning: The statue of Jupiter was overthrown, that of Pinarius Natta greatly damaged, as well as the tables of brass, on which the laws were engraved; also the beautiful group of figures in bronze, representing Romulus and Remus, suckled by the Wolf. This celebrated group, as we learn from Livy (L. X. 23.), was placed in the Capitol, A. U. 458, by Cnæus and Quintus Ogulnius, who were Curile Ædiles at that period; and there it remained, during the space of one-and-twenty centuries, till the late plunder of Italy by the French, when it was transported, by those robbers, to Paris. See some other circumstances, mentioned in Note 58, Vol. I. page 253.

Amidst these terrific omens, and dismal apprehensions, the whole Augural college at Rome was consulted: Soothsayers were sent for, from Etruria; and the consequence was a prediction, in which they all concurred, that a dreadful revolution impended the republic. Cicero, like an able statesman, made the most of these circumstances, in order to impress, upon the people, a due sense of their danger. He succeeded in convincing them, that the whole business of discovering, and disconcerting the Conspiracy, was the effect of a special, and miraculous interposition of the Gods, of whose divine will he himself was merely the instrument. *Quamquam hæc omnia, Quirites, ita sunt à me administrata, ut Deorum immortalium nutu atque consilio*

et gesta et provisa esse videantur. Idque cùm conjecturâ consequi possumus, quòd vix videtur humani consilii tantarum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse; tum verò ita præsentes his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos penè oculis videre possemus. Nam, ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces, ardoremque coeli, ut fulminum jactus, ut terræmotus relinquam, ut omittam cætera, quæ tam multa, nobis Consulibus, facta sunt, ut hæc, quæ nunc fiunt, canere Dii immortales viderentur. In Catilin. III. 8. In the Second Book of the poem, which he composed on his own Consulship, he details most of the circumstances above mentioned, and makes an appropriate poetical use of the prodigies, that accompanied them. The reader will find a considerable fragment of this piece, to which Cicero was, not without reason, extremely partial, preserved in his treatise *De Divinatione*, L. I. 11.—13., where it is quoted by one of the interlocutors in the dialogue. Page 38.

(75.) QUINTUS MARCIUS REX was the colleague of L. Metellus in the Consulship, A. U. C. 685. Cic. Orat. in Pison. V.—Dion. Cass. L. XXXV. 4. Edit. Reimar. When the time of his holding the office expired, he obtained the province of Cilicia, and assisted Lucullus in the Mithridatic war: But, in consequence of the violent law of Manilius, he was forced to return home, before the legal time, and give up his command to Pompey. Dion. Cass. L. XXXV. 15. 17. 26. &c. On coming back to Italy, he claimed the honour of a triumph.—Quintus Metellus was Consul, with Hortensius, A. U. 684, and received the surname of Creticus, on account of the conquest of the island of Crete. See Cic. in Verr. I. 9. Pro Flac. XIII.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 34. After his return from thence, he likewise claimed a triumph, as being among the number of those commanders, who had enlarged the boundaries of the empire; but, together with Marcius Rex, he was prevented from enjoying it, by the intrigues of the Pompeian faction. According to the usual practice, both continued without

Page 38. the gates of the city, until they should obtain a decree of the Senate in their favour. Meanwhile, the Conspiracy broke out, as related by Sallust, and both generals, being considered as still on duty, were ordered to take the field, against the accomplices of Catiline.

(76.) THE person who, next to Cicero, had the greatest share in putting down the Conspiracy, was, beyond question, Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Celer, one of the most eminent, and virtuous persons of this period. He was of the illustrious family of the Cæcilii, the same that had produced the conquerors of Spain and Numidia, but of a different branch, and sprung from Metellus Macedonicus. Celer's father, Metellus Nepos, held the Consulship A. U. 655; and had, besides Celer, another son, named Nepos, who was Tribune of the People elect, in the present year. Their mother, after the death of her husband, married, for the second time, Q. Mucius, and became mother to Mucia, the wife of Pompey, so celebrated for her gallantries, and her beauty.

Cicero, in different parts of his writings, speaks of Metellus Celer, in the highest terms of commendation, as a virtuous man, and a genuine patriot. On one occasion, we find, that his zeal carried him so far as to declare, in the Senate, that he should, without hesitation, put to death any Consul, who entertained treasonable designs against the commonwealth. Celer was Prætor An. 690, when Cicero held the Consulship, and commanded the army in Picenum, as will hereafter appear, which so eminently contributed to Catiline's defeat at Pistoria. Celer had previously had the honour of being elected into the college of Augurs; and it was to him that Cicero agreed to give up the government of Cisalpine Gaul, on exchanging that province for Macedonia, with Antonius. See a former Note. As governor of Gaul, he proved of singular use, in extinguishing the remains of the Conspiracy, after the defeat of Catiline. Pompey, on his return from Asia, got his brother-in-law Celer nominated Consul, together with

Lucius Afranius, for the year 683, in the hope, that, through his assistance, he might forward his ambitious projects: But, to his great mortification, they were thwarted, rather than advanced, by the firmness of this stern republican. Like his contemporary Cato, he was the *Rigidi servator honesti*, a lover of the straight line of rectitude, from which he could not be persuaded to depart, by any private considerations. Page 38.

It was during his Consulship, together with Afranius, that Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus formed the first Triumvirate, a combination which ended in the subversion of the Republic. Celer plainly perceived the object, to which their ambition pointed, and he never ceased to deplore, what he was unable to prevent, by all his efforts. He died, as was supposed, of grief and chagrin, after an illness of only three days, during the Consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus; not without strong suspicion of being poisoned, by his wife Clodia, an abandoned woman, and sister to Publius Clodius. She is better known to the classical reader, as the mistress of Catullus, who has celebrated her, under the name of Lesbia. Cicero, in his pleading for Cœlius, who was also one of her lovers, does not scruple to charge Clodia with the crime of poisoning her husband; and gives, at the same time, an interesting account of the death of the much valued friend, whom he visited, he says, in his last moments. In broken accents, and with his eyes fixed upon Cicero, he foretold the storm, which erelong would burst, both on him, and on the commonwealth. Amidst his last agonies, he mentioned it as his principal regret, that, in being thus suddenly taken away, both his friend and his country would be deprived of his aid, in so perilous a conjuncture. *Cùm ille . . tertio die pòst, quàm in curiâ, quàm in rostris, quàm in republicâ floruisset, integerrimâ ætate, optimo habitu, maximis viribus, eriperetur indignissimè bonis omnibus, atque universæ civitati . . Cùm me intuens flentem, significabat interruptis, atque morientibus vocibus, quanta impenderet procella urbi, quanta tempestas civitati: Et cùm . . sæpe me, sæpis-*

Page 39. *simè rempublicam nominabat; ut non tam se emori, quàm spoliari suo præsidio cùm patriam, tum etiam me, doleret.* Sect. XXIV.

(77.) It appears to have been a principal object with the conspirators, to become masters of Capua, the delightful capital of Campania, at the foot of Mount Tifata; and, for that purpose, they tried every art, to shake the allegiance of that populous place. Cicero took care to send thither the Quæstor Sextius, to counteract their machinations. Aulanus, a military Tribune, who had served under Antonius, had got before him, and begun to preach rebellion; hoping to experience the same degree of success, as had already attended him, in Cisalpine Gaul, and in Italy: But Sextius soon forced this man to quit the place. He found it necessary, likewise, to order away Marcellus, who, under colour of amusement, but probably with no good design, exercised, under arms, a great retinue of slaves. Thus, by the firmness of Sextius, and the vigilance of Cicero, the tranquillity of Capua was secured. Thanks for his conduct were publicly bestowed on Sextius; and a deputation of the principal citizens afterwards waited on the Consul, as the chief person, to whom they considered themselves as indebted for their preservation.

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(78.) Sestertia *centum*, not *Sestertios*. The Sestertius was frequently called *Nummus*: It was the coin most current, and most in use in computing accounts at Rome, and is supposed to have been worth only 1 penny, $3\frac{3}{4}$ farthings of our money. A *Sestertium* is a thousand Sesterces, or Sestertii; consequently 100,000 Sesterces make about £. 807 : 5 : 10. Sterling. This sum, together with his freedom, might be considered, by a slave, as a great reward. The usual proportion between the reward offered to a slave, and that to a citizen, for any public object, was, that the former should be no more than the fourth part of the latter. But the belief that Catiline meant to

excite an insurrection among the slaves in Italy, and consequently make use of their assistance, which, however, he never did, was probably the cause of departing from the established rule, in this exigency. Page 39.

(79.) THE Gladiators were a set of men, usually selected from among condemned malefactors, captives, unmanageable slaves, and other ruffians, who were trained to fight, for the entertainment of the people. These combats were first exhibited by the two Brutuses, at the funeral of their father, A. U. 490 (Liv. Epit. XVI.—Val. Maxim. L. II. 4. vii.); and the custom seems to have originated in the superstitious notion, that the manes of the deceased were appeased, and rendered propitious, by the spilling of human blood. As the Romans were much delighted with such shows, they were not long confined to funerals, but given, by the magistrates, at the Saturnalia, or feasts of Saturn, and, at length, on almost every public occasion. Incredible numbers of men were annually slaughtered in this manner; and it is wonderful with what courage they usually fought, and what fortitude they displayed, in sacrificing their lives, at the command of the spectators.

Whoever wished, for any political purpose, to ingratiate himself with the people, presented a show of Gladiators *(Munus gladiatorium)*. Julius Cæsar, during his Ædileship, exhibited no fewer than three hundred and twenty pairs of combatants; and, after the triumph of Trajan over the Dacians, the spectacles continued for a hundred and twenty-three days, in which space of time, eleven thousand animals of different sorts were killed, and ten thousand Gladiators engaged in combat. See Dion. Cass. (Epit. Xiphilin.) in Trajan. p. 247. Edit. Stephan. From this we may judge of other instances. The Gladiators were exercised in schools, by masters, named *Lanistæ*, who purchased, and trained them; and the number kept by any single

Page 39. master was called *Familia.* Hence Sallust speaks of the *Familiæ gladiatoriæ*, which is here rendered "bands of Gladiators." In process of time, as the manners degenerated, freemen for hire enlisted themselves as Gladiators; and, what may seem wonderful, persons of noble birth, and even women, were induced to descend into the arena. See Tacit. Annal. L. XV. 32.—Sueton. in Ner. XII. In Domit. IV. —Juv. Sat. II. 43. VI. 253. VIII. 191. &c.—Stat. Sylv. I. 6. 53. A taste for these bloody spectacles continued down to the time of Constantine, when it yielded, at length, to the mild spirit of Christianity: But shows of Gladiators were not completely suppressed, until the reign of Honorius. See Prudent. cont. Symmach. II. 11. 21.

(80). THE ordinary magistrates (exclusively of those created for special purposes, such as the Dictator, Master of Horse, Interrex, &c.) were divided into two kinds, Superior and Inferior, or greater and less. The greater Magistrates *(Magistratus majores)*, were the Consuls, Prætors, and Censors, who were elected at the *Comitia Centuriata*, and had committed to them the charge of the greater auspices (Aul. Gell. L. XIII. 15.). The Inferior, or lesser Magistrates *(Magistratus inferiores)*, were the Tribunes of the People, the Ædiles, Quæstors, Triumviri Capitales (who judged concerning slaves, had the charge of the prisons, and superintended the execution of criminals); the Triumviri Monetales, and Nummularii (who had the care of the mint); the Triumviri Nocturni, and Quatuorviri Viales, or Viocuri. These were elected by the People, at the Comitia Tributa. The province of the Triumviri Nocturni, or Tresviri, was to prevent fires, in the city of Rome (Liv. L. IX. 46.), and to go the rounds, during the night *(vigilias circumire)*, attended by eight Lictors; and, in the present season of alarm, it appears, that they were to be assisted by all the lesser magistrates, in watching over the safety of the capital.

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(81.) THE person here named, was Lucius Æmilius Lepidus Paulus, then a very young man, when he set on foot this prosecution against Catiline, upon the Plautian, or Plotian law; an ordinance, enacted against such persons, as were guilty of sedition or violence *(De vi)*. The framer of this law was M. Plautius Sylvanus, who procured it to be passed, about fifteen years before, during the second year of the Social War, and in the Consulship of Pompeius Strabo, and Lucius Cato. By an account of the object of the Plautian enactment, in the Second Book of Sigonius, *De Judiciis*, Ch. 33., we find, that it was of a very comprehensive sort, including all conspiracy or rebellion, all violence offered to the Senate, to public functionaries, or private individuals; besides, in general, all carrying of arms, or concourse of armed persons, or forcible seizure of property, to the disturbance of the public peace. *Is, cujus hæc quæstio erit, de ejus capite quærito, qui adversus rempublicam conjurârit, insidias Senatui fecerit, magistratibus vim attulerit, qui cum telo in publico fuerit, aut seditionis causâ loca superiora occupârit, alienasve ædes saxis, ferro, aut ignibus occupârit, deque iis quotidie querito . . De ejus capite quærito, qui possessorem è fundo hominibus armatis dejecerit dolo malo, aut armatis objectis, ut inde profugeret, causam attulerit, prohibetoque, ne prædium, unde dejectus possessor sit, usu capiatur. Eis damnatis aquâ et igni interdicito.* There were, likewise, two other Plautian laws, the one an Agrarian law, and the other concerning the election of the Judges, on criminal trials: But both these were enacted, several years before the one *De vi*, just now mentioned. Æmilius Paulus was brother to Lepidus the Triumvir, and made a considerable figure in the transactions of this, and of the succeeding period. A. U. 703, he held the Consulship, with Caius Marcellus, and suffered himself to be bought over by Cæsar, with the sum of 1500 Talents, about £. 279,500 of our money. See Appian. Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 731. Edit. Toll.—Sueton. in Cæs. XXIX.—Plutarch. in Pomp. LVIII.

Page 40. Edit. Reiske. Paulus was afterwards, together with Cicero and Lucius Cæsar, one of the three unfortunate persons of rank, whom the members of the Triumvirate so basely agreed to sacrifice, in order to gratify their revenge and ambition, when they held their convention near Bononia (now Bologna), and arranged the terms of that celebrated confederacy. See Dion. Cass. L. XLVI. 55. 56. Edit. Reimar. —Plutarch. in Ciceron.—Flor. L. IV. 6.

(82.) THIS was the first of Cicero's celebrated Orations against Catiline, beginning, *Quousque tandem, abutere, Catilina, patientiâ nostrâ?* He pronounced it extempore, on the spot, and wholly without premeditation, in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, where the Senate was assembled; and it gives, indeed, a high idea of the readiness and genius of the great orator. He had no notion that Catiline, considering what had passed, should so immediately come down to the Senate, or pretend to enter on a defence of his conduct. The feelings of Cicero were, with good reason, strongly excited. The situation of the city; his own personal danger; the daring attack upon his house, made, but the morning before, by Vargunteius and Cornelius; the presence, in their places, of the very men, who had assisted at the meeting at Læca's; all conspired to raise his indignation to the highest pitch.

Our author, who, at no time, does justice to this great man, has here an expression, which sufficiently marks his own vindictive temper, adding an extreme want of candour towards his former enemy. It was on this occasion, he says, that the Consul Marcus Tullius, either "dreading the presence" of such a miscreant, or agitated and enraged at his unparallelled audacity, delivered that powerful Speech, which he afterwards reduced to writing. *Tum M. Tullius Consul, sive præsentiam ejus timens, sive irâ commotus, orationem habuit luculentam,* &c. But Cicero, whose firmness in the hour of danger was not always uniform, seems to have felt nothing less than *fear*, at this critical

period. The singular boldness of the speech itself, his studious, and minute display, even in Catiline's presence, of his dark machinations, can leave no doubt, with the unbiassed reader, that he truly felt the patriotic courage, which he expressed, and was ready to lay down his life, in the public service. Quintilian does not fail to give the whole oration, as well as the courage of Cicero, the highest praise, and mentions the composition, as among the most noble examples of impassioned, and indignant eloquence. Page 40.

Professor Meisner of Prague seems to be the only critic of note, who, in this place, will neither allow, to Cicero, the merit of extemporaneous composition, nor admit the invidiousness of Sallust, in endeavouring to discredit the magnanimity of his former opponent. *So unwahrscheinlich, wie den meisten Glossatoren, dünkt es mir doch nicht, dass er die persönliche Erscheinung des tolldreisten Katilina im Senat wohl vermuthet, und in allem Fall darauf sich vorbereitet haben könne . . Fast alle Kommentatoren nehmen es dem Sallust übel, dass er dem Cicero hier eine Furcht zuzutrauen scheint, und sehen es als ein Merkmal seiner heimlichen Feindschaft gegen diesen grosser Römer an. Mich dünkt, dass dem Geschichts-Schreiber in diesem Punct Unrecht gschähe; denn nicht nur sagt er ausdrüklich,* entweder aus Furcht, oder aus Zorn; *und dieser leztere ist wohl unleugbar? Sondern ich begreife auch überhaupt nicht, warum es ihn schmähen soll; wenn ein Mann von so entschiedner Kühnheit, der immer Gewehr bei sich trug; der ihn oft, und erst diesen Morgen noch, nach dem Leben getrachtet hatte, der auch iezt (wie einige Schriftsteller sagen), mit einem Theil seines Anhangs im Senat kam; kurz, wenn Katilina ihm etwas* furchtbar *gewesen wäre?* pp. 99. 100. in Not. As to the first point, it seems extremely improbable, in any view of Catiline's boldness or temerity, that Cicero should have looked for his presence in the Senate. Besides, M. Meisner may be reminded, that, great as the orator's powers may appear, in an unpremeditated effort of so much eloquence and ingenuity, Sallust does not fail to let us know, that the

Page 40. edition of the speech, which we possess, was afterwards published by Cicero, "in writing" *(Orationem illam luculentam, quam postea scriptam edidit)*; and Cicero, like other speakers, would not neglect, in the highest degree to improve and polish it, in such circumstances.—In regard to the second point, the question by no means is, as M. Meisner seems to suppose, what particular stress Sallust might mean to lay, on the different motives of fear or anger, attributed to Cicero; or what degree of apprehension it was natural for the Consul to feel, at the sight of Catiline; but merely whether it was candid or generous in the historian, to remain wholly silent, on Cicero's uncommon courage and firmness throughout, and then strive to make it appear, by an artful inuendo, that it was "*fear* or *anger* alone," which took possession of his mind, and, of course, prompted his efforts, on this occasion.—I am, I believe, fully as partial to Sallust, as M. Meisner; and yet I candidly confess, that his conduct here can be considered as nothing else, than a disingenuous suppression of praise, and as clear, and contemptible a display of envy.

(83.) PLUTARCH and Sallust give nearly the same account of the manner, in which Catiline received this tremendous attack. When he entered the Senate, says the first mentioned writer, intending to obviate the suspicions, which had gone abroad against him, none of the members would sit on that side of the house. With one accord, they left empty the bench, which he had taken; and, when he began to speak, they drowned his voice, with repeated clamours. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῷ Κατιλίνᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλθόντος, ὡς ἀπολογησομένῳ, συγκαθίσαι μὲν ἐδεῖς ὑπέμεινε τῶν συγκλητικῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βάθρου μετῆλθον. ἀρξάμενος δὲ λέγειν ἐθορυβεῖτο. . In Ciceron. XVI. p. 778. Edit. Reisk. Cicero, however, in laying the business before the People (In Catilin. II. 6.), plainly insinuates, that Catiline made no reply *(Cùm hesitaret, cùm teneretur)*; and, in his treatise named the Orator, addressed to his friend Brutus, in describing that sort of vehement, rapid, and commanding style, that can so seldom be resisted, and by which the speaker

may be said to storm the strong-holds of his adversary, he observes, Page 41. that he himself had, on some occasions, adopted it, always with energy, and never without effect. Of this he mentions two different instances; the one, when he fell upon a friend of Hortensius's, whom that orator was defending; and the other, when he drove Catiline out of the Senate-house. Even that most audacious of men, says he, when I thus assailed him, was fairly abashed, and durst not venture on a reply. *Hoc vehemens, incensum, incitatum (genus), quo causæ eripiuntur; quod, cùm rapidè fertur, sustineri nullo pacto potest. Quo genere nos mediocres, aut multò etiam minùs: Sed magno semper usi impetu, sæpe adversarios de statu omni dejecimus. Nobis, pro familiari reo, summus orator non respondit Hortensius. A nobis, homo audacissimus Catilina, in Senatu accusatus, obmutuit.* Sect. XXXVII. As to the fictitious, set speech, which Catiline is supposed to have spoken, in answer to Cicero's, it is the work of some Declaimer, in an age, when good composition had degenerated, and is below the notice of criticism.

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(84.) Our author has plainly mistated the occasion, on which Catiline made this reply; and both Valerius Maximus and Florus seem to have copied his account. *L. verò Catilina, in Senatu M. Cicerone incendium ab ipso excitatum dicente; Sentio, inquit: Et quidem illud, si aquâ non potuero, ruinâ extinguam.* Exemp. Memorab. L. IX. 11. iii. *Tum Consul, habito Senatu, in præsentem parricidam, in præsentem reum, Cicero peroravit: Sed non ampliùs profectum, quàm ut hostis evaderet, seque palàm professo, incendium suum restincturum ruinâ minaretur.* De Bel. Catilin. L. IV. 1. vii. It appears that Sallust, as I have already said, in some few instances, such as the present, mistates the chronological order of events. We are assured, by Cicero himself, who could not be deceived as to the fact, that this answer of Catiline's was made, some little time before, to a threat from Cato, that he should be forced to impeach him, for

Page 42. treasonable practices. The accuracy of Sallust, however, over other ancient writers, who have treated the same period of history, is remarkable: For while, with Cicero for our guide, we can detect many errours in Plutarch, Dion Cassius, and Appian, it very rarely happens, that the statements of our author do not stand the test.

(85.) CATILINE's house was situated close to the Basilica, or great hall of Opimius, on Mount Palatine, facing the Forum; a space, as M. de Brosses tell us, which is now occupied by the Gardens, belonging to the Farneze palace, at Rome. The house was afterwards purchased by Augustus. See the President de Brosses's Notes on the Conspiracy (Tom. III. p. 107.), which he drew up, after visiting the spot, in 1739, and 1740.

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(86.) ALTHOUGH no man, says Appian, durst as yet venture, for want of sufficient evidence, to apprehend Catiline, yet that traitor began to be weary of delay, on account of the suspicions, which gained ground against him. Thinking it, therefore, safest at once to strike some decisive blow, he set out, during the night, to join Manlius at Fæsule, to which place he had previously sent off large sums of money; directing the accomplices to endeavour to assassinate Cicero, and set fire to Rome. With the title of Proconsul (or of Consul, according to Dion Cassius, L. XXXVII. p. 50.), which he formally assumed, he contrived to levy troops during his route, with the design, when sufficiently in force, of attacking the city, during the time of the conflagration.—Catiline, says Plutarch, left Rome, at the head of three hundred armed men. He assumed the Fasces, and other ensigns of authority, as if he had actually been a legal magistrate; and, making the best of his way to join Manlius, drew together nearly twenty thousand troops, and solicited the states of Italy to revolt. Thus, war being fairly declared, it was resolved, that the Consul Antonius should be sent against him. Κατιλῖνας δ' ἀδεὴς μὲν

τῷ θαῤῥοῦντος αὐτῷ λάβεσθαι, διὰ τὴν ἔτι τὲ ἀκριβὲς ἀγνωσίαν, δεδιὼς δὲ ὅμως, καὶ τὸ χρόνιον ἡγέμενος ὕποπτον, ἐν δὲ τῷ τάχει τὴν ἐλπίδα τιθέμενος, τότε χρήματα προὔπεμπεν ἐς Φαισούλας, καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις ἐντελλόμενος κτεῖναι Κικέρωνα, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ διαστημάτων πολλῶν νυκτὸς ἐμπρῆσαι μιᾶς, ἐξῆει πρὸς Γάϊον Μάλλιον, ὡς αὐτίκα στρατὸν ἄλλον ἀθροίσων, καὶ ἐς τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδραμούμενος. ὁ μὲν δὴ ῥάβδες τε καὶ πελέκεας, ὡς τὶς ἀνθύπατος, κέφως μάλα ἀνέχε πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἐς τὸν Μάλλιον ἐχώρει στρατολογῶν. Appian. L. II. 711. Edit. Toll. Ὁ μὲν ἓν Κατιλίνας εὐθὺς ἐξελθὼν μετὰ τριακοσίων ὁπλοφόρων, καὶ περιστησάμενος αὑτῷ ῥαβδεχιάς, ὡς ἄρχοντι, καὶ πελέκεις, καὶ σημαίας ἐπαράμενος, πρὸς τὸν Μάλλιον ἐχώρει. καὶ δισμυρίων ὁμοῦ τι συνηθροισμένων, ἐπῆρε τὰς πόλεις ἀναπείθων καὶ ἀφιστάς· ὥστε, τοῦ πολέμου φανεροῦ γεγονότος, τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀποσταλῆναι διαμαχούμενον. Plutarch. in Ciceron. XVI. p. 778. Edit. Reisk. Page 42.

From the notion, which I have endeavoured to convey, in the preceding Notes, not only of the extent, but of the openness of Catiline's treasonable practices, it may seem singular to us, that more direct, and decisive measures were not adopted against their author. It may be asked, why Cicero, invested, as he was, with such extraordinary powers, instead of seizing him in the city, which he might easily have done, not only suffered, but even urged his escape, and, as it were, forced him into rebellion? But, without taking into the account the vast difference between the licentious government of Rome, and the more orderly character of that of modern states, it should be remembered, on what doubtful ground Cicero himself stood, at this period. Among the nobility, he had many powerful enemies, and Catiline many secret friends. The Consul, though sufficiently convinced of the reality of the plot, had, as yet, no legal proofs, to lay before the public. Catiline's dissimulation continued to impose on many, by persuading them of his innocence; so that, had he been imprisoned at this time, his whole faction would have united, in a clamour against Cicero. They would certainly have represented

Page 42. his administration as a tyranny, and the plot as a fabrication, contrived to support it; and thus, the conflagration of the capital, and the overthrow of the government, might actually have been brought about, by the very vigour, which was intended to avert those calamities from the commonwealth. "If in this great audience there be a man (says Cicero, addressing himself to the People), who feels, as all should do, the love of his country warm at his heart; and if that man condemn my conduct, as too remiss and cautious, but in which, I own, I glory; convinced, in his own mind, that, instead of conniving at the escape of the traitor, I ought to have secured his person; my answer is, the measures, which I pursued, are not imputable to me, but to the nature of the times. It is true, such atrocious guilt deserved the severest sentence: The usage of our ancestors, the spirit of the laws, the interests of the commonwealth, all called aloud for vengeance. But, had Catiline suffered death, how many, think you, would have been ready to declare him innocent? How many, through weakness, would have espoused his cause? How many, through wickedness, and from the worst of motives, would have stood forth to vindicate his character, and fairly pronounce him an injured man? Believe me, my fellow citizens, had I had reason to think that Catiline, by his death, would have extinguished the flame of rebellion, the traitor should not have survived, to disturb the commonwealth: Neither the fear of censure, nor even of my life, should, for a moment, have restrained the sword of justice." *At si quis est talis, qualis esse omnes oportebat, qui in hoc ipso, in quo exsultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accusat, quòd tam capitalem hostem non comprehenderim, potiùs quàm emiserim; non est ista mea culpa, Quirites, sed temporum. Interemptum esse L. Catilinam, et gravissimo supplicio affectum jampridem oportebat; idque à me et mos majorum, et hujus imperii severitas, et respublica postulabat. Sed quàm multos fuisse putatis, qui, quæ ego deferrem, non crederent? quàm multos, qui, propter stultitiam, non putarent? quàm multos, qui etiam defenderent? quàm multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent? Ac si, sublato illo, depelli à vobis omne periculum*

judicarem; jampridem ego L. Catilinam, non modò invidiæ meæ, verùm etiam vitæ periculo, sustulissem. In Catilin. II. 2. Page 42.

The truth was, that, from the nature of the two great political parties at Rome, a revolution, planned on a scale so extensive, interested the passions, and excited the hopes, of almost every class of men. The People believed, that its chief end and object were to restore them to their former ascendency. The great and powerful, whatever they might hold out, meant it as a cloak to their ambition; while the good, the quiet, and the indifferent part of the community, thought its atrociousness was greatly exaggerated, and looked on, with doubt and astonishment, when the evidence of the reality, and of the extent of its wickedness, was at length publicly brought forward. As we learn from Dion Cassius, as soon as the vigorous measures, adopted by the Senate, on the 20th October, obliged the conspirators to act with greater circumspection and concealment, the murmurs, excited against the Consul, were extremely violent; and more than one party accused him of a design to embroil the state. Even when Catiline left Rome, in order to take the field with Manlius, it was alleged, by his faction, that he was cruelly driven into exile; a charge, on which Cicero found it necessary to justify himself, to the People; and he with some difficulty succeeded, by means of the Second of his four well-known Orations, pronounced in the Forum, on the 9th November. The more, therefore, we consider the temper of the times, and the obstacles he had to surmount, the more we shall be convinced of the merit of this extraordinary man, and admit, with his sensible biographer Dr. Middleton, that, to the greatest talents and energy, he certainly united the most consummate prudence, in regard both to his own, and to the public safety. He knew, that if Catiline, who was really formidable, were once separated from his companions, they themselves were an indolent, a dissipated, and a thoughtless crew, and would soon be ruined, by their own rashness. As Plutarch observes, the best measures of these inconsiderate men,

Page 42. who usually consulted on their affairs, over their wine, and in company with women, were sure to be discovered, by the indefatigable diligence, the sober address, and the great capacity of Cicero; as he had his emissaries stationed in every quarter, and obtained the speediest intelligence of all their motions. Οἱα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀσταθμήτων, καὶ μετ' οἴνε τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐντυγχανόντων, βελεύματα πόνῳ καὶ λογισμῷ νήφοντι καὶ συνέσει περιτῇ διώκων ὁ Κικέρων, καὶ πολλὲς μὲν ἔχων ἔξωθεν ἐπισκοπεῦντας τὰ πρατ[ό]μενα συνεξιχνεύοντας αὐτῷ. In Ciceron. XVIII. p. 781. 782. Edit. Reisk. The praise, therefore, bestowed on him by Lucan, is perfectly appropriate, who says, that he made even Catiline tremble; and actually subdued him, not by force of arms, but by firmness and wisdom, and by the ordinary means, which his office, as first magistrate, supplied;

Romani maximus auctor
Tullius eloquii, cujus sub jure togâque,
Pacificas sævus tremuit Catilina secures.
Pharsal. L. VII. 64.

(87.) MANLIUS's army was composed mostly of persons of desperate fortune, who, like himself, having amassed considerable wealth, under Sylla, had, by this time, squandered it away, and were involved in pecuniary difficulties. There was no class of men, in antient times, against whom the laws were more severe, than against debtors. If a person, at Rome, became unable to pay his creditor, and could not, within sixty days, find security for the sum due, he was given up to the creditor as a slave, bound with cords, and treated even more harshly, than those who never had been free. See an instance mentioned by Livy, L. II. 23. By the laws of the Twelve Tables, it was ordained, that, when there were several creditors, and it was impossible to satisfy them all, the body of the debtor should even be cut to pieces, for that purpose. Aulus Gellius, when he states the fact (L.

XX. 1.), adds, that such a law was never literally put in force; so Page 43. that it may, perhaps, be understood to apply to the effects only, and not to the person of the creditor. In this state of things, it was sufficiently natural, that discontents should break out, between the poor and the rich, at Rome; and every seditious demagogue, whose object it was to inflame the populace, was sure to flatter them with the prospect of an Agrarian law, and *New Tables*, that is, a general indemnity, and a remission of their debts.

At Athens, likewise, we find, that the greatest severities were practised, for the recovery of debts. The usurer could seize, by the laws of that republic, not only the debtor himself, but likewise his children, and sell them to slavery, in foreign countries, in order to procure reimbursement. Nearly the same custom prevailed among the Jews; as, in the Second Book of Kings, Ch. 4, we read of a certain woman, who pathetically complained to Elisha, that, her husband being dead, his creditors had come upon her, and "taken unto them her two sons, to be bondmen." But the prophet had compassion on her; and, by a miraculous supply of oil, furnished means to discharge the debt, and prevented the youths from going into slavery.

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(88.) THAT is, an *As* was paid instead of a *Sestertius*, and a *Sestertius* instead of a *Denarius;* or, in other words, the creditor was forced to accept of the fourth part of the sum due to him. Manlius says, "within our own recollection" *(Memoriâ nostrâ)*, alluding probably to the violent law, framed by Valerius Flaccus, during his Consulship, A. U. 667, when he succeeded to the office, on the elder Marius's death. Velleius Paterculus, with great justice, stigmatizes this enactment, as a disgraceful proceeding; as it was carried against every principle of equity, by popular violence, and was the next thing to an entire abolition of debts. He adds, that Flaccus, before two years elapsed, met with that retribution, which his conduct had

Page 43. merited, being put to death by C. Fimbria, his Lieutenant in Macedonia. *In hujus locum (Marii) suffectus Valerius Flaccus, turpissimæ legis auctor, quâ creditoribus quadrantem solvi jusserat: Cujus facti merita eum poena intra biennium consecuta est.* L. II. 23. ii.

(89.) THERE were, at Rome, four different Seditions, or dangerous risings of the People, against the authority of the Senate, besides other disturbances of lesser magnitude. Cicero, whose judgment on that subject may be considered as impartial, candidly declares, that the conduct of the people, on some of those occasions, was not only just and excusable, but might be accounted almost necessary and well-founded. *Etsi omnes semper molestæ seditiones fuerunt, justæ tamen fuerunt nonnullæ, ac propè necessariæ.*

The First sedition took place A. U. C. 261, on account of severities, practised by the usurers, and which the magistrates appear to have been too eager in encouraging. The People retired to the *Mons Sacer*, as it was called, three miles from the city, and would not be pacified, until magistrates of their own order were elected, for the purpose of defending, and watching over their rights; which occasioned the creation of Tribunes of the People. It was in this juncture, that Menenius Agrippa, according to Livy and Florus, or Marcus Valerius, the Dictator, according to Cicero and Paterculus, related, to the people, the seasonable, and well-known apologue of "The Belly and the Limbs," which chiefly tended to moderate their resentment. The story is pleasantly told by Livy, L. II. 32. p. 168. Edit. Gronov. The Second sedition had its origin, A. U. 305, in the base, and unwarrantable designs of Appius Claudius, one of the Decemvirs, upon Virginia, the daughter of Virginius; which ended in the abolition of the Decemviral authority. The Third sedition was excited by Canuleius, a Tribune of the People, An. 311, to obtain the right of intermarriage, between the Patricians and Plebeians. The Fourth, and in its effects most important of these disturbances, broke out about

thirty years after, headed by Stolo, the son-in-law of Fabius Ambus- Page 43.
tus, in consequence of which, Plebeians were admitted to all the honours of the magistracy.

Meanwhile, various and favourable laws were enacted, in order to relieve the people, from the evils of usury, and the pressure of their debts. At one period, a deduction of the interest, that had run up, was permitted to be made, and the space of three years given, for the liquidation of the principal. At another time, commissioners were appointed, to take cognizance of all incumbrances, and to discharge them out of the public treasury: And, by the mild spirit of the Papirian law, the severities, sometimes exercised on the persons of debtors, were entirely prohibited. When Sylla obtained the supreme power, this last-mentioned enactment appears to have gone into disuse, or been repealed, which gave occasion to another, by Popilius, with the sanction of the Dictator, directing a *Cessio bonorum*, or yielding up of effects, on the part of the debtor, confirmed by an oath of his inability to make further restitution; a regulation, which has been adopted into the jurisprudence of several modern nations. This form of deposition was called *In bonam copiam ejurare*. Cicero, we find, in one of his Familiar Epistles, addressed to Pætus (L. IX. 16.), makes express mention of it; although Varro seems to say, that the person of the debtor by no means became free, after he had taken the oath. The whole, I think, is satisfactorily explained by Manutius, in an excellent Note on the above passage of Cicero. Manlius, in the address to Marcius Rex, plainly alludes to this same Popilian enactment, when he affects to complain, that neither himself, nor his associates were permitted to "take the benefit," of the mild, and equal laws of their ancestors; *Neque cuiquam nostrum licuit more majorum lege uti.*—The same indulgence was afterwards sanctioned by the Julian law: But the consequence was, that creditors were shamefully defrauded, and, as on similar occasions in modern times, the greatest abuses were introduced.

Page 43. (90.) THE author of the translation of Catiline's Conspiracy, under the name of George Frederick Sydney, has some instances of very curious, and apt application of the events of this period, to recent political transactions among ourselves. The following is his commentary on this address to the Roman general. 'Here,' says he, 'the language of Manlius is remarkable. He was in open arms against his country: He knew the extent of Catiline's designs; and yet he endeavours, by specious pretences, to palliate his treason. He wishes to be considered as a man, that acts on principle, and has formed no design against the Senate. "The only object he and his associates "have in view, is to shield themselves from oppression; to restore "the laws, which have been wrested from them; to shelter themselves from the unjust sentences of Prætors, and the tribunals of "justice; and to obtain a redress of grievances, and equal liberty." In the papers, produced on the late trials (1793), at the Old Bailey, the same artifice runs through the declarations of the malecontents. When the Revolution Society at Norwich desires to know, *Whether there is a private design to rip up monarchy by the roots, and place democracy in its stead?* the London Corresponding Society returns for answer, *The Committee offer you every assistance in their power, but request that your questions may relate chiefly to the methods of obtaining* A REFORM OF PARLIAMENT. This they avow as their main object, but artfully conceal their intentions with regard to monarchy. Like Manlius, the prime agent of Catiline, they have nothing in view but *equal laws; security against illegal, and scandalous prosecutions; the prevention of wicked, and illegal sentences of transportation; and a revival of the wholesome laws, which have been wrested from them, and of which scarcely a vestige remains.*' pp. 229. 230.

It must be acknowledged, that the coincidence is sufficiently striking, and might afford a proof, if such a proof were needful, that the real views of RÉFORMERS have, almost always, had the same objects, the

gratification of their ambition, and the overthrow of the governments, Page 44.
whose protection they experienced.

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(91.) MARSEILLES *(Massilia)*, one of the most opulent towns in Gallia Narbonensis, near the mouth of the Rhone, originally founded by a colony from Phocæa, a city of Ionia, in Asia Minor, during the time of Tullus Hostilius. To this place the young Gaulish nobility usually resorted, for the purposes of study; and so eminently did the inhabitants inherit the taste for learning, and the polished manners of their Greek ancestors, that, even in the age of Augustus and Tiberius, it was very common to prefer a residence at Marseilles, for the study of eloquence, even to Athens itself. Δηλοῖ δὲ τὰ καθεστηκότα νυνί· πάντες γὰρ οἱ χαρίεντες πρὸς τὸ λέγειν τρέπονται καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν .. Ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι καὶ τὲς γνωριμωτάτες Ῥωμαίων πέπαικεν, ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδημίας ἐκεῖσε φοιτᾷν φιλομαθεῖς ὄντας. Strab. L. IV. p. 181. See also Cic. Orat. pro Flac. XXVI. From the salubrity of the climate, and the vicinity of Marseilles to Italy, it was usually chosen, by illustrious Romans, who were sent into exile, as their place of retirement.

(92.) IF patriotism and magnanimity, united with singular urbanity and learning, can be accounted as good grounds for fame, Quintus Lutatius Catulus may justly rank with the most meritorious characters of any period. This eminent man was at the head of the Lutatian family, and son to that Lutatius Catulus, already noticed as an historian and a poet (in Vol. I. pp. 236. & 250. 251.), as the colleague and rival of the elder Marius, and, at length, the victim of his cruelty. Catulus held the Consulship A. U. 675, the same year, in which Sylla died; and, with the assistance of Pompey, he successfully resisted the attempts of Lepidus to rescind Sylla's laws, and thereby involve the commonwealth in fresh calamities. Catulus and

Page 44. Pompey, after their triumph over the popular faction, behaved with exemplary moderation, "content," according to the concise, but honourable eulogium of Florus, "with having given peace to their country;" *Victores, pace contenti fuerunt.*

A. U. C. 683, Catulus became Prince of the Senate, and was the last person, during the Republic, who enjoyed that high dignity; for, soon after his death, it wholly disappeared, in the despotic power, first of the Triumvirs, and afterwards of Cæsar, and the succeeding Emperors. In the following year, 684, he had the honour of dedicating the Temple of Jupiter, in the Capitol, which had been burnt down, in 670, during the time of Sylla. See Liv. Epit. XCVIII. Suetonius tells an extraordinary story of a dream, which Catulus had, on this occasion, designating the future fortune, and greatness of Augustus, who was then a boy; and he also makes mention of a mysterious interview between them, in Catulus's way to the Capitol (In August. XCIV.): But, unluckily for the credit both of the dream, and of the biographer, Augustus was not born till some years after, during the Consulship of Cicero. There is still to be seen, in the court of the Capitol at Rome, the dedicatory inscription of Catulus, and the statue erected to him, at the same period. The inscription is as follows: Q. LUTATIUS. Q. F. Q. N. CATULUS. COS. SUBSTRUCTIONEM. ET. TABULARIUM. EX. S. C. FACIUNDUM. CURAVIT.

Catulus, from the beginning, was firmly attached to the aristocratic interest, and, of course, hostile to the whole views, and politics of Cæsar, by whom, as we shall see, he was baffled, in his suit for the office of Pontifex Maximus, although Cæsar was not greatly advanced in years, and in his Prætorship only at the time. Yet the whole conduct of Catulus was dignified and popular. He disdained to stoop to flatter either party, but exposed, as Cicero says, whenever it was necessary, with equal firmness, the errours of the Senate, and the frivolity of the People; and few men ever possessed, in a more eminent degree, the favour and confidence of both. Of the uncommon

deference, which was shown him by the people, I shall give a single instance. When the power of the Cilician Pirates came to be so formidable, as to cause great anxiety at Rome, and Pompey, by the Gabinian law, was to be sent against them, it was proposed to invest him with far greater powers, than, in a republic, could safely be intrusted to a single individual. Catulus, though Pompey's friend, firmly opposed the measure; and he even went the length of haranguing the people, to dissuade them from adopting it. Eager as they were in favour of the law, when Catulus rose to speak, they heard him with great attention and respect. He launched forth, with candour, in an encomium on the singular merit of Pompey; but earnestly advised them, since they were deaf to other arguments, to spare a man, so important to the public, nor rashly expose him to so many dangers. Should any accident befal him, said he, where, I pray you, could you find such another?—That other would be yourself, Catulus! instantly resounded from every quarter of the assembly.—On this, he modestly retired; fairly overcome, in the judgment of all, by the glorious testimony of his fellow-citizens. Here, says Velleius Paterculus, with his usual elegance, we have cause to admire, first, the modesty of the man, and, next, the justice and generosity of the people; the former, because he at once desisted from his purpose, and the latter, because they would not deprive, of his due share of praise, an illustrious character, although he assiduously laboured to thwart their inclinations, and to oppose the aggrandizement of their favourite. Page 44.

Ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ τούτων, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὑπερφυῶς ἐδέξατο . . Κάτλε δὲ κατὰ τὴ νόμε προσελθόντος, πολλὴν μὲν αἰδέμενος ὁ δῆμος ἡσυχίαν παρεῖχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ μετὰ τιμῆς ἀνεπιφθόνως ὑπὲρ τῦ Πομπηΐε διελθὼν, συνεβάλευε φείδεσθαι, καὶ μὴ προβάλλειν τὸν τοιῦτον ἄνδρα κινδύνοις ἐπαλλήλοις καὶ πολέμοις· Ἢ τίνα, εἶπεν, ἕξετε ἄλλον, ἂν ἀπολέσητε τοῦτον· ἐκ μιᾶς γνώμης ὑπεφώνησαν ἅπαντες· Σεαυτόν. Plutarch. in Pomp. XXV. p. 757. 758. Edit. Reisk. *Tum ille, victus consensu omnium, et tam honorifico civitatis testimonio, è concione discessit. Hìc homi-*

Page 44. *nis verecundiam, populi justitiam mirari libet; hujus, quòd non ultrà contendit; plebis, quod dissuadentem, et adversarium voluntatis suæ, vero testimonio fraudare noluit.* Vell. Paterc. L. II. 32.

Catulus lived to the year of Rome 692, when he was past the age of sixty; having enjoyed such dignities, as seldom were attained by any individual, viz. those of Consul, Censor, and Prince of the Senate. There is no man whom Cicero mentions, and, I believe, more justly, in terms of higher applause. He considers him as one of the greatest, wisest, and most virtuous citizens, that Rome ever produced. Loving his country for itself alone, he was above the little views, and selfish arts of common patriotism; and, although raised to the highest summit of honours, and exposed to the dangers of a most stormy period, he yet persevered in his steady course, unmoved by fear, and unseduced by hope, from the great object of the public good. *Q. Catulus sapientissimus et amplissimus . . summis ornamentis honoris, fortunæ, virtutis, ingenii præditus, &c. . . Qualis nuper Q. Catulus fuit; quem neque periculi tempestas, neque honoris aura, potuit unquam de suo cursu, aut spe, aut metu dimovere.* Orat. pro Leg. Manil. XVII. In Verr. Act. I. 15. Pro Sext. XLVII. Pro Muren. XVII. &c. See, likewise, the uniform testimony of Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, and Dion Cassius.

It may seem extraordinary, that Catiline, in his present situation, should think of addressing a confidential letter to such a person as this; as we have every reason to believe, that Catulus had little acquaintance, and certainly no connection with that conspirator. As favours, formerly received, are hinted at, in the opening of the address, perhaps he remembered the support, once given him by Catulus, on an interesting occasion (See Note 36. anteh.), the trial of the Vestal Fabia, whom Catiline had seduced; and he might interpret the anxiety of Catulus, to avoid public scandal, under such circumstances, into good-will, and partiality to himself. As to the Letter, it may be considered as a curiosity, being an authentic speci-

men, and the only one, that remains, of Catiline's compositions. The historian gives no room to suppose, that he had himself dressed it up, as he had just before done the dispatch from Manlius, but that an actual copy is presented to the reader; *Earum exemplum infra scriptum est.* Page 45.

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(93.) THE original has, *Æs alienum meis nominibus.* The term *Nomina*, in the Roman law, was applied, strictly speaking, to such debts, as bore no interest, although frequently put for others of an opposite description. There was, at Rome, a class of persons, named *Pararii* and *Proxenetæ*, who made it their occupation, to find out both borrowers and lenders of money, on this footing, and, as their name imports, to arrange the business of a loan between them; on which they charged a small consideration, or, as we should say, a per-centage for their trouble. They seem, likewise, to have been employed in other transactions, as well as those of money. See Sen. de Benefic. L. II. 23. Epist. CXIX.—Martial. Epigram. L. X. 3. These obligations, like every other, were entered in Books, or Tables kept for the purpose, but different from those, on which debts, bearing interest, were recorded. The books last mentioned were named *Kalendarii*, from the practice of demanding payment of the interest, on the first of every month. Hence, that day is called, by Horace, *Tristes Kalendæ;* because it was a formidable period to the unhappy debtor, especially when it chanced, as the poet says, that he could produce neither principal nor interest:

> Fugis ut Drusonem debitor æris;
> Qui nisi, cùm tristes misero venere Kalendæ,
> Mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat, amaras
> Porrecto jugulo historias captivus ut audit.
>
> Sat. L. I. 3. v. 86.

Page 45. What rendered debts, particularly if they were of long standing, oppressive at Rome, was the extravagant rate of the interest of money. By the laws of the Twelve Tables, interest was not permitted to exceed one per Cent *(Foenus unciarium)*; but avarice and luxury soon rendered ineffectual the restrictions of that primitive institution. When one *As* per month was paid for the use of a hundred, it was called *Usura centesima;* because, in a hundred months, the interest equalled the principal, or *Asses usuræ.* This we call twelve per Cent per Annum; and it was usually the legal interest, at least towards the close of the Republic, and under the first Emperors. Sometimes, however, double the above mentioned sum was exacted, *Binæ centesimæ*, i. e. twenty-four per Cent, and even *Quaternæ centesimæ*, forty-eight per Cent. See Cic. in Verr. III. 70., and Epist. ad Attic. L. VI. 2.; also Vol. I. pp. 201. 202., where Brutus is mentioned, as having demanded his interest, at that rate, from the Salaminians. Horace has preserved the name of a celebrated money-lender, Fufidius, who used to charge sixty per Cent, to the prodigal and luxurious:

> *Quinas* hic capiti mercedes exsecat; atque
> Quanto perditior quisquis est, tanto acriùs urget.
> Sat. L. I. 2. v. 14.;

that is, *Quintuplices usuras exigit*, or *quinis centesimis foenerat.* When the interest, at the end of the year, was added to the principal, it was called *Centesimæ renovatæ, anatocismus aniversarius*, or *foenus perpetuum*, either of which denoted compound interest. See Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 500. For the information of the young student, I shall subjoin a view of different rates of interest, known among the Romans, in different periods, some of which are exorbitantly usurious, as may be seen from the following Table.

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Foenus . . .	*Semiunciarium*	Half a per Cent.
	Unciarium	One per Cent.
Usura . . .	*Quadrans*	Three per Cent.
	Triens	Four per Cent.
	Quincunx	Five per Cent.
	Semis	Six per Cent.
	Bes	Eight per Cent.
	Deunx	Eleven per Cent.
	Centesima	Twelve per Cent.
	Centesima quaterna . . .	Forty-eight per Cent.
Anatocismus, or *Centesimæ renovatæ* . . .		Interest on Interest.

When the sum demanded for the use of money was usurious or excessive, it was called *Versura*, of which we find examples in both Cicero and Tacitus. See a learned Essay on the subject of Roman Usury, in the Mem. de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres, Tom. XXVIII.—Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, L. XXII. 22.

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(94.) *Delectum habere* is not, as Dr. Rose and others have translated the expression, generally to "levy forces," but something more precise, namely, to hold a muster of all those, who were of the military age, and at once to augment the army. When a Consul or General, by a decree of the Senate, assembled the youth in the Capitol, and, with the assistance of the military, or legionary Tribunes, *selected*, or *picked out* such as he thought proper, and fit for service, obliging them to enlist, and take the military oath, he was said, *Delectum habere*. See Liv. L. III. 41. IV. 1. XXVI. 31. &c.

(95.) When the news reached Rome of Catiline's having arrived at the camp of Manlius, the whole Senate went into mourning, a measure which was usual, only in seasons of public calamity. This

Page 46. decree was the third that had passed, concerning the Conspiracy, and, beside other articles, it contained the order to Rufus and Metellus Celer, the Prætors, which Sallust has already noticed, but rather out of place, in Sect. XXXI., to set out for Capua, and the territory of Picenum. It is candidly admitted, even by Dioh Cassius, that the resolution, adopted by Cicero, of remaining in the city, and generously giving up his own province to his colleague Antonius, proved, in a great degree, the salvation of the commonwealth. In so commanding a situation, even after his office expired, he could watch the motions of the other conspirators, who, under Lentulus, were taking the necessary measures for the massacre, and conflagration of the capital. Καὶ ἐν καιρῷ γε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατέμεινε. παρασκευαζομένῳ γὰρ τῷ Λεντύλῳ παταπρῆσαί τε τινὰς, καὶ σφαγὰς ἐργάσασθαι, &c. L. XXXVII. p. 50. Edit. Stephan.

On the day after Catiline's departure, the 4th before the Ides of November, that is, the 9th of that month, Cicero addressed his Second Oration to the People, which produced the best effects. After congratulating them on Catiline's departure, and strongly ridiculing the notion of his being cruelly driven into exile, his object was to inspire the people with vigour, and confidence in themselves, as rumour had greatly exaggerated the rebel force. "Catiline is gone," said he; "he has fled; he has escaped; he has altogether disappeared from the view .. His cause is ruined, his hopes are blasted. He looks back to the City of Rome, and, with a malignant eye, surveys the walls, which he hoped to level with the earth: But the City has discharged a pestilence, and now enjoys her triumph .. Let us review the forces of the commonwealth, and the garrisons and armies, which she has ready to take the field, and suppose them led against Catiline, and his gallant troops. In the first place, oppose your Consuls and Generals, to a maimed, a worn-out, a superannuated Gladiator. Draw forth your hardy veterans, the flower of Italy, against a wretched crew of miserable debtors. You have strongholds, and fortified

municipal towns; while Catiline must take shelter behind his woods, and ramparts of sod, thrown up for the occasion. But why should I compare your Legions, and your vast resources, with the rash levies of a desperate adventurer? We have on our side the Senate, the Roman Knights, the people of Rome, the treasury, the revenues of the state, the hearts and hands of all Italy, the provinces, and all foreign nations," &c. *Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit . . Jacet ille nunc prostratus, Quirites, et se perculsum atque abjectum esse sentit; et retorquet oculos profectò sæpe ad hanc urbem, quam ex suis faucibus ereptam esse luget: Quæ quidem lætari mihi videtur, quòd tantam pestem evomuerit, forasque projecerit . . Instruite nunc, contra has tam præclaras Catilinæ copias, vestra præsidia, vestrosque exercitus; et primùm gladiatori illo, confecto et saucio, Consules, imperatoresque vestros opponite. Deinde, contra illam naufragorum ejectam ac debilitatam manum, florem totius Italiæ, ac robur educite: Jam verò urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinæ tumulis silvestribus. Neque verò cæteras copias, ornamenta, præsidia vestra, cum illius latronis inopiâ atque egestate conferre debeo. Sed si, omissis his rebus omnibus, quibus nos suppeditamus, eget ille Senatu, Equitibus Romanis, populo, urbe, ærario, vectigalibus, cunctâ Italiâ, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus, &c.* Thus, he laboured to convince them, how very little they had to fear from the insurgents; and that the accomplices, who still remained in the city, however powerful from rank, or confident from numbers, would speedily feel the weight of the law, if they failed to return to their duty. Page 48.

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(96.) It was unknown, among the Romans, until the time of Sylla, to make children suffer for the acts of their parents, however criminal. Sylla, according to his own account, was never surpassed, in doing good to his friends, or injury to his enemies (Ὡς ἅτε τῶν φίλων τις αὐτὸν εὖ ποιῶν, ἅτε τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακῶς, ὑπερεβάλετο); accordingly, he not only

Page 48. proscribed, exiled, or put to death the latter, but extended his vengeance to their sons and grandsons, who were rendered incapable of entering into the Senate, or of enjoying any public honour. In that situation they continued, until they were restored to their rights by Cæsar, on his obtaining the Dictatorship.

Not long before the Conspiracy of Catiline broke out, the popular party, with Cæsar at its head, had begun to revive. The Tribunes of the People, says Dion Cassius, with the assistance of the Consul Antonius, who, in order to promote the Conspiracy, was well disposed to second them, brought forward such propositions, as, had they passed into laws, would have proved ruinous to the state. Some proposed, that the sons of those, who had been expatriated by Sylla, should be permitted to return to Rome, and to rise to the magistracy; some, that an abolition of debts should be decreed; and others, that, by an Agrarian law, the lands in Italy, and other places, the property of the public, should be divided among the people. *Οἱ γὰρ δήμαρχοι τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν ὕπατον ὁμοιοτροπώτατον σφίσιν ὄντα προσλαβόντες, ὁ μέν τις τὰς παῖδας τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα ἐκπεσόντων πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἦγεν . . ἄλλος χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, ἄλλος κληρουχίας καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ γενέσθαι ἐσηγεῖτο.* L. XXXVII. p. 46. Edit. Stephan. These designs, but especially that concerning the restoration of the exiles, were highly favourable to Catiline, and he did not fail to second them, with all his influence; but they were defeated by the vigour, and eloquence of Cicero. However he might condemn Sylla's principles, he saw the useful effect of the aristocratical form, which he had given to the constitution. The case of the young men, many of them belonging to the best families, who had lost, together with their estates, the right of citizenship, was, indeed, peculiarly hard: But the general safety was to be preferred, to the claims of a few individuals; as the consequence of their coming into power would have been their joining the Conspiracy, in order to bring about a

revolution in the government. For these reasons, he stood forth, in open opposition to their views; generously taking upon himself the whole odium of a measure, which otherwise would have fallen upon his friends in the Senate. *Ego adolescentes bonos et fortes, sed usos eâ conditione fortunæ, ut, si essent magistratus adepti, reipublicæ statum convulsuri viderentur, meis inimicitiis, nullâ Senatûs malâ gratiâ, comitiorum ratione privavi.* Orat. in Pison. II. His pleading on this subject is highly commended by Pliny; but it has never come down to us. There still remain the three Orations, which he pronounced against the Tribune Rullus, on his proposal for a new Agrarian law of prodigious extent; containing the appointment of ten Commissioners, to carry it into execution, with unlimited powers for five years; and, under colour of dividing the public lands, with the entire command, during that time, of the revenues of the empire. Page 48.

Perhaps there is no occasion, during the Consulship of Cicero, on which his efforts were more important, towards defeating the Conspiracy, than his procuring the rejection of one and all of these dangerous, but popular propositions; no one, on which he displayed a juster discernment of the public good, or a greater command over the passions and prejudices of men. As to the proposition of Rullus, which was debated soon after Cicero's coming into office, he loudly proclaimed his design of opposing it. He not only attacked it in the Senate, but followed the Tribune to his own ground, the Forum; where, in an artful, and elegant speech from the Rostra, he gave so complete a turn to the inclinations of the people, that they, with one accord, reprobated Rullus and his Decemvirs; rejecting, as he says, with as much eagerness, as they had ever manifested in passing a law, on the same favourite topic. *Quis enim unquam tam secundâ oratione legem agrariam suasit, quàm ego dissuasi? si hoc dissuadere est, ac non disturbare, ac pervertere.* Contra Rull. XXXVII.

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(97.) SYLLA, as has been just now said, changed, in a great measure, the form of the constitution, and gave it an aristocratical character, by advancing the prerogative of the Senate, and depressing, as much as possible, the influence of the People. Among other regulations, he deprived the Equestrians of the important privilege of judgment in criminal causes, which they had enjoyed since the days of the Gracchi, and restored it to the Senate. He took, from the People, the right of chusing the Priests, and replaced it in the hands of the Pontifical college. But, above all, he abridged the immoderate power of the Tribunes, the prime, and efficient cause of every public disturbance. In the first place, he rendered them incapable of any other magistracy, after going out of office: Secondly, he restrained the liberty of appeal to them: And, thirdly, which of all his reforms was the most important, he annulled their privilege of proposing laws to the people, leaving nothing untouched but their negative on the other functionaries; or, as Cicero most truly says, he debarred them from evil, without taking away from them the power of doing good; *Injuriæ faciundæ potestatem ademit, auxilii ferendi reliquit.*

In this situation things continued, till the year of Rome 683, as here mentioned by Sallust, when Pompey, being Consul together with Crassus, and urged on, or rather duped, by Cæsar, and the popular faction, reinstated the Tribunes in their former authority. Their power, in consequence of this revolution, became once more completely paramount to every other in the state. They could arbitrarily put a stop to the chusing of magistrates, to military levies, to the collection of the revenue, and even to the decrees of the Senate and People; and they could send to prison the Consuls, Prætors, or Censors, at their pleasure.

Whether Pompey consented, altogether through weakness or wickedness, to so important a step, does not clearly appear. According to Plutarch, it was the effect of his gratitude to the people, for the

favours they had heaped upon him. Cicero, ever ready to excuse this insincere friend, pretends, that he saw the determined temper of the people, and yielded, with prudence, to what was too popular to be prevented, and would otherwise have fallen into the hands of some worse citizen. But this is among the measures, he observes, on which it is better to say little; because he is unwilling to reprobate, and cannot possibly applaud the author. *Sapientis autem civis fuit, causam nec perniciosam, et ita popularem, ut non posset obsisti, perniciosè populari civi non relinquere . . De Tribuniciâ potestate taceo: Nec (Pompeium) enim reprehendere libet, nec laudare possum.* De Legg. L. III. 9. & 11. Page 49.

From the period in question may be dated the ruin of civil liberty. Sallust, although he does not acknowledge it, saw that this was the case, and his judicious reflections bear directly upon the point: But neither here, nor in his Letters on the Administration of the Government, does he take any notice of the share, which Cæsar had in the transaction. The Tribunes became, of course, as he himself tells us, the constant tools of the restless and aspiring, and, particularly, if they entertained designs, advantageous to themselves, and above the laws. By corrupting one or more of those venal magistrates, a demagogue could either obtain whatever he wished from the people, or, at least, counteract any opposition from his opponents. Thus, the road was pointed out to bold ambition, united with transcendent talents, to seize the government. That Pompey wanted the skill, rather than the inclination to apply the Tribunician authority to such a purpose, there is abundant evidence. At all events, he had cause to repent his feeble policy, when Cæsar, soon after, took advantage of it to his ruin; for, in the influence of the Tribunes, Cæsar found both the power, and the pretext for overturning the Republic. Ὅτε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ Πομπηΐῳ μετεμέλησε τὴν δημαρχίαν ἀσθενέστατον ὑπὸ Σύλλα καθῃρημένην, ἀναγαγόντι αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 734. Edit. Toll.

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(98.) The Maritime War, or chastisement of the Cilician Pirates, has been noticed, in a former Note. The boldness of these freebooters was principally excited by Mithridates, king of Pontus, in his long struggle with the Romans, in order to obstruct the navigation to Asia; and the pirates were named Cilician, because the first of them were of that nation, and because they had their chief castles and strong-holds, in that quarter of Asia Minor. At one time, they were masters of more than a thousand vessels, and more than four hundred cities, and their power extended the entire length of the Mediterranean Sea, from the island of Cyprus, to the Pillars of Hercules. At last, when their ravages began to be felt in Italy, and prevented the supply of corn to Rome, Pompey, at the instance of the Tribune Gabinius, was sent against them, with a prodigious fleet and army. In forty days, he totally defeated the freebooters, and pursued them into Cilicia. He took their towns, demolished their fortresses, and assigned to them a certain district, for their future residence, provided they possessed it, without occasioning further molestation to their neighbours. See Liv. Epit. L. XCIX.—Cic. pro Leg. Manil. XII.—Plutarch. in Pomp.—Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. p. 388. & seqq. Edit. Toll.

While Pompey was employed in composing the troubles just now mentioned, he was appointed, by a law proposed by Manilius, another of the Tribunes, and with still more ample powers, to take the command in the war against Mithridates. This contest with the Pontic king had been carried on by Sylla, and was now brought almost to a conclusion by Lucullus; so that Pompey, by a capricious, and arbitrary enactment, was empowered to supersede that meritorious officer in his command, and to snatch away, as on former occasions, the laurels, which had been fairly acquired by his predecessor. Fortunately for Pompey, Mithridates put a period to his life; so that the former soon had the honour of terminating a contest, which had lasted

the Romans more than forty years; and he either added to their territory, or rendered tributary to their power, the whole of Asia, from the shores of the Ægean Sea, as far east as the Tigris. See Liv. Epit. L. C. & seqq.—Cic. Orat. de Provin. Consular. XI. XII.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 33.—Appian. de Bell. Mithridat.—Flor. L. III. 5. Plutarch, after describing the wonders of his triumph, which two whole days were insufficient to display, to the eyes of the Roman people; and speaking of those, who were willing to compare him with Alexander, very justly remarks, how happy it would have been for Pompey's fame, had he ended his days, while he was thus possessed of Alexander's good fortune. As to the rest of his career, he adds, every subsequent success brought its portion of envy, and every miscarriage became irretrievable. Page 50. Ὡς ἄνατό γ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα τῷ βίῳ παυσάμενος, ἄχρις ἧς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχην εἶχεν. ὁ δ' ἐπέκεινα χρόνος αὐτῷ τὰς μὲν εὐτυχίας ἤνεγκεν ἐπιφθόνους, ἀνηκέστους δὲ τὰς δυστυχίας. In Vit. XLVI. pp. 800. 801. Edit. Reisk. I have above hinted at the true cause of this seeming reverse of fortune, see Vol. I. p. 352. Pompey was without either firmness, penetration, or superior talents. He never had, till in the instance of Cæsar, encountered an opponent of real ability; and all his former glory proved of no avail, in so unequal a contest.

(99.) The classical reader may compare these reflections, and this whole account of the different classes, that composed the Conspiracy, with another given by Cicero, in the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th Sections of his Second Oration against Catiline, addressed to the People. The enumeration, by the great orator, is more rhetorical and minute, than the compressed, and philosophic account of the historian; but they usefully tend to throw light upon each other.

(100.) Valerius Maximus, among the examples, which he has preserved, of paternal severity, particularly notices this of Aulus Ful-

Page 50. vius. He represents the unfortunate youth, who thus suffered, as remarkable for the gracefulness of his person, and the superiority of his genius and accomplishments, but, like many others, seduced by the arts, and drawn into the dangerous friendship of the arch conspirator. Before inflicting the fatal stroke, Fulvius sternly told his son, that, as the author of his existence, it should never be said, that a child of his had conspired, with Catiline, against his country, instead of standing forth for his country, against Catiline. It is impossible not to join with the writer, in the humane reflection, which immediately follows. Had this virtuous citizen, says he, rather confined the youth, until such time as the delusion of the moment was past, and men had opened their eyes to the real views, and character of Catiline, he might have obtained the praise of prudence and affection, instead of the character of a needless severity. *A. Fulvius, vir Senatorii ordinis . . filium suum, juvenem et ingenio, et literis, et formâ inter æquales nitentem, pravo consilio amicitiam Catilinæ secutum, inque castra ejus temerario impetu ruentem, medio itinere abstractum, supplicio mortis affecit; præfatus, non se Catilinæ illum adversus patriam, sed patriæ adversus Catilinam, genuisse. Licuit, donec civilis belli rabies præteriret, inclusum arcere: Verùm illud cauti patris narraretur opus, hoc severi refertur.* L. V. 8. v. Dion Cassius affirms, that the son was so much advanced in life, as to be himself a member of the Senate (from which we may understand that he was at least past thirty); and that many of the young men suffered a similar fate, on this occasion, not by the order of the public magistrate, but solely by the hands, and by the proper authority of their own fathers. Αὖλον δὲ Φούλβιον, ἄνδρα βελευτὴν, αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσφαξεν, ἔστι γε καὶ μόνος (ὥς γε τισὶ δοκεῖ) τοῦτ' ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ ποιήσας. συχνοὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι, οὐχ ὅτι ὑπατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδιῶται, παῖδας σφῶν ἀπέκτειναν. L. XXXVII. p. 52. Edit. Stephan.

There is nothing, that strikes us as more singular in the Roman jurisprudence, or more abhorrent to our notions of cultivated society,

than this *Patria potestas*, this exorbitant power of parents over their children. A father could expose his son, when an infant, and suffer him to perish. When grown up, he could imprison, send him bound to work in the country, or even put him to death, without assigning a cause. A son could acquire no manner of property, without the consent of his father: So that, with a parent of a cruel, or capricious temper, the condition of a slave was, in some respects, more tolerable. A slave could be freed or emancipated, by a single act; but a son, in order to become free, or his own master *(sui juris)*, was first to be sold three different times into slavery, usually to a friend, and then resold, by that friend, to the father; after which, being on the same footing as a slave, he was to be manumitted, with the same formalities. When the son was promoted to any public office, the parental authority was suspended, by no means abolished; for it continued to be exercised during the father's life, not only over his children, but over his grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. A daughter, by marriage, passed from the power of her father, to that of her husband. In later times the rigour of these institutions was considerably mitigated. Under the Emperors Athanasius and Justinian, also, simpler methods of emancipation came to be invented, such as declaring, before a magistrate, that a son was rendered free, or else exhibiting the rescript of the Emperor, to that effect. Page 51.

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(1.) The Allobroges, or Allobrogians, were a people of Gaul, who inhabited the northern part of what is now called Dauphiné, together with Savoy, Chablais, and Foucigny. The chief towns were Vienna Colonia (now Vienne), Cularo (Grenoble), and Jenoba Colonia (Geneva). The whole district was under the governor of the Roman province, who usually resided at Narbonne, and who, although not noticed in the text, appears to have been Murena, brother to the Consul of that name. The Allobroges had formerly been conquered

Page 53. by Fabius Maximus, A. U. 632, who, on that account, was named Allobrogicus. Val. Maxim. L. III. 5. ii. VI. 9. iv.—Juv. Sat. VIII. 13. Their character always was that of a warlike, mutinous, and faithless people, greatly disaffected to the Roman power, and, at this time, ripe for revolt. They had sent ambassadors to Rome, to complain of grievances; and they were about to return home, much out of humour with the Senate, from which they were unable to obtain the desired redress. A people, more likely to enter into their views, could not well have been thought of by the conspirators. A good body of horse was what Catiline principally wanted; and these they thought it would be easy to persuade the Allobrogians to send into Italy, as soon as he took the field. *Ut equitatum in Italiam quàm primùm mitterent.* Cic. in Catilin. III.

(2.) PUBLIUS UMBRENUS, as we learn from Cicero, was of no higher rank than that of a Freedman, and was the person, he says, who first brought the Gauls and Gabinius together. *Publium Umbrenum libertinum hominem, à quo primùm Gallos ad Gabinium perductos esse constabat.* In Catilin. III. 6.

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(3.) TACITUS, in the Fifteenth Book of his Annals, describes, in terms pretty similar to these, the effect of the like inducements, on the mind of an enfranchised slave, who discovered a conspiracy, against the life of the Emperor Nero. *Nam cùm secum servilis animus proemia perfidiæ reputavit, simulque immensa pecunia et potentia obversabantur, cessit fas, et salus patroni, et acceptæ libertatis memoria.* Sect. 54. And in another place, he says; *His ac talibus inter spem metumque jactatum, spes vicit.* Hist. L. II. 2.

(4.) CICERO, in his Third Oration against Catiline, addressed to the People, takes notice of the singular fortune, that had attended

the commonwealth, and piously dwells upon the gratitude, which should be felt by all, for the goodness of Providence, clearly manifested, in such unpropitious circumstances. "If we attend," says he, "for a moment, to the application to the Allobrogians, the finger of Providence is eminently conspicuous, in that transaction. Had not Lentulus, and the other traitors, by a visitation of the Gods, been deprived of all sense and reflection, is it in the nature of things, that, in a business of such magnitude, they should have wildly committed themselves to strangers and barbarians? Is it at all credible, that they should have hazarded their Letters in such hands? Or what could induce those foreign delegates, the subjects of a state disaffected to Rome, the only people that has the power, and, perhaps, the inclination to make war against us, so suddenly to change their minds? What could induce them to prefer, to the hope of liberty and independence, with which these Patricians had flattered them, the preservation of the commonwealth, and the safety of you all? This, indeed, is the immediate influence of heaven; for the Allobrogians had no occasion to undertake a war; their silence alone was all that was necessary to have wrought our ruin. Your homage and gratitude to the Gods have been often due, but never more justly, than in the present juncture." *Jam verò illa Allobrogum sollicitatio, sic à Lentulo cæterisque domesticis hostibus, tanta res, tam dementer credita et ignotis et barbaris, commissæque literæ numquam essent profectò, nisi à Diis immortalibus huic tantæ audaciæ consilium esset ereptum. Quid verò? Ut homines Galli, ex civitate malè pacatâ, quæ gens una restat, quæ populo Romano bellum facere et posse, et non nolle videatur, spem imperii, et rerum amplissimarum ultrò sibi à Patriciis hominibus oblatam, negligerent, vestramque salutem suis opibus anteponerent: Id nonne divinitùs factum esse putatis? præsertim, qui nos non pugnando, sed tacendo, superare potuerunt . . Nam multi sæpe honores Diis immortalibus justi habiti sunt, ac debiti, sed profectò justiores numquam.* Sect. IX. X.

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Page 53. (5.) QUINTUS FABIUS, surnamed Sanga, was descended from Q. Fabius Maximus, nephew, by the father's side, to the younger Scipio Africanus, and who held the Consulship, together with Lucius Opimius, A. U. C. 632. In the same year, he conquered the Allobroges, and thence acquired the surname of Allobrogicus. From the high respect, entertained in Gaul for this family, it appears, that they became the patrons, or protectors of the Allobrogians at Rome.—For the information of the young student, it may here be necessary to say a few words, on the nature and origin of Patrons and Clients, a wise institution, peculiar to the Romans.

The division of the people, into Patrons and Clients, was made antiently by Romulus. That judicious prince ordained, that every Plebeian should chuse, from among the Patricians, any one he pleased, as his protector or Patron, and whose Client the former consequently became *(Quòd eum colebat)*. It was the bounden duty of the patron, at all times, to give advice to, and defend his client, to assist him with his money or interest, and, in a word, to do for him every thing, that a parent ought to do for his children (*Ἁπαντα πράττοντας ὅσα περὶ παίδως πράττεσι πατέρες*); while the client, on the other hand, was obliged to serve his patron, with his life and fortune. Dionys. Halicarnass. Antiq. L. II. 10. Edit. Reisk. There was something so affectionate and patriarchal, in the nature of this institution, that there is little wonder, that it laid hold on the minds of men; and so strict and virtuous was the union, which it produced, that no dissention, between a patron and a client, was ever known to take place, during the first six hundred years of the city. In fact, the connection subsisted, with a greater, or less degree of attachment, to the latest days of the empire. In consonance to this favourite principle, it became usual, from a very early period, for whole cities and nations, to place themselves under the protection of the illustrious families of Rome. In the same manner, therefore, that we here find the Allobrogians having, for their patrons, the Fabii, the Sicilians had the Marcelli, together with

Cicero; the Bononians had the Antonii; the Lacedemonians the Claudii; and so of many others. Page 54.

(6.) Some critics have imagined, that there is, in this passage, a contradiction between Cicero and Sallust, as several editions have, *In citeriore Galliâ*, and as we are expressly told, by Cicero, in his pleading for Caius Murena, that the same Murena was sent into Transalpine, or Farther Gaul. It is extremely possible, that he might have had the government of both districts. But the edition of Miller, from which the present translation is made, as well as some others, has, *In ulteriore Galliâ*, which renders the supposition unnecessary.—Caius Licinius Mûrena was of the same illustrious family, as Lucullus and Crassus, viz. that of the Licinii; and he was younger brother to Marcus Licinius Murena, then Consul elect, to whom he succeeded, in his provincial government.

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(7.) This was at the last general meeting, held by the conspirators. It was summoned by Lentulus, on the first day of December, in order finally to concert their plan, for the execution of the plot. The time fixed for it, as we learn from Cicero, Plutarch, and other writers, was the 17th December, when the Saturnalia, or feasts of Saturn commenced at Rome. These feasts were by far the most celebrated in the whole year, as all ranks then devoted themselves to mirth and festivity. On this occasion, friends sent presents to one another; masters, during three days, permitted their slaves to be on an equal footing with themselves; and the lower classes usually assembled on Mount Aventine, where they indulged in feasting, and dancing, and every sort of merriment. In a word, it was a season, consecrated to joy and freedom, in annual commemoration of that imaginary age, when Saturn held his reign, and mankind enjoyed a state of perfect happiness and equality.

Page 54. In order to second the operations of the accomplices, it was settled, that Catiline should endeavour to reach Rome, on the second day of the Saturnalia. The Tribune Bestia, whose name we have already seen in the list of the conspirators, undertook, on the eve of the festival, to address the people from the Rostra. He was to strive to poison their minds, in regard to Cicero's conduct; representing him as a man, equally timid and designing; who, listening to every rumour, and trembling for every misfortune, had no other object than to embroil the different orders in the state, and reduce the people, to a subserviency to the Senate. Having thus prepared the populace, always fickle and inconstant, to look without regret on the destruction of the Consul, Lentulus and Cethegus, with daggers under their robes, were to wait upon him, at an early hour, on the following morning; and, as his door, in all likelihood, would be open to the Prætor, Lentulus was to draw him aside, as if for the purpose of some confidential communication, and, seizing his opportunity, stab him to the heart. This done, they were straightway, at the head of the accomplices, to massacre the principal citizens; sparing none except the sons of Pompey, who were to serve as hostages for the behaviour of that commander, when he returned to Italy. Should this plan misgive, and Cicero still prove inaccessible, the whole was to be put off, till the ensuing night, as mentioned by Sallust, when the massacre and conflagration were to take place, at one and the same moment.

In the house of Cethegus, there had previously been provided a great magazine of arms, besides hemp, sulphur, and other combustibles. A hundred miscreants were engaged to set fire to the city, in a hundred different places, at the same time. Others were to take charge of choking up the aqueducts; while bands of ruffians, every where posted, were to put to death all those, who attempted to stop the progress of the flames. In the midst of the tumult and consternation, which would necessarily ensue, the chiefs of the Conspiracy were to seize the Capitol, while others made a sally to join Catiline.

Several of these circumstances are not stated by Sallust, from the conciseness of his narrative, and some are, in a slight degree, different from the statement, which he has given of them; but, according to either account, it is impossible to figure a scheme more truly diabolical. Page 54.

(8.) THE expressions of "an extraordinary man, a most excellent magistrate" *(Homo egregius, optumus Consul)*, have been elsewhere noticed, as the only direct, though cold commendation of Cicero, which, in the whole course of his narrative, Sallust suffers to fall from his pen. Without in any wise justifying the disingenuousness of the historian, it may be observed, that Cicero, transcendent as his merit was, did every thing, that a man could do, by the most exorbitant vanity, to tarnish and detract from it. The antient Greeks and Romans, with all their claims to superior cultivation, were, in some points, greatly inferior to us in *delicacy*. There is not even a word, in the language of either people, that expresses the idea, as we understand it; and in no respect is the observation more remarkable, than in their frequent, and scurrilous abuse of one another, and their no less disgusting commendation of themselves. A Greek, or a Roman, who spoke of his own merit, with what was deemed, in those days, but a becoming confidence, would now be held up to boundless derision, for his arrogance or folly; and yet Cicero transcended even that ample latitude. By his extraordinary talents, and the patriotism and virtue displayed during his Consulship, his character and influence were raised to the highest pitch; but, without the imputation of any criminal act, envy, and even disgust, were the consequence of his continually praising, and magnifying himself. He never spoke in the Senate, the assembly of the People, or the courts of justice, but Lentulus and Catiline were the burden of his song. Not content with this, his writings were so interlarded with encomiums on himself, that, although his style was, in the extreme, elegant and delightful,

Page 54. the composition became nauseous, and disgusting to the reader. Vanity adhered to him, like an incurable disease, and lessened the merit of all that he said or did, in the eyes of his contemporaries. Καὶ μέγιστον μὲν ἴσχυσεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε, πολλοῖς δ' ἐπίφθονον ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν, ἀπ' ἀδενὸς ἔργε πονηρῷ, τῷ δ' ἐπαινεῖν ἀεὶ καὶ μεγαλύνειν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ πολλῶν δυσχεραινόμενος. ἔτε γὰρ βελὴν, ἔτε δῆμον, ἔτε δικαστήριον ἦν συνελθεῖν, ἐν ᾧ μὴ Κατιλίναν ἔδει θρυλλέμενον ἀκέσαι καὶ Λέντλον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βιβλία τελευτῶν κατέπλησε, καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν ἐγκωμίων. καὶ τὸν λόγον, ἥδιστον ὄντα, καὶ χάριν ἔχοντα πλείστην, ἐπαχθῆ καὶ φορτικὸν ἐποίησε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις, ὥσπερ τινὸς ἀεὶ κηρὸς αὐτῷ τῆς ἀηδίας ταύτης προσέσης. See Plutarch. in Vit. XXIV. p. 791. Edit. Reisk. Such is the testimony of a judicious writer, who seldom does injustice to the characters he delineates.

In the same manner, Brutus, Cicero's most intimate friend, but who had been often shocked with his unceasing self-applause, in composing the life of Cato, resolved, like Sallust, to offer no food to Cicero's vanity. We find the great orator bitterly complaining to Atticus, that, no doubt, Brutus gave himself sufficient credit, for calling him "a most excellent Consul;" and yet, says he, if this is the language of friendship, what colder commendation could an enemy have bestowed on me? *Hic autem se etiam tribuere multum mi putat, quod scripserit* optumum Consulem: *Quis enim jejuniùs dixit inimicus?* Ad. Attic. L. XII. 22. Brutus and Sallust had plainly the same feelings on the subject; and, had the Life of Cato not been lost, we should probably see other instances, in which he was copied by our author.—But the historian, who writes for the instruction of aftertimes, should divest himself alike of the prejudices, and the partialities of a contemporary. His representation of events, and his characters of men, should be such, as that posterity can clearly perceive the causes of the one, and as fairly rejudge the actions of the other.—This is not the sort of conduct, which our author maintains in regard to Cicero. Of that great man he offers no portrait; nor does he

even represent him, as acting a principal part in the history of the Conspiracy. Silence, it must be confessed, is the most invidious, and often proves the worst of censures. We could, without reserve, have applauded Sallust, had he displayed the honest candour of the Greek biographer, who gives to Cicero his due share of both blame and commendation; and we could have forgiven him a well-founded prejudice, if, in a portrait of the man, who, of all others, should have stood the foremost on his canvas, he had faithfully delineated both his weaknesses and his virtues. Page 56.

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(9.) Lucius Valerius Flaccus was of the great Valerian family, being descended from the celebrated Valerius Publicola, who was Consul, in the first year of the Republic, after the expulsion of the Tarquins. Flaccus was a man of talents, and an excellent officer. He had served, as Quæstor, in Spain, under Marcus Piso; as Lieutenant, in Greece, under Metellus; and, lastly, he was Prætor, in this memorable juncture, when he proved of the utmost service, in putting down the Conspiracy. After his Prætorship, Flaccus obtained the government of Asia, from whence he returned in 694, and was accused, at the instance of P. Lælius, of extortion in the province, and defended by Cicero and Hortensius. Though there was little doubt of his being guilty of a crime, now almost universal among provincial governors, he was acquitted by means of Cicero's talents, and in consideration of his services, at the time of the Conspiracy. See Cicero's speech in defence of Flaccus, which still exists, and is a pleading of eloquence and ingenuity.

Caius Pomptinus was of no illustrious descent, his family being originally from the town of Pometium in Italy; but he was an officer of considerable merit and experience, and a particular friend of Cicero's. His exertions, also, were of the utmost importance, at this critical period; and Cicero speaks of him, on various occasions, with

Page 57. much warmth of commendation. He calls him, *Vir fortissimus; meorum laborum, periculorum, consiliorum socius.* De Provin. Consular. XIII. After the expiration of his Prætorship, he succeeded Murena, in the government of Gaul, where, on the revolt of the Allobroges, he commanded in the war against them; and, having totally defeated their troops, and re-established tranquillity, he obtained the honour of a triumph. See Dion. Cass. L. XXXVII. p. 57. XXXIX. p. 134. Edit. Stephan. When Cicero went out, as governor of Cilicia, he took Pomptinus with him, as his Lieutenant; and he led on the auxiliary forces, at the battle gained, by Cicero, over the barbarians of Mount Amanus. Epist. ad Fam. L. II. 15. III. 3. XV. 4. Ad Attic. L. VI. 3. &c.

(10.) The Milvian, or Mulvian Bridge, now called the Ponte Molle, was constructed of stone, and thrown over the Tiber by Æmilius Scaurus, who held the Consulship A. U. 638. He was the same, that laid the Æmilian way to Pisa, and, for the purpose of draining the marshes near the Po, dug a navigable canal, from Placentia to Parma. See Marlian. Topograph. Urb. L. VII. 3. 13.—Strab. L. V. p. 217. Edit. Casaub.

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(11.) The reader will find, in the Fourth Oration against Catiline, a full statement of the grounds of Cicero's perplexity, on this occasion. The dispatches, which were seized, being all delivered to him sealed up, and without any address, some of his friends advised him, first to open them himself, and examine the contents, before he made the matter public; because, should they be found to contain nothing of importance, the former outcry, of exciting groundless alarms, might, with greater show of reason, be raised against him *(Temerè à me tantus tumultus injectus civitati videretur).* But Cicero, after mature deliberation, resolved to act according to his own

judgment. He was satisfied of the great importance of producing the letters unopened before the conspirators; and he had no cause to doubt the correctness of his information, in regard to the nature of the business, on which they were dispatched. Page 58.

The passage here beginning, *At illum ingens cura atque lætitia simul occupavere*, is closely imitated by Tacitus, in the First Book of his Annals; where, in speaking of the suppression of the mutiny of the German Legions, and the news of that event being brought to Tiberius, he copies both the thought, and the expressions of Sallust. *Nunciata ea Tiberium, lætitia curaque adfecere: Gaudebat oppressam seditionem; sed, quòd largiendis pecuniis, et missione festinatâ, favorem militum quæsivisset, bellica quoque Germanici gloria, angebatur.*

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(12.) It was the custom of the Romans, on occasions of extraordinary importance, to convene the Senate in one of the Temples, for the purpose, as it was thought, of giving greater solemnity to its decrees. The choice of the edifice was always left to the Consul. There were, at Rome, several temples dedicated to Concord; but by far the most celebrated was the one alluded to in the text. It was a noble building, situated near the foot of the eminence, on which the Capitol stood, and fronting the Forum. According to some, Camillus the Dictator originally built it, about three-hundred years before; according to others, Cnæus Fulvius Flaccus, in the time of his Ædileship, and three-hundred-and-three years after the foundation of the Capitol. It is certain, that it was repaired, and decorated by Opimius, the celebrated opponent of the Gracchi, and champion of the Senate, and, afterwards, still more splendidly, by the Empress Livia, the mother of Tiberius. This temple was adorned with the most elegant statues, the work of Grecian artists, and, particularly, with a noble one of Victory, which was placed under the portico. The

Page 59. ruins of the portico are still visible, half buried in the ground, and consist of eight columns of the Corinthian order, together with a freeze, covered with inscriptions. See Plutarch. in Gracch.—Marlian. Topograph. Urb. L. III. 11.—Donat. Vet. Rom. L. II. 14.—Des Brosses. Ouv. de Sall. Tom. III. p. 131.

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(13.) THE three Cornelii, alluded to by Lentulus, were Cornelius Sylla, Cornelius Cinna, and himself; the two first of whom had, but a few years before, both made themselves masters of the commonwealth. *Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse, ex fatis Sibyllinis, haruspicumque responsis, se esse tertium illum Cornelium, ad quem regnum hujus urbis atque imperium pervenire esse necesse : Cinnam ante se, et Syllam fuisse . . Si P. Lentulus suum nomen, inductus à vatibus, fatale ad perniciem reipublicæ fore putavit.* Orat. in Catilin. III. IV. It was extremely natural for Lentulus, to lay hold of any expressions in the Sibylline Books, that were fitted to impose either on his own credulity, or on that of the public: For, to refer an event to those sacred volumes, was, in the eyes of the people of Rome, to speak of it with a sort of prophetic certainty. Thus, we find Juvenal, in his 8th Satire, in mentioning the importance of a moral truth, which he wishes to enforce on the reader, emphatically declaring, that it is no trite, nor vulgar apothegm, but as fixed and certain, as if it actually had been quoted from the page of the Sibyl;

> Quod modò proposui non est sententia, verùm
> Credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllæ.

As the SIBYLLINE BOOKS were among the most celebrated objects of antient superstition, it may be worth while, for the amusement of the reader, to give a short account of them, and of the mysterious person, by whom they are supposed to have been produced.

The Sibyls were certain women, said to be inspired, by heaven, with the power of foretelling future events, as their name imports, it being derived from the Greek words σίος, Æol. for *Deus*, and βελὴ, *Consilium*. The Sibyls flourished in different parts of the world, but their number is uncertain. Plato speaks of one, others of two, Pliny of three, Ælian of four, and Varro and Isidore of no fewer than ten; which last is the opinion most generally adopted by the learned. The ten Sibyls are believed to have resided in the following places; Persia, Libya, Delphi, Cumæ in Italy, Erythræa, Samos, Cumæ in Æolia, Ancyra in Phrygia, and Tibur. Page 59.

By far the most famous of the Sibyls was the Cumæan, or Prophetess of Cumæ, who has been known by the various names of Amalthæa, Demophile, Herophile, Daphne, Manto, Phemonoë, Deiphobe, and Albunea. It is said that Apollo, becoming enamoured of her, in order to make her sensible of his passion, offered to give her whatsoever she should ask. The Sibyl desired, that she might live as many years, as she had then grains of sand in her hand; but she unfortunately omitted to add the request of that health and beauty, of which she was then in the possession. The God granted her desire; but still she refused to gratify his passion, although he offered her perpetual youth and beauty. In process of time, she became old and decrepid; her fine form decayed, and paleness and hagard looks succeeded to bloom and chearfulness. She had already lived about seven-hundred years, when Æneas arrived in Italy; and, according to some, three-hundred more were still to elapse, before they equalled in number the grains of sand above mentioned. Virgil has given celebrity to her solemn conference with the Trojan chief; her conducting him to the mouth of the infernal regions; and the instructions, which she gave him, for the discovery of his father. See the description of her prophetic extacy in Æneid. L. VI. v. 46. & seqq. It was usual for the Sibyl to write her prophecies upon large leaves of trees, which she placed at the entrance of her cave; and great care

Page 59. was requisite, in those who consulted her, immediately to gather them up, before they were dispersed by the wind, as their meaning was thereby rendered unintelligible.

In the time of Tarquin the Proud, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, a woman from a foreign country (γυνὴ ἐκ ἐπιχωρίας), supposed to be the Sibyl of Cumæ, came to the palace of that monarch, with nine volumes, which she offered to sell, at a very exorbitant price. The king refused to comply with her demand, on which she went away, and, after burning three of the volumes, came and asked the same sum for the remaining six. As Tarquin rejected this demand also, she burned three more, and still persisted in requiring a similar price, for the three that were left. This extraordinary behaviour astonished Tarquin; who, on consulting the Augurs, purchased the remaining books; and the Sibyl, having admonished him to preserve them with care, immediately vanished, and never afterwards appeared to the world. These books were considered as a sacred deposit, containing prophetic accounts of the fate, and future grandeur of Rome (*Famamque, et fata nepotum*). Two officers, or priests, were appointed to take charge of them; and such was the veneration, in which they were held, that recourse was had to them, on occasions only of solemnity, or when danger of an unusual kind threatened the commonwealth. A. U. 387, the number of these sacred officers was encreased to ten; afterwards to fifteen, as it is imagined, by Sylla; to which last number one more was added, by Julius Cæsar. The whole, notwithstanding, bore the name of *Quindecemviri*.

Authors differ somewhat in their account of the Sibylline Books. Pliny says, that they were originally three in number, of which two were burned, and one only was preserved. Whatever the number was, they all perished in the conflagration, which destroyed the Capitol, and not, as is erroneously said by Tacitus (Annal. L. VI. 12.), in the Social War, but in the civil war between Marius and Sylla, A. U. C. 671. From the various mass of prophetic verses, collected,

after this, by order of the Senate, Augustus directed new books to be compiled; and, having destroyed all the other compositions of the kind, ordered this selection to be deposited, inclosed in gilt cases *(Forulis auratis)*, under the base of the statue of Apollo, in the Temple of that God, on Mount Palatine. As long as the pagan superstition lasted, the Sibylline Books continued to be the political creed of the Emperors. In the reign of Honorius, Stilicho, his ambitious minister, and the pretended convert to Christianity, ordered the books to be burned; from which period, as paganism was, in a great measure, abolished throughout the empire, they cease to be noticed by historians. For the above particulars, the curious reader may consult Plat. in Phædr. p. 244. Edit. Serran.—Dionys. Halicarnass. L. VI. 62. Edit. Reisk.—Liv. L. VI. 37. 42.—Cic. in Verr. IV. 49.—Virg. Æneid. L. VI. 36. &c.—Serv. in eund. v. 73.—Strab. Geog. L. XIII. p. 645. XVII. p. 814. Edit. Casaub.—Val. Maxim. L. I. 1. xiii.—Ælian. Var. Hist. L. XII. 35.—Pausan. L. X. 12.—Plin. Hist. Nat. L. XIII. 13.—Sueton. in August. XXXVI.—Dion. Cass. L. XLII. LIV. p. 609. Edit. Stephan.—Tacit. Annal. L. VI. 12.—Aul. Gell. L. I. 19.—Lactant. L. I. 6.—Isidor. Orig. L. VIII. 8. p. 1019. Edit. Gothof. Page 69.

It is well known that Virgil, not apprehending what was foretold concerning the birth of Christ, applied the prediction to another purpose, in that exquisite composition, his Fourth Eclogue, entitled Pollio. The early fathers of the church, in their *Apologiæ*, or defences of the Christian faith, frequently appealed to the Sibylline oracles, as containing prophecies of our Saviour's advent; and I am inclined to think, with the learned Vossius (in his treatise *De Oraculis Sibyllinis*), that those verses, called Sibylline, which, at that period, were scattered about the world, and particularly in Asia, had been originally taken from the Prophets, and circulated by the Jews themselves, as they indicated a firm, and universal expectation of the Messiah's appearing, about the age of Augustus. In order to be con-

Page 59. vinced of this, let the classical reader compare these well-known lines, from the Pollio, with the following striking passages of Isaiah's prophecies:

Jam redit et virgo . .
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.
Ille Deûm vitam accipiet . .
Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.
At tibi prima, puer, nullo manuscula cultu,
Errantes hederas passim cum baccare tellus
Mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho.
. . Nec magnos metuent armenta leones, &c.

"A virgin shall conceive, &c. Unto us a child is born, unto us a "son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder, and "his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, "the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Of the encrease of his "government, and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of "David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with "judgment, and with justice, from henceforth, even for ever. The "wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad, and the desert shall "rejoice, and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and "rejoice, even with joy and singing. The wolf, also, shall dwell "with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the "calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together," &c.

(14.) The Capitol was three times destroyed by fire: First, after being originally built by Tarquin the Second, and dedicated by Horatius, it was consumed in Sylla's wars, during the Consulship of Scipio and Norbanus; and this, probably, is the period, alluded to in the text. It was burned, the second time, during the wars of Vitellius, and rebuilt by Vespasian; and it suffered, for the third time, on the death of the last mentioned Emperor, when it was again repaired, and

decorated by Domitian. The Capitol had also been several times struck with lightening, and set on fire. It is to one of those times, according to some critics, that Sallust in this place alludes; and Cicero very elegantly commemorates the event, in the Second Book of the poem on his Consulship. Page 59.

> Hunc ea, Torquato quæ quondam, Consule Cottâ,
> Lydius ediderat Tyrrhenæ gentis aruspex.
> Omnia fixa tuus glomerans determinat annus.
> Nam pater altitonans, stellanti nixus Olympo,
> Ipse suas arces, atque incluta templa petivit,
> Et Capitolinis injecit sedibus ignes.

(15.) THERE were three methods of confining delinquents in use at Rome. The first was, in the common prison, without guards or attendants, and practised towards persons only of the lowest condition. The second was, to chain the right-hand of the prisoner to the left-hand of a soldier, who was directed to take charge of him. It was called *Custodia militaris*, and was the most common mode of confinement, in use both in the capital, and in the provinces. Sometimes, the prisoner was bound to two soldiers, with a chain fixed to each, for the sake of greater security. It was in this manner, that St. Peter was confined by Herod, when the angel came, to relieve him from prison. "The same night," says the author of the Acts of the Apostles, "Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains." Ch. XII. 6. And in this way, also, as we find, when St. Paul was carried prisoner to Rome, instead of being sent, with the rest, to the common place of confinement, he was permitted, as an indulgence, "to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him." Id. XXVIII. 16. Seneca, in the Fifth Epistle of his Second Book, evidently alludes to the same mode of confinement, when he says, in addressing himself to his friend Lucilius; *Ita est, mi Lucili; cùm videantur*

Page 59. *dissidere, conjuncta sunt. Quemadmodum eadem catena et custodiam, et militem copulat; sic ista, quæ tam dissimilia sunt, pariter incedunt.* The third method was reserved solely for persons of rank or birth, and named *Libera custodia.* They were not committed to prison, but to private custody, as in the present case of Lentulus and his associates, and sent to the houses of magistrates, or other persons of distinction, who became answerable for their appearance.

Publius Lentulus Spinther, who took charge of his kinsman Lentulus Sura, was, at this time, Curile Ædile; and, although a man of excellent character, extremely addicted to expence and luxury. He was the first person at Rome, who, on entering into office, introduced the double-dyed purple *(Diabapha Tyria)*, for the robes of magistrates, which cost more than its weight in silver, that is, a thousand Denarii, or about £23 : 5 : 10, of our money, per pound. See Plin. Hist. Nat. L. IX. 39. Lentulus held the Consulship A. U. 696, together with Metellus Nepos. He was surnamed Spinther, from a whimsical circumstance, viz. his wonderfully exact resemblance to a certain comedian of that name, insomuch, that it was scarcely possible to distinguish the one from the other. It seems that, at the same time, there was another player at Rome, called Pamphilus, who was no less like Metellus, the other Consul; so that, as Pliny observes, it was by an awkward caprice of nature and accident, that the exact counterparts of both chief magistrates were daily to be seen exhibited on the stage. *In quo perquàm importunè fortuitum hoc quoque fuit, duorum simul Consulum in scenâ imagines cerni.* Hist. Nat. L. VII. 12. See, likewise, Val. Maxim. L. IX. 14. iv. Had not Metellus fortunately had a surname before, viz. that of Nepos, he probably would have partaken of the same scenic honours. Considering the propensity of the Romans to derive surnames from every occasion and accident, it is singular, that the appellation of Nepos Pamphilus was not asssigned him.

Lentulus was a particular friend of Cicero's, and, notwithstanding his connection with his kinsman Sura, he firmly took part against the conspirators. During his Consulship, he had the credit of principally promoting Cicero's recal from exile; and Cicero, as we have seen (Vol. I. p. 531.), returned him the favour, by procuring his pardon from Cæsar, when Lentulus had sided with Pompey, and was taken prisoner, with Domitius and others, at Corfinium. After the death of Cæsar, he continued true to his principles. He followed the fortunes of Brutus and Cassius, and perished in the wars of that disastrous period. Lentulus left a son of the same name as himself. Several particulars concerning both are preserved, in the Familiar correspondence of Cicero. See Epist. ad Fam. L I. 1. VI. 21. XII. 14. 15. &c. Manutius has well remarked Cicero's delicacy, in writing to this friend, in never chusing to remind him of the surname of Spinther, although he constantly distinguishes the son, by that appellation. Page 59.

Quintus Cornificius has been already noticed, as among the competitors for the Consulship, at the same time as Cicero; but he never had the good fortune to obtain the office. He became a member of the Augural college, and afterwards governor of Africa. In that command, the army saluted Cornificius by the title of *Imperator*, as appears by a medal of him, still extant, in the collection of Ursinus.

Of Cnæus Terentius Varro nothing is known, only that he had been Prætor in the foregoing year. Both Plutarch and Appian, by mistake, make the prisoners to be all delivered in charge to the Prætors.—It was a stroke of policy in the Senate, probably brought about by the prudence of Cicero, to give two of the prisoners to Cæsar and Crassus, for the purpose, if possible, of doing away the suspicion, which seems to have been but too well-founded, of their secretly favouring the views of Catiline.

Page 59. (16.) CICERO, in his account of what passed in the Senate, is much more circumstantial than Sallust; and he also differs from the historian, in some few particulars. I shall here, as before, endeavour to supply the narrative.

As the apprehension of the Allobroges and their suite, at the Milvian Bridge, which was about two miles from Rome, had taken place very early in the morning, the prisoners, by day-break *(Cùm jam dilucesceret)*, were brought to Cicero's house. Gabinius Cimber was first sent for by the Consul; then Statilius, Cethegus, and Lentulus; and they all obeyed the summons, without entertaining any suspicion of a discovery. Lentulus came last, after considerable delay. He had, contrary to his custom, made a great exertion, in sitting up part of the night, as it was supposed, to finish his dispatches, and had gone to bed, only a short while before. The whole were conducted to the Temple of Concord, where the Senate was assembled; and they were left without the house, under a strong escort. In consequence of a hint from the Allobrogian deputies, the Prætor Sulpicius went to search the house of Cethegus, and returned with a number of swords and daggers, which he found concealed, recently furbished, and fit for service.

The first thing I did, says Cicero, was to bring Volturcius, without the Gallic deputies, to the bar of the Senate. By order of the Fathers, I informed Volturcius, that he might rely on the public faith, and with perfect security disclose what he knew. The man, in the beginning, was covered with confusion: But, as soon as he was able to collect himself, he confessed, that he was charged with letters, from Lentulus to Catiline, and also with verbal instructions, urging that conspirator forthwith to arm the slaves, and advance, by rapid marches, to the gates of Rome. When the general massacre and conflagration, according to the pre-concerted plan, should commence, he would be near at hand, to intercept all such, as attempted to save themselves by flight, and co-operate with his associates, within the city.

The Gauls were next introduced and examined. They informed the house, that Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius, had bound themselves, by an oath, to make good their several engagements, and, at the same time, charged the Gauls with dispatches to the Allobrogian state. They added, that these three, together with Cassius, their associate, required a body of cavalry, without delay, to be sent into Italy, where, they said, they would find infantry in force, and ready to support them. Besides the story of the Sibylline Books, as reported by Sallust, it appeared, from the same witnesses, that there had been a difference of opinion, among the conspirators, about the time proper for executing their horrible design. Lentulus and his partizans declared for the Saturnalia; but, to the impetuous spirit of Cethegus, that plan seemed nothing but procrastination and delay. On being interrogated, whether Autronius was among the number of the conspirators, they answered in the affirmative; but their evidence respecting Publius Sylla was uncertain. They moreover declared, that Magius Chilo, and a man named Furius, who lived at Fæsulæ, and had served under Sylla, had both negociated with them, concerning the plot. Page 59.

Curius, who all along had been Cicero's source of information, on being asked what he knew, averred, that Cæsar was privy to the Conspiracy. Silanus mentioned, that Cethegus was frequently heard to say, that three Consuls, and four Prætors, would soon perish at Rome: And Q. Annius gave testimony, as to the constant correspondence, kept up between the prisoner, and the rebels in Etruria.

When these depositions were taken down, the Senate proceeded to confront the prisoners separately with the witnesses. Cethegus was the first, that was introduced. On being interrogated, concerning the daggers found in his house, he carelessly replied, that that was nothing wonderful with him, who had, all his life, been curious in the article of well-tempered weapons *(Se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse)*. His letter was next produced, and he acknowledged the seal. The string was cut *(Linum incidimus)*; according to the

Page 59. custom of the Romans, who did not, like us, write their letters on paper, but usually on tablets of wood, covered with white, or coloured wax. These were tied up with a string or thread, and sealed with a ring, instead of a signature; which last they never used, at the bottom of their letters.—Cethegus's letter was then read. It was addressed to the Senate, and Allobrogian people, assuring them, that he would be faithful to his engagements, in full reliance on their performing what was promised by the deputies. At the sight of this convincing evidence, Cethegus was covered with confusion, and unable to utter a word. Statilius next appeared, and, on his letters being produced, he made a clear confession.

Last of all, Lentulus was called in. He, like the rest, acknowledged his seal, and his packet was broken open, in his presence. That seal, said Cicero, addressing himself to the prisoner, is, indeed, a remarkable one. It has upon it the head of your grandfather, an illustrious Roman, who dearly loved his country, and his fellow citizens; and the sight of that image, though mute, might well have deterred you from so black a crime! *Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo, et quæsivi, cognosceretne signum? Annuit. Est verò, inquam, signum quidem notum, imago avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui amavit unicè patriam, et cives suos: Quæ quidem te à tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit.* Lentulus's letter, like that of Cethegus, was addressed to the Allobrogian Senate and People. At first, he calmly insisted on his innocence: When, on being confronted with the Allobroges and Volturcius, he rose in a fury, and demanded, what concern he had with either of them, and what business had brought them to his house? The deputies, in a tone of firmness, shortly told him, at whose request, and on what business they had frequently gone thither. In their turn, they desired to know, whether he had ever boasted of his vast expectations from the Sibylline oracle? This question touched Lentulus to the quick; and, although he might far more easily have denied the charge, than the circumstance of the dispatches, he made a full confession, to the

surprise of the whole assembly. His natural talents, his flow of words, Page 59.
his consummate impudence, in which, says Cicero, he surpassed all mankind, wholly forsook him, and he stood before us a monument of detected guilt! Lucius Cæsar, his brother-in-law, who was present, loudly declared, that he merited death; and that his grandfather had caused Flaccus to be cut off, for a far smaller crime. Volturcius then produced the anonymous letter, written by Lentulus to Catiline, which Cicero recites, in nearly the same words as Sallust; and it was, like the other dispatches, recognized and owned by Lentulus; which closed the evidence against him.

Gabinius was the last prisoner, who was brought before the Senate. In the beginning, he affected ignorance, and employed effrontery, as well as his associates: But, finding that the whole had come out, and that artifice and dissimulation would no longer avail him, he confessed to every article, which the deputies and Volturcius had so fully deposed.

In the outset of these examinations, Cicero had appointed Cosconius, one of the Prætors, Messala, Prætor elect, Nigidius Figulus, and Appius, Senators, all noted for their talent of writing with celerity, to take down the proof. Nigidius, who was one of the best Grammarians, and most accomplished scholars of his time, was directed to reduce it into the form of a narrative; and, in order to obviate misrepresentation, a number of copies were made out by the clerks, and distributed not only in Rome, but all over Italy, and the provinces of the empire.

The particulars of this important meeting of the Senate it is pretty clear that our author would have given far more in detail, if it could have been done, without bringing forward, in the most prominent manner, *the merit of Cicero.* To produce any thing like an intelligible narrative, and yet keep, almost entirely out of view, the master-hand, that set the whole machine in motion, evidently required some

Page 60. management; and it forms, at once, the striking peculiarity, and the just opprobrium of this history.

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(17.) THE meeting of the Senate, above described, was not dismissed, until the close of the day, that is, of the 3d of December. The Forum, as well as every avenue leading to the Temple of Concord, had, for many hours, been filled with crowds, all anxious to learn what had passed. Cicero, although exhausted with the constant exertions he had made, from day-break till the present moment, yet resolved to gratify their curiosity. He mounted the Rostra, and gave the people an account of the whole proceedings; and this speech forms what is called his Third Oration against Catiline. He communicated to them the pleasing intelligence of the Conspiracy being brought to light, and the principal accomplices apprehended. With honest pride, he informed them of the deliberations of the Fathers, and the resolutions they had come to, on this occasion; which, he said, although highly flattering to himself, must appear interesting to the public.

In the first place, they passed a vote of thanks to the Consul, who, by his diligence, his counsels, and his patriotism, had saved the commonwealth. Secondly, most honourable mention was made of the Prætors Flaccus and Pomptinus, who had executed their commission with such vigour and alacrity. Thirdly, it was decreed that Lentulus, after laying aside his purple robes, as Prætor of Rome, and putting on mourning apparel, as suitable to his condition, should be committed to close confinement; and that the same should be done by Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius, who were all three present at the debate. The same sentence was pronounced against Lucius Cassius, whose madness prompted him to solicit the charge of setting fire to the city; against Marcus Cœparius, who was commissioned to excite an insurrection in Apulia; against Publius Furius, one of Sylla's colonists, whom that usurper had settled at Fæsulæ; against Quintus Manlius, or Magius

Chilo, who, in concert with Furius, had negociated with the Gauls; Page 60.
and, finally, against Publius Umbrenus, an enfranchised slave, who, as it appeared in evidence, was the person, that brought the Gallic deputies to their first interview with Gabinius. See Orat. in Catilin. III. 6.

The transports of joy now manifested by all ranks of men, but which Sallust seems to mention as confined to the populace, and the honours bestowed on Cicero, of which he makes no mention at all, were proportioned, if possible, to the extent of the services, that he had rendered to the community. The people carried him home to his own house, in triumph. Quintus Catulus, the Prince of the Senate, in name of that august body, thanked him for his conduct, and hailed him, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY *(Parentem patriæ nominavit)*; a title, which no man, except himself, ever received during the republic, and which the best of the emperors considered as their most distinguished honour. See Cic. in Vat.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 715. Edit Toll.—Juv. Sat. VIII. 243. Hence Pliny thus apostrophizes him; *Salve primus omnium Parens Patriæ appellate!* L. VII. 30. Gellius, the Censor, moreover declared, that the commonwealth should bestow upon him a civic crown; and, when a public thanksgiving, in Cicero's name, was voted for the deliverance of the state, Cato and Cotta procured it to be inserted in the decree, that it was not bestowed, as in ordinary cases, for extending the limits of the empire, but for "saving it from ruin." A thanksgiving, at Rome, was always regarded as the most glorious mark of the public applause. It was granted only to generals of armies, for the greatest military services, and never, till now, to any civil magistrate. The words of the decree expressly bore, that the thanksgiving, appointed in Cicero's name, was for his meritorious services, "in rescuing the city from devouring flames, the citizens "from a general massacre, and Italy from the calamities of war." *Atque etiam supplicatio Diis immortalibus, pro singulari eorum merito, meo nomine, decreta est; quòd mihi primùm, post hanc urbem conditam,*

Page 60. *togato contigit; et his decreta verbis est;* QUÒD URBEM INCENDIIS, CÆDE CIVES, ITALIAM BELLO LIBERASSEM. In Catilin. III. 6.

Besides this, all the towns of Italy followed the example of the capital, in decreeing extraordinary honours to Cicero. Capua, in particular, erected a gilt statue to him, with a flattering inscription, and chose him for its patron. The most eminent men in Rome vied with one another, in pronouncing his eulogium, whether to the People, or to the Senate. Among the persons, who most loudly applauded him, he names many Consular Senators, and others well known in the history of this period; Catulus, Cato, Servilius, Crassus, Hortensius, the two Luculluses, Curio, Lepidus, Piso, Cotta, Glabrio, Volcatius, Nigidius, Silanus, Torquatus, and Murena; and Pompey himself addressed to him a letter from Asia, in the most flattering style of compliment. It is not then to be wondered at, if we find the great orator, loaded, as he was, with private commendation, and public honours, become so extremely sensible to the inveteracy of the prosecutions, which were afterwards raised against him; and we can discover a better cause, than vanity, or at least a cause, that might concur with it, in inducing him so frequently to dwell on his own merit, and the encomiums it had drawn forth, when he was called upon to repel the calumnies of his enemies.

(18.) THE original has here, *Interea plebes . . mutatâ mente, Catilinæ consilia exsecrari, Ciceronem ad coelum tollere, veluti ex servitute erepta, gaudium atque lætitiam agitabat.* The precise difference between *Gaudium* and *Lætitia*, it was not considered as very important to mark, in the translation, although undoubtedly there is a difference. *Lætitia* (says Festus) *demonstratur gestu corporis; Gaudium est in animo, sine aliquo exteriore.* The sense of the passage, however, is sufficiently preserved; and the rendering it in this manner, though rather paraphrastic, has greater spirit in English composition, than a more minute discrimination of the shades of meaning, so often

discernible in Sallust's delineations. This is an observation which the classical reader will perceive extends to more passages than one of the present translation. Pages 61. 62.

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(19.) DION CASSIUS gives an account of this affair pretty similar to that stated in the text; but he throws out no insinuations, as Sallust soon after does, and which we might have expected him to have willingly copied, that the whole was the contrivance of Cicero. Διῆλθε μὲν ἓν λόγος ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐν αὐτοῖς εἴη, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν συλληφθέντων τὶς ἐμήνυσεν· ἀ μέντοι πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐδ' ἠξίουν τοιοῦτόν τι ἐς αὐτὸν ὑποπτεύειν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαίτιων ὑπεστόρεσεν αὐτὸ, ὅπως βοηθείας τινὸς διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτοῦ (ὅτι πλείστον ἐδύνατο), τύχωσι, λογοποιήσασθαι. εἰ δ' ἓν τισὶ καὶ πιστὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἔτι γε ἐδικαίουν, ἄνδρα τε ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις σφῶν ὄντα ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκταράξαι. ὥστε τοῦτο μὲν παντελῶς διέπεσε. L. XXXVII. p. 51. Edit. Stephan.

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(20.) IT appears that Cicero, if we may credit Plutarch, openly declared, in one of his speeches, that both Crassus and Cæsar were concerned in the Conspiracy; but he took care not to publish the piece, during the life-time of either (ἀλλ' ἕως μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῖν τελευτήν); and it never has come down to the present times. See Vit. Crass. XIII. p. 439. Edit. Reisk. Be that as it may, as the same biographer informs us, Crassus was exasperated against him to the highest pitch; and, had the former not been prevailed upon, by his son Publius, who was a favourite pupil, and admirer of Cicero's, to smother his resentment, it might have burst forth in a manner, extremely dangerous to the great orator. Crassus also, when he came to reflect, soon saw, that, by a display of chagrin, he would confirm, and not remove, the suspicions already entertained against him. He resolved to affect an esteem for, and even an admiration of Cicero; and

Page 62. his artfully carrying into execution that design, may account for some curious details, in the Letters to Atticus, of the compliments, which they publicly paid each other, to the no small surprise, and mortification of Pompey. But Crassus had an opportunity, ere long, of giving free scope to his real disposition, in the affair of Clodius, when that miscreant was prosecuted for his intrigue with Pompeia, the wife of Cæsar, and in the subsequent artful machinations, by which he procured Cicero's exile. On both occasions, Clodius was supported, by all the influence of Crassus. Before his departure for his Parthian expedition, a second reconcilement took place, between him and Cicero, by means of young Publius, who perished in Asia, with his father, and seeems to have been a real loss to his country. See Epist. ad Fam. L. V. 8., also Note 46. anteh. Cicero, in his tract *De Claris Oratoribus* (Sect. LXXXI.), has beautifully drawn his character, and lamented his premature ambition. He was attached to Publius from many motives; his own merit; the memory of his ancestor, so celebrated for his eloquence; and the uncommon partiality, shown by the youth, for Cicero himself. I cannot resist the pleasure of inserting the whole passage, for the gratification of the classical reader. *Cùm initio ætatis ad amicitiam se meam contulisset . . eum vehementer hortarer, ut eam laudis viam rectissimam esse duceret, quam majores ejus ei tritam reliquissent. Erat enim cùm institutus optimè, tum etiam perfectè, planèque eruditus: Ineratque et ingenium satìs acre, et orationis non inelegans copia; prætereaque sine arrogantiâ gravis esse videbatur, et sine segnitiâ verecundus. Sed hunc quoque absorbuit æstus quidam non insolitæ adolescentibus gloriæ: Qui, quia navaret miles operam imperatori, imperatorem se statim esse cupiebat; cui muneri mos majorum ætatem certam, sortem incertam reliquit. Ita gravissimo suo casu, dum Cyri et Alexandri similis esse voluit, qui suum cursum transcurrerant, et L. Crassi, et multorum Crassorum, inventus est dissimillimus.*

(21.) THIS was Caius Calpurnius Piso, who held the Consulship A. U. 686, together with Acilius Glabrio, and afterwards obtained the province of Gaul, as we learn from Cicero and Dion Cassius. The former calls him *Pacificator Allobrogum.* See Epist. ad Attic. L. I. 13. 14. See also, concerning him, L. I. 1. It seems to have been in that government, that he committed the illegal act, here alluded to, for which a suit was instituted against him, and the prosecution warmly supported by Cæsar, who probably was counsel for the inhabitants. The affair had taken place, immediately before Catiline's flight from Rome, when Piso's cause was undertaken by Cicero: But, as there are no remains of the speech, which he made on this occasion, we are left in the dark, as to the particulars of the case. He tells us only, in his pleading for Flaccus (Sect. XXXIX.), that Piso was acquitted, on account of having proved himself, during his Consulship, a firm and vigorous magistrate; *Quia Consul fortis constansque fuerat, incolumisque est reipublicæ conservatus.* From this we are led to conjecture, that it was by no means owing to the goodness of his cause; and hence Sallust, who must have well known the merits of the question, gives the epithet of *Injustus* to the punishment, inflicted on the Gaul, by Piso, thereby intimating, that he should have been condemned, instead of being acquitted, on the trial. Page 62.

Translators, in general, have rendered this passage with great inaccuracy; first, by stating, that the prosecution was set on foot by Cæsar; secondly, that death was the punishment, which the native of Gaul suffered, at the hands of Piso (of neither of which facts there is any certain information); and, thirdly, that Piso was found guilty of that crime by the court. It is singular that M. de Brosses, who is in general accurate, should have fallen into all the three errours. But he has done still more, to perplex the passage. From the mere love of anecdote, he has adopted an absurd fancy of Colerus, namely, that the Caius Piso, mentioned by Sallust, must necessarily be the same as Cnæus Piso, who lived in the time of Tiberius, and of whose passionate

Page 62. temper Seneca tells an extraordinary story, about a hundred years after Sallust wrote. See De Irâ, L. I. 16. Certainly the learned President never took the trouble to look into Seneca for this anecdote, but merely copied it from Colerus, otherwise he must have seen the inadmissibility of the supposition. Seneca expressly says, that the person in question was his contemporary *(Fuit memoriâ nostrâ)*, and for that reason, were there no other, he could not be the Piso of Sallust. See De Brosses, Tom. III. p. 139. 146. It seems, that violence of temper was hereditary in the whole Calpurnian family; and, therefore, any excesses, proceeding from ungovernable rage, were easily to be believed of them. Cæsar (De Bell. Civil. L. III.) attributes this defect to his colleague and opponent Bibulus; and Tacitus, in the Second Book of his Annals, says of the Piso, spoken of by Seneca, who was also the mortal enemy, and probably the murderer of Germanicus, that he was, *Ingenio violentum, obsequii ignarum, insitâ ferociâ à patre Pisone.*

(22.) THE ministers of religion, at Rome, did not form a distinct order in the state, but were usually chosen from among the citizens of the highest rank. Sensible that there was not, in their superstition, any thing of sufficient value, either as a code of morals, or a system of theology, to attract regard on account of itself, the Romans wisely conjoined it, with the weight and dignity of the civil magistrate. The Pontifices, or Priests, were, at first, four in number, and appointed, by Numa, to be chosen from among the Patricians. About the year of the city 454, four more were added, from among the Plebeians; and Sylla encreased the whole number to fifteen. They were divided into *Majores* and *Minores*, and the chief of the college was called *Pontifex Maximus*. See Cic. de Harusp. Respons. VI.—Liv. L. IV. 4. XI. 6. XXII. 57. Epit. LXXXIX.—Dionys. Halicarnass. L. II. 73.

The chief, or high Priesthood was an office of great power and dignity. The Pontifex Maximus was the supreme judge and arbiter, in

all matters of religious concern. He took care that the sacred rites were performed; for which purpose, all the other priests were subject to him: He could fine and punish such as neglected his orders, although they filled the highest magistracies; and his presence was essential, at all solemn and religious acts. He attended the Comitia: He was present at the dedication of temples; when magistrates vowed games; when adoptions or testaments were made. Together with the college, he judged in all things regarding marriage: He had the charge of regulating the year, and the public calendar; and he drew up the early records of the commonwealth, before the composition of history. Sometimes, the Pontifical college had the power of life and death; and, in several respects, the High Priest was not accountable, for his conduct, to either the Senate, or the People. See Liv. L. I. 20. II. 2. IV. 27. IX. 46. XXXVII. 51. &c.—Cic. Philip. XI. 8. De Orat. L. II. 12. De Harusp. Respons. VII. De Legg. L. II. 9. Orat. pro Dom. XIII.—Dionys. Halicarnass. L. II. 73. XLVIII. 44.—Tacit. Annal. L. I. 10. III. 58. Hist. L. I. 15. &c.—Sueton. in Cæs. XL. In August. XXXI.—Macrob. Saturnal. L. I. 14.—Aul. Gell. L. IV. 5. V. 19. XV. 27. &c. Page 62.

This high office was always for life. It was, at first, conferred by the Pontifical College; but afterwards, as in the time of Cæsar, by a vote of the People. The person, who filled it, resided in an official palace, or house belonging to the public, and lived in a style of extraordinary magnificence. The *Coena Pontificia*, or *Aditalis*, that is, the entertainment given by the High Priest, on the day of his inauguration, is celebrated, by the antients, for its splendour and luxury. Thus, Horace says, in the conclusion of his beautiful Ode to Posthumus;

Absumet hæres Cæcuba dignior
Servata centum clavibus; et mero
Tinget pavimentum superbum,
Pontificum potiore cœnis.

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Your worthier heir
Shall drink the rich Cæcubian wine,
Which now a hundred locks confine;
The floors shall die with juice more rare,
Than anxious lux'ry ever stor'd,
To grace the Pontiff's sumptuous board.

In antient times, the Pontifex Maximus could not leave Italy. The first person, who was freed from that restraint, was P. Licinius Crassus, A. U. C. 618; and Cæsar, in the same manner, obtained the licence. Liv. Epit. LIX.—Sueton. in Cæs. XXII. After the death of Lepidus, the office was assumed by Augustus: It was afterwards vested in the person of his successors; and the Christian Emperors constantly assumed the title, till the time of Theodosius. It is most probable, that the Papal hierarchy was established, on the model of this celebrated office.

From the above cursory idea of the high Priesthood at Rome, it is obvious, how great a weight of political power and influence it conferred, and how singularly it must have become an object of ambition, with the first men in the commonwealth. Cæsar was now only in his thirty-sixth year; and his principal opponents far surpassed him, in both age and dignity. These were Lutatius Catulus, Prince of the Senate, who has been already mentioned in Note 92.; and Servilius Isauricus, under whom Cæsar had served his first campaign. Never was there an election more keenly contested, or at greater expence. Bribes were, on all sides, scattered with such profusion, that the fortunes of the candidates were sensibly affected. The answer, made by Cæsar to Catulus, when an immoderate sum of money was offered him to desist from his suit (See Vol. I. p. 510.), is sufficient to show the obstinacy of the candidates. It may fairly be considered, rather as a trial of strength, between the two principal parties, the Popular and the Patrician, which divided the state, than the mere competition of

single individuals. So warmly had Cæsar the object at heart, and Page 63.
so entirely did he stake the success of his political career on the issue of the contest, that, when his mother, with tears in her eyes, followed him to the door, in going forth to the election; This day, said he, my dear mother, you will see your son either chief Pontif of Rome, or a voluntary exile. Ὦ μῆτερ, εἶπεν, τήμερον ἢ ἀρχιερέα τὸν υἱὸν, ἢ φυγάδα ὄψει. Plutarch. in Cæs. VII. p. 181. Edit. Reisk. The event was in a style of triumph so complete, as to leave his two opponents mortified to the utmost: For, on taking the suffrages, says another of his biographers, he had more votes against them, in their own tribes, than they were able to procure, among all the other citizens. *Ut plura ipse in eorum tribubus suffragia, quàm uterque in omnibus tulerit.* Sueton. in Cæs. XIII.

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(23.) M. De Brosses, in a fit of affection for Catulus, chuses, in this place, to be extremely angry with Sallust; and, transcending the bounds of his usual urbanity, he accuses the historian of direct falsehood. I have as high an opinion, as any one, of the merit and virtues of Catulus, as may be seen, from Note 92. anteh.; but much allowance is to be made for the heat of party, and the violence of private, as well as political prejudices, when both are inflamed by frequent competition. The account, given by the historian, of the conduct of Catulus and Piso, seems to me sufficiently credible, without any extraordinary disparagement of either. If Sallust is to be blamed, as deficient in candour, in this part of his narrative, it is for insidiously varnishing, if not wholly misrepresenting, the views of his friend and patron Cæsar. It is curious enough to hear M. De Brosses delivering an elaborate exculpation of Catulus, from what he considers as a most horrible imputation, namely, his being supposed *capable* of urging Cicero to get Cæsar named, together with Crassus, as privy to the Conspiracy; while he fairly confesses, that the same Catulus blamed Cicero, for not

Page 63. actually *putting Cæsar to death*, when, during the Conspiracy, he might so easily have accomplished it! He says, indeed, that this was after Cæsar had manifested his intention of seizing the government; when the fact is, it was only after he had so completely baffled Catulus, in the suit for the Priesthood. For this assertion, M. De Brosses mentions Plutarch as his authority: But Plutarch gives no ground for such a sentiment being imputed to him. Cæsar, at the period in question, could not have formed any specific design against the constitution of his country; and the probability is, that the worthy President had not, on this occasion, consulted the original of Plutarch at all.

It appears, from both Cicero and Suetonius, that Cæsar's suit for the Priesthood, although it took place in the same year as the Conspiracy of Catiline, certainly preceded that event; as is to be gathered from Sallust himself. Plutarch, after observing, that the Senate, and the nobility were alarmed at the success of so young, and aspiring a demagogue, proceeds to tell us, that they naturally feared his design of urging the people to every sort of licentiousness. It was on this account, he says, that Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero for sparing Cæsar, when the Conspiracy of Catiline gave such an opportunity of cutting him off; alluding, no doubt, to the anecdote, which he soon after relates, and which Sallust does not deny, concerning the young men, or Roman Knights, who had assembled round the Senate-house, for the purpose of guarding Cicero's person. They drew their swords, and ran upon Cæsar; and, looking to Cicero for a nod of approbation, would have put the former to death, had the Consul given his assent; when Curio, it is added, at that critical moment, threw his gown over him, and rescued him from the tumult. Plutarch's words are; Διενεχθέσης δὲ τῆς ψήφου, καὶ γενομένης ἀμίλλης, ἐκράτησε, καὶ παρέσχε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις φόβον, ὡς ἐπὶ πᾶν θρασύτητος προάξων τὸν δῆμον. ὅθεν οἱ περὶ Πείσωνα καὶ Κάτλον ἠτιῶντο Κικέρωνα, φεισάμενον Καίσαρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κατιλίναν λαβὴν παραχόντος. In Cæs. VII. p. 181. Edit. Reisk. See also Sect. VIII. p. 183. From all which it is evident, that

Plutarch more than confirms every thing related by Sallust, and paints, in strong colours, the animosity of Catulus. It may be observed, that Plutarch and Suetonius differ from Sallust, as to the time when the attack was made on Cæsar; the former writer stating it to have been when the debate took place, respecting the punishment of the conspirators. Suetonius, likewise, differs from both, in some immaterial circumstances, as to the mode of making the attack. See Plutarch. ubi sup.—Sueton. in Cæs. XIV. Page 63.

The truth is, that the whole of this statement is verified by M. De Brosses, by the very means he takes to invalidate it. He gives a very excellent, and accurate account of the early animosity, and continual competition, that had subsisted between Catulus and Cæsar, from the time that the one was considered as the head of the Patrician, and the other of the Popular faction. He traces their enmity even as far back, as Cæsar's first attempts to push himself into notice, when he was bold enough to bring forth the images, and Cimbric trophies of Marius, at the funeral of his aunt Julia, and hang up the latter in the Capitol. On this occasion, we find Catulus, but without any superior perspicacity, declaring, that, while others sapped the constitution by secret mines, Cæsar assaulted it by open battery. See Plutarch. in Vit. VI. It was consistent with the same spirit, that he believed, as most men did, in Cæsar's being concerned in the Conspiracy of Catiline, and that he united with Piso, in endeavouring to bring proof of his guilt. It was extremely natural for both, to join their own private quarrels with the cause of the public; to intrigue with the Allobroges and Volturcius, as Sallust alleges; and, by every argument, to urge Cicero to produce the evidence, which unquestionably he had against him. That the Consul was inclined to yield to their solicitation we are well assured; but, in the circumstances in which he stood, he durst not venture on such a step, on account of Cæsar's prodigious popularity with the people. See Plutarch. in Cæsar.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. p. 713. Edit. Toll. Cicero was among the number of those, who first saw through his real designs; but it was, as Plutarch acknowledges, at a

Page 63. much later period. It is true, said Cicero, I plainly perceive a disposition to despotism, in every thing he projects or executes: Yet, on the other hand, when I observe him adjusting his hair with so much nicety, and with one finger scratching his head, I can scarcely think, that this is the man, to conceive so vast, and fatal a design, as the destruction of the Roman commonwealth. Ἔλεγε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐπιβελεύμασιν αὐτὸν καὶ πολιτεύμασι τυραννικὴν ἐνορᾶν διάνοιαν· ἀλλ' ὅταν, ἔφη, τὴν κόμην ἕτω διακειμένην περιπῶς ἴδω, κἀκεῖνον ἑνὶ δακτύλῳ κνώμενον, ἔ μοι δοκεῖ πάλιν ἕτος ἄνθρωπος εἰς νῆν ἂν ἐμβαλέσθαι τηλικοῦτο κακὸν, ἀναίρεσιν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας. Plutarch. in Vit. IV. pp. 175. 176. Edit. Reisk.

Although I would defend our author from this violent attack of M. De Brosses, on the subject of Catulus, yet I fully agree with the learned President, as to the historian's total want of candour, on that of Cæsar. It is obvious, in the present passage, as in every other part of Sallust's writings, where this favourite hero is introduced, that he is willing to wash him white, at the expence of his adversaries. He never expressly asserts, that Cæsar had no knowledge of the Conspiracy, because he probably himself believed the contrary to be the fact; but he anxiously labours, and he labours with success, to impress the idea on the minds of his readers. We may all remember the time, when we knew Cæsar in no other, than in the pleasing page of Sallust, and certainly looked upon him as a very immaculate character.

The grounds for criminating Cæsar, at this time, were not confined to mere *reports* at Rome. From what we have seen above, there can be no doubt of his having been concerned in the first plot, which was contrived by Catiline and Autronius. Even from the whole account, delivered by Sallust himself, it is no less probable, that he secretly favoured the second; and the celebrated speech in the Senate, which is conceived in terms the most favourable to Cæsar, is calculated to confirm the same sentiment. Suetonius (In Cæs. XVII.) candidly tells us, that Curius, in his public examination, deposed, that he had heard, from Catiline himself, that Cæsar was all along privy to his design.

Lucius Vettius, according to the same author, appeared before Novius Niger, the Quæstor, and declared, that Cæsar had not only pledged himself to support the plot, but had given Catiline an obligation under his hand, to that effect *(Etiam chirographum ejus Catilinæ datum pollicebatur)*. Plutarch makes no scruple to say, that Cato, in the debate in the Senate, concerning the punishment of the conspirators, openly expressed his suspicions of his principles; and that, a few days after, when Cæsar attempted an exculpation of his conduct, he was received by the Fathers, with loud reproaches, and every mark of indignation. Page 63.

It would have been inconsistent with the prudence and ability, of which Cæsar was possessed, openly to join so desperate an adventurer as Catiline, or men so rash and inconsiderate, as the greater part of his associates. His design plainly was, while he maintained the exteriours of patriotism, to convince the conspirators, that he was their steadfast friend; and, calmly waiting the issue of the enterprise, to be ready to turn it to his own advantage and aggrandizement. Had it fallen out under an administration less vigorous than Cicero's; or "Had Cati-"line," as our author elsewhere observes, "prevailed in the first en-"gagement, or the fortune of the day even hung in suspense, the "commonwealth must have been brought to the brink of ruin. The "struggle would have obstinately been continued on both sides; till, "enfeebled and exhausted, they had fallen an easy prey to some am-"bitious chief, whose object was, to subvert liberty, and the constitu-"tion." See Sect. XL. of the present history. It is by no means an improbable supposition, that Sallust had his friend the Dictator in his eye, when he wrote the passage; at all events, he must have felt, how accurately it applied to him. If the fate of Catiline had been ordered otherwise, that of the Republic might possibly have been hastened, and Cæsar have afforded a practical demonstration of the justice of the sentiment, which the historian has expressed.

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(24.) THIS was in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, which stood in the Forum at Rome, and not far from the Capitol.

(25.) DECIUS JUNIUS, surnamed Silanus, was of the Junian family, and son to Marcus Junius Silanus, who held the Consulship A. U. C. 644. He could trace his descent to Junius Pullus, Consul, together with Appius Claudius Pulcher, during the first Punic War. See Vol. I. p. 172. Decius Silanus succeeded to Hortensius and Lucullus, in the Ædileship, A. U. 675, and espoused Servilia, Cato's sister, and Brutus's widow, by which last husband she had the celebrated Marcus Brutus, the friend of Cicero, and one of the conspirators against the life of Cæsar. Silanus, as Cicero informs us, might be ranked among the orators of that day, possessing, with but little acquired knowledge, a brilliancy of manner, and a considerable flow of natural eloquence. *D. Silanus studii quidem non habuit multum, sed acuminis et orationis satis.* De Clar. Orator. LXVIII.

In the Senate of Rome, no member was allowed to give his opinion on any point, until it was formally demanded by the Consul, or other magistrate, presiding at the time; but the greatest freedom of speech was then permitted. The speaker might preface his discourse, with whatever matter he pleased, and he might afterwards wander into topics, wholly unconnected with the business before the house *(Diceret antè quidquid vellet alii rei, et quoad vellet)*. Of the use of this licence Cato gave a memorable example, during the Consulship of Cæsar, as we learn from a fragment of Atteius Capito, which is quoted by Aulus Gellius. He protracted his speech, during the greatest part of the day *(Eximebat dicendo diem)*, and solely for the purpose of preventing a decision; when Cæsar, who was highly incensed at his conduct, ordered him to be apprehended, and conducted to prison: But, on the whole Senate rising up to follow Cato, he thought proper to set him at liberty. See Noct. Attic. L. IV. 10. It does not appear, that there was any fixed, or certain rule for precedency in speaking, as it, for the

most part, depended on the pleasure of the Consul; but he always gave the preference to Consular Senators. Page 64.

(26.) TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS NERO was at the head of the great Claudian family, and was grandfather to the Emperor Tiberius.

(27.) IT must not be imagined, that the Speeches of Cæsar and Cato, which are preserved in this place, and have been justly ranked among the master-pieces of antient composition, are works of fancy, and, like many others, that occur among the Greek and Roman historians, the mere productions of the author. On the contrary, it is certain, that it was nearly in such terms, that both Cato and Cæsar addressed the Senate, on the present question. The words probably are Sallust's, in conformity to the universal practice of the antients; but both the substance and argument are unquestionably the same, as were used by the celebrated persons, to whom they are attributed. From the accurate manner, in which the debate was taken down, Sallust could easily extract them, and he must have had access to the original record. Plutarch tells us, that Cato's speech subsisted in his time, and was the only one of that great man's oratorical compositions, that had been transmitted to posterity.

The art of Short-hand writing seems, on this occasion, to have been first practised among the Romans, and it is indebted for its invention to Cicero. He had selected a number of the most rapid writers, and instructed them how to abreviate words, by means of certain minute, and simple characters. These persons he distributed, in various parts of the Senate-house, in order to report the proceedings, which could afterwards be extended, and recorded at full length. Thus was laid the foundation of an art, familiarly known in the days of Trajan (with whom Plutarch was cotemporary), and probably carried to as great perfection, as it ever has been, in modern times. Τοῦτον μόνον, ὧν Κάτων εἶπε, διασώζεσθαι φασὶ τὸν λόγον, Κικέρωνος τῷ ὑπάτῳ τοὺς διαφέροντας

Pages 65. 68. ὀξύτητι τῶν γραφέων σημεῖα προδιδάξαντος, ἐν μικροῖς καὶ βραχέσι τύποις πολλῶν γραμμάτων ἔχοντα δύναμιν, εἴτ' ἄλλον ἀλλαχόσε τῆ βελευτηρίᾳ σποράδην ἐμβαλόντος. ἔπω γὰρ ἤσκεν, οὐδ' ἐκέκτητο τὰς καλουμένας σημειογράφους, ἀλλὰ τότε πρῶτον εἰς ἴχνος τι καταστῆναι λέγουσιν. In Caton. Minor. XXIII. p. 400. Edit. Reisk.

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(28.) For the historical fact, alluded to by Cæsar, see Liv. L. XLIV. 22—25. &c. The kindness, shown to the Rhodians, was obtained through the interest and eloquence of Cato the Censor. For his speech, pronounced in their favour, in the Senate, see the Fragments of his Origines, L. IV.; also Aul. Gell. L. VII. 3. The war against Perseus, the last of the Macedonian kings, was finished under the conduct of Paulus Æmilius, who took him prisoner, and led him captive to Rome, after he had reigned eleven years.

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(29.) From this passage, as well as several other circumstances, we are induced to believe, that Cæsar, like many of the greatest men of this period, inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus. It seems to be from a perfect knowledge of his patron's principles, that Sallust, towards the close of his First Political Discourse, opposes to them his own belief of a future state of rewards and punishments, which, as I have remarked on the passage, is truly admirable, and worthy of a better age. See Vol. I. pp. 466. 526.

Much has been said, concerning the superior excellence of Plato's doctrines, concerning the sublimity of conception, and force of intellect, which enabled the followers of Socrates to discern, amidst the darkness of polytheism, the superintendence of providence, the immortality of the soul, the eternal difference between good and evil, and, above all, the probability of a future state of retribution, beyond the term of this earthly existence. But the likelihood is, that most of the

esoteric doctrines of that celebrated school, had their origin among the Jews, and, however disfigured by fable, had found their way into Greece, through the sages of Egypt. At all events, we well know the estimation, in which Jewish literature was held, at the learned, and elegant court of the Ptolemies, and that the scriptures of the Old Testament were translated into Greek, by the order of one of those munificent princes. Page 68.

Be that as it may, it is certain, that Plato and Cicero, on the most important points, are by no means agreed in their sentiments. Plato's object was, like that of Socrates, to refute the absurdities of certain Sophists, who, in his time, infested Athens, and to go something further than his master, in establishing a system, more worthy of our rational nature. Cicero, in like manner, undertook to instruct his countrymen: But, in endeavouring to familiarize them with all the different systems of the Greeks, he has delivered opinions, not only opposite to those of Plato, but wholly adverse, and contradictory to one another. In his Tusculan Questions, and his Books on the Nature of the Gods, and the chief Good and Ill of Man, the tenets of the Stoics and Epicureans, the Peripatetics and Academics, are distinctly stated, and in their order examined or refuted. In the perusal of those pieces, we are sometimes delighted with the philosophy of Socrates, and sometimes we find ourselves entangled in the most intricate subtilties of the Epicurean school. It is, therefore, extremely difficult to discover what precisely were Cicero's own sentiments, and to what extent these jarring systems might have unsettled his mind. That he wished to be considered as an Academic is in general believed, and that all the other characters are at different times assumed by him, for the purpose of more effectually reprobating the whole. If this be true, how comes it to pass, that, in more parts than one of his writings, when not under restraint from metaphysical disquisition, or the laws of the dialogue, we find him publicly holding forth such doctrines, as might have proceeded from the most determined disciple of Epicurus? In a passage,

Page 68. for example, in his pleading for Cluentius, he gives a picture of a future state, not very dissimilar to that, which is delineated by Cæsar, in his speech in the Senate. The passage is striking, and the classical reader may be amused by comparing it, not only with the sentiments expressed in that celebrated composition, but with Cicero's reply to it, in the Fourth Oration against Catiline, and especially with his more deliberate sentiments, in the Tusculan Questions, L. I. 30., in the Cato Major, in the Lælius, in the treatise concerning the Republic &c., which will fully justify the foregoing remarks. Speaking of Oppianicus's death, in the pleading just now mentioned, he says; *Huic mortem maturabat inimicus, quod illi unum in malis perfugium erat calamitatis? Qui, si quid animi ac virtutis habuisset (ut multi sæpe fortes viri in ejusmodi dolore), mortem sibi ipse conscisset: Huic quamobrem id vellet inimicus offerre, quod ipse sibi optare deberet? Nam nunc quidem quid tandem illi mali mors attulit? Nisi fortè ineptiis ac fabulis ducimur, ut existimemus illum apud inferos impiorum supplicia perferre, ac plures illic offendisse inimicos, quàm hic reliquisse; à socrûs, ab uxorum, à fratris, à liberûm poenis, actum esse præcipitem, in sceleratorum sedem atque regionem: Quæ, si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intelligunt, quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit, præter sensum doloris?* Sect. LXI. (61.) Cicero, say his apologists, did not here speak as he thought: He reasoned against his better judgment and belief, in order to support the cause of his client, before judges, who possibly entertained the same Epicurean notions. But this mode of argument, this "playing fast and loose" (to use a very vulgar phrase), on serious subjects, was unworthy of the great Roman moralist. "Nature," as Mr. Owen, the translator of Juvenal, well observes, "will not be laughed out of her hopes and fears." How much more dignified is the conduct of this philosophic poet, on an occasion not very different? He treats even absurdity with respect (however it in general may be ridiculed), when connected with the religion of his country; and he inculcates, on the minds of

his readers, the firm belief in a future state of rewards and punish- Page 69.
ments, as the only safeguard to morals and virtue.

> Esse aliquos Manes, et subterranea regna,
> Et pontum, et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
> Atque unâ transire vadum tot millia cymbâ,
> Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur;
> SED TU VERA PUTA.
>
> Sat. II. 149.

> That angry Justice formed a dreadful hell,
> That ghosts in subterraneous regions dwell,
> That hateful Styx his muddy current rolls,
> And Charon ferries o'er unbodied souls,
> Are now as tales, and idle fables priz'd,
> By children question'd, and by men despis'd;
> YET THIS DO THOU BELIEVE.

See Mr. Gifford's admirable Translation. The real truth is, that the doubt, and hesitation, and contradictory sentiments of all the antient philosophers, whether Greek or Roman, on these intricate topics, sufficiently evince the weakness of unassisted nature, and the evident necessity of a better guide.

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(30.) THE antient method of inflicting capital punishment among the Romans, was, after stripping the criminal naked, to fix his head by means of a forked piece of wood, and in that situation to scourge him to death *(Nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcæ, et corpus virgis ad necem cædi)*. In process of time, so barbarous a punishment was abolished; and it is remarkable, that the only person on record, who was condemned to suffer it, was the Emperor Nero, who, struck with

Page 70. terrour at so frightful a prospect, put himself to death. See Sueton. in Vit. XLIX. By a law, framed by Valerius Publicola, a citizen, if condemned, had a right of appeal to the people; and it was declared illegal to scourge him, or endanger his life. Afterwards, A. U. 556, P. Porcius Læca, then a Tribune of the People, and ancestor to that Læca, who was one of the accomplices of Catiline, renewed the law of Porcius, and fortified it with fresh penalties. He strictly prohibited magistrates from punishing a Roman citizen with death, and substituted, in its stead, banishment and confiscation of property. See Liv. L. X. 9.—Cic. pro Rabir. Post. III. IV. In Verr. V. 63. This is the celebrated Porcian law, which still was in force, in the time of Cæsar, and is here alluded to in the text.

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(31.) For the conquest of Athens by Lysander, the Lacedemonian general, and the miseries, which that unhappy place endured, until Thrasybulus restored it to freedom, see Corn. Nep. VIII. 1.—Xenoph. L. II.—Justin. L. V. 7.—Plutarch. in Alcibiad. &c.

(32.) L. Junius Brutus Damasippus was Prætor of the city, in the third Consulship of Carbo, and of the younger Marius. By Marius's order, he assembled the Senate, and, under pretext of taking vengeance on the favourers of Sylla, he cruelly put to death a number of the principal members; among the rest, Mucius Scævola, the High Priest, whose death was attended with circumstances of peculiar atrocity. But Damasippus was afterwards slain by the adverse faction. See Vell. Paterc. L. II. 26.—Cic. Epist. ad Fam. L. IX. 2.—Liv. Epit. LXXXVI.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. I. p. 674.—676. Edit. Toll. For a further account of the cruelties of this period, of the massacre of Præneste, of the Villa Publica &c., see the Notes on the Letters to Cæsar, on the Administration of the Government.

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(33.) THIS is one among the many ocasions, on which we find our author closely imitating Thucydides or Demosthenes. The opening of Cato's speech appears to be borrowed from that of Demosthenes's Third Olynthiac Oration. Οὐχὶ ταῦτὰ παρίσταταί μοι γινώσκειν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν τε εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέψω, καὶ ὅταν εἰς τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἀκούω. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιπωον ὁρῶ γιγνομένους· τὰ δὲ πράγματα εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα. ὥστε ὅπως μὴ πεισώμεθα αὐτοὶ πρότερον κακῶς, σκέψασθαι δέον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες, ἢ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν περὶ ἧς βουλεύσθε, οὐχὶ τὴν οὖσαν παριστάντες ὑμῖν, ἁμαρτάνειν. Edit. Wolf. Tom. I. p. 10. Pages 73. 74

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(34.) "CATO," says Seneca, "in the vain attempt to reform the manners of his age, brought upon himself the ridicule, and sometimes the hatred of his cotemporaries. Rome, in that period, had so greatly degenerated from her antient purity, that it may fairly be questioned, whether it became a truly wise and virtuous man, to mingle at all in public life, since to labour in vain, by attempting impossibilities, can never be the part of wisdom, or of virtue." Cato aimed at singularity, not so much from a desire to appear different from other men, as to habituate his mind to feel shame on account of nothing, that was harmless in itself, and an utter contempt for the opinions of the world. Plutarch has given some curious anecdotes of his eccentricity; among which the giving up of his wife Marcia to his friend Hortensius, the celebrated orator, was, without doubt, not the least extraordinary, as the latter had expressed a most anxious desire to procreate children from so prudent, and virtuous a woman! See Plutarch. in Vit. XXV. He was actuated, it is said, by the laudable motive of endeavouring to mend the human race, and strengthen the ties of social life, by the propagation, at once, of intellect and virtue (Κοινουμένους δὲ τὰς διαδοχὰς ἀξίοις ἀνδράσι, τήν τ' ἀρετὴν ἄφθονον ποιεῖν, καὶ πολύχυτον τοῖς γένεσι, καὶ

Page 78. *τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν πρὸς αὑτὴν ἀνακεραννύναι ταῖς οἰκειότησιν*). Be that as it may, it is unquestionable, that he married Marcia, in Cato's presence; and it is equally certain, that Cato took her again to wife, on Hortensius's death. What we certainly know concerning Cato's character, is sufficient to convince us, that the encrease of her fortune, by the generous orator, was at least not the motive, which determined him to the step.

(35.) CICERO, in his Oration *De Haruspicum Responsis*, spoken before the Senate, describes, in nearly similar terms, the corrupt and wretched condition of the commonwealth. *Vix hæc, si undique fulciamus, jam labefacta, vix, inquam, innixa in omnium nostrûm humeris, cohærebunt. Fuit quondam ita firma hæc civitas et valens, ut negligentiam Senatûs, vel etiam injurias civium ferre posset: Jam non potest. Ærarium nullum est: Vectigalibus non fruuntur, qui redemerunt: Auctoritas principum cecidit: Consensus ordinum est divulsus: Judicia perierunt; suffragia descripta tenentur à paucis: Bonorum animus ad nutum nostri ordinis expeditus jàm non erit: Civem, qui se pro patriæ salute opponat invidiæ, frustra posthac requiretis.* XXVII. XXVIII.

(36.) THIS passage may be mentioned as another example, wherein Sallust draws closely after Thucydides, who, in the Third Book of his History, makes a like complaint, against one of the most corrupt periods of the Grecian manners. *Καὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξιώσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαιώσει. Τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος, ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομισθη· μέλλησις δὲ προμηθὴς, δειλία εὐπρεπής· τὸ δὲ σῶφρον τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπαν ξυνετὸν, ἐπίπαν ἀργόν.*

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(37.) DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS seems to be the only author, who agrees with Sallust, in placing this event in the time of the Gallic

war (L. VIII. 79. p. 1701. Edit. Reisk.); as Livy and others make it in the time of the contest with the Latins. Livy also names him Titus Manlius, and not Aulus. See L. VIII. 7., where this horrible piece of cruelty is particularly described. Also Cic. de Offic. L. III. 31.—Aul. Gell. L. IX. 13.—Aurel. Vict. XXVIII. Page 79.

(38.) By most critics, the person, here alluded to, is thought to be the same Cethegus, who figured in the war between Sylla and Marius. But this undoubtedly must be a mistake, as he never could be called a "young man," no less than eight-and-twenty years after that period. Besides, the Prænomen of the person just now mentioned was Publius, and that of the Cethegus, the associate of Catiline, certainly Caius. The probability, therefore, is, that the latter was the son of the former, and that the other Conspiracy, hinted at by Cato, in which he supposes the younger Cethegus to have borne a part, was the first plot, contrived by Piso and Catiline.

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(39.) Cicero, in his Oration for Murena, pronounced soon after Catiline's flight from the city, paints in strong, and kindred colours, the exigency of the public danger. The enemy, says he, are not now, as heretofore, during the Punic War, on the banks of the Anio, from whence they were beheld, with such dismay and apprehension: They are in the City, nay in the Forum of Rome; and what is indeed deplorable to be told, in the sanctuary of the republic, even in the Senate itself! *In discrimen extremum venimus: Nihil est jam, unde nos reficiamus, aut ubi lapsi resistamus. Non solùm minuenda non sunt auxilia, quæ habemus, sed etiam nova, si fieri possit, comparanda. Hostis est enim non apud Anionem, quod bello Punico gravissimum visum est, sed in urbe, in foro:—Dii immortales! sine gemitu hoc dici non potest;—non nemo etiam in illo sacrario reipublicæ, in ipsâ, inquam, curiâ non nemo hostis est!* Sect. XXXIX.

Page 79. (40.) When our author says, that the decree of the Senate was voted "in conformity to Cato's motion," he is somewhat incorrect; for it certainly was made according to that of Silanus. Sallust seems to have adopted the opinion current at the time, which was to this effect, or else to have copied the errour from Brutus, who, in the life of his uncle Cato, made that great man take the lead in the debate. Brutus, as it appears, had corresponded with Atticus, on the subject of this business in the Senate; and, on Atticus communicating to Cicero what he had said, we find the latter assuring him, that it was by no means Cato, who moved the decree for death, because he spoke very late in the debate, although the decree was generally said to have been framed according to his sentiments, because he delivered himself more at large, and more forcibly than any of the other speakers. Cicero, likewise, reprehends Brutus's striking want of authentic information, and especially in regard to Cicero himself. He gives me credit, says he, only for reporting the Conspiracy, not, as he ought to have done, for detecting and defeating it; and as to his praise of an "excellent Consul," what colder commendation could an enemy have bestowed? *Legi Bruti epistolam . . illud turpiter ignorat . . Cur in sententiam Catonis? quia verbis luculentioribus et pluribus rem eandem comprehenderat. Me autem hic laudat, quòd retulerim, non quòd patefecerim . . Se etiam tribuere multum mi putat, quòd scripserit* Optimum Consulem: *Quid enim jejunius dixit inimicus?* Ad Attic. L. XII. 21. Cicero, however, was somewhat mistaken in his notion of how far invidiousness in an enemy might be carried. He had no conception of an historical composition, giving a very interesting account of Catiline's Conspiracy, in which himself, who was, without doubt, the grand, and principal actor in the scene, is fairly extruded from the fore-ground of the piece! Yet such is certainly the composition of Sallust.

From the same illiberal motives, that influenced our author throughout the narrative, namely, a resolution to suppress the fame and im-

portance of Cicero, his account of the celebrated debate is, to the greatest degree, mutilated and defective. We have not the smallest idea conveyed, either of its opening, or its progress; of the different persons who spoke, or of the peculiar difficulties, that attended the subject. Page 79.

The fact was, that the business before the Senate was of the greatest delicacy and importance. Capital punishments were rare, and had been always odious at Rome; as the laws, in regard to citizens, were least of all of a sanguinary nature, exile and the confiscation of property being the usual resource, in cases of the greatest criminality. It is true, the Senate, on particular occasions, claimed, and sometimes exercised the right of punishing seditious persons with death, of its own proper authority; but this, by the wisest men, was considered as a stretch of power, and an infringement of the constitution, which nothing could sanction, but the greatest public danger. By the Porcian law, which has formerly been noticed, criminals, capitally convicted, were to suffer banishment; and, by a later enactment of the younger Gracchus, namely, the Sempronian law, no cause whatsoever was declared sufficient, for taking away the life of a Roman citizen, without an express order of the People. See Cic. pro Rabir. Post. IV. The ground, therefore, upon which Cicero stood, was in the extreme dangerous and difficult. It was his duty, as first magistrate of the republic, by the most vigorous efforts to crush the Conspiracy; and yet, by thus laying himself open, his enemies might be enabled to accomplish his ruin. Several persons of note, who had hitherto supported him, now dreaded what was to follow, and absented themselves from the house *(Ne de capite videlicet Romani civis sententiam ferrent)*. The interest of the community called aloud for the severest vengeance on the delinquents; his own private interest as clearly required, that, by lenity and forbearance, he should strive to counteract, or at least to conciliate, the vast weight of interest, connected with the Conspiracy. But Cicero, on this occasion, as on every other,

Page 79. acted from motives of the purest patriotism. The sense of his own wholly disappeared, in the urgency and magnitude of the public danger.

The debate was, of course, opened by Silanus, who, as Consul elect, was first asked his opinion; and he, in a sensible speech, moved the punishment of death *(Ultimum supplicium sumendum esse)*. He was followed by Murena, the other Consul for the ensuing year; then by Lutatius Catulus, Prince of the Senate, by Servilius, the two Luculluses; by Curio, Torquatus, Lepidus, and Gellius, who was formerly Censor; by Volcatius, Figulus, and Cotta, Censor at the time; by Lucius Cæsar, Piso, and Glabrio; who all, as well as the Prætors for the year, agreed with Silanus. It next came to the turn of Julius Cæsar, as Prætor elect, to speak, and he moved the opposite opinion, which was for imprisonment, and confiscation of property, in a most artful, and impressive speech, as Sallust here reports it. The effect, produced by a display of so much argument and eloquence, so specious an address to the understandings, as well as to the passions of men, was prodigious. The greater part of the members, who had not yet spoken, was completely swayed by it; and not a few of those, who had before delivered their sentiments, were induced to swerve from the severity of their determination.

Two distinct propositions being thus before the Senate, each was supported by some of the first men in Rome. Cicero's best friends began to be solicitous for his safety, and advised him, as the wisest course he could pursue, at once to accede to the motion of Cæsar. In this situation, when the eyes of all were turned towards the Consul, that great man arose, and addressed, to the assembly, what has since been called his Fourth Oration against Catiline. In this masterly composition, he delivered himself, at once, with the skill of a statesman, and the ability and eloquence of an orator. He gave high praise to each of the illustrious movers of the opposite opinions; but he laboured, at the same time, with the greatest address, to turn the scale

entirely in favour of that of Silanus.—In order in some degree to compensate for the invidious silence of the historian, as well as to show the respect, in which Cæsar, even at this period, was held, it may not be unpleasing to see the question, as stated in the opening of the speech, in the words of Cicero himself. The translation is, in a great measure, borrowed from Mr. Murphy. Page 79.

"Two different propositions," says he, "have been made, for our consideration; the one by Decius Silanus, who is of opinion, that the men, who have combined to subvert the commonwealth, should be sent to immediate execution; the other by Caius Cæsar, who objects to the measure of capital punishment, but adjudges to the criminals the severest pains and penalties. Both have delivered their sentiments in a style worthy of their rank, and with a vigour, which is suited to so trying an emergency. Silanus contends, that the unnatural traitors, whose object was to destroy this august assembly, to massacre the people, and annihilate the Roman name, ought not to be suffered, for a single hour, to exist, and breathe the vital air. This sentence, he tells you, is founded on the usage of our ancestors, who, as it appears by a variety of examples, that have been adduced, acted with equal firmness and wisdom, and pronounced judgment of death against all pernicious citizens. Cæsar, on the other hand, considers death by no means as a punishment, but either as the natural condition of human life, or else as a boon, bestowed by the Gods, for the relief of pain and misery: Hence it is, according to him, that the wise die contented, and the brave, oftentimes, throw the burden from them, when weary. Chains and perpetual imprisonment appear to Cæsar the best mode of punishment, which legislative wisdom has invented for enormous crimes. He therefore concludes, that the present delinquents should be confined in separate dungeons, throughout the different municipal towns of Italy. But some difficulty seems to attend this specious proposition. If, by your supreme authority, you oblige the municipalities to receive the prisoners, you impose a hardship: If you make it your request, are

Page 79. we sure that they will comply? Should this, however, be the sense of the house, declare it by a decree. I will undertake to carry your commands into execution; and men, I trust, will be found, ready to put in force whatsoever you shall judge requisite for the public safety."

"Between the two opposite opinions," he observes, "it is easy to see on which side my interest lies. Cæsar has stood up for what is supposed to be the popular part; and, should I accede to his motion, the public voice will not condemn a sentence, of which he is known to be the author, and the advocate. If, on the other hand, I throw my mite into the opposite scale, I foresee what a storm may gather round my head: But the general welfare should outweigh every other consideration. Cæsar, it must be acknowledged, has delivered his sentiments in a vein of eloquence, worthy of himself, and of the dignity of his ancestors; and his speech may be considered, as the pledge and earnest of his future zeal for the good of his country. In this eminent person, we may perceive the difference between the empty declaimer, who harangues his audience in the Forum, and the genuine patriot, who aims at public applause, by the means that must deserve it; by being a friend to the true interests of the people . .

"But let Cæsar's motion," he afterwards adds, "pass into a law: I am willing to state it to the people; and I shall do it, in that case, with the greater confidence, that I shall have a favourite character to support me. Should you, however, adopt the sentiment of Silanus, the charge of cruelty will be easily repelled, as Cæsar's argument has enabled me to prove, that death unquestionably is the milder sentence. But, to deal with plainness, in a case so black and flagitious, what punishment can be deemed severe? I have, indeed, laid before you the sentiments of my heart, and, perhaps, with warmth; but assuredly without a tincture of cruelty. Cruelty, I may presume to say, is no part of my character; and if, in offering my opinion, I have appeared to speak with vehemence, it is a vehemence, which the public good, and the cause of humanity and compassion have inspired.

"Terrible, indeed, are the objects, which, at this moment, crowd upon my fancy. Methinks I behold this vast city, the asylum of nations, the ornament of the world, wrapt in flames, and smoking on the ground. I behold my fellow-citizens, in mangled heaps, stretched on the bare earth, unburied, weltering in their gore: Cethegus, with rage and fury in his countenance, and a reeking poniard in his hand, now glares before my eyes. I behold Lentulus on that bloody throne, which the fates had prepared for him: I see Gabinius in purple state; and Catiline advancing, fierce and infuriate, at the head of his troops. The shrieks of dying matrons; the cries of their wretched children; the lamentations of Vestal virgins; all sound in my ears, and appal me with horrour! And shall your mercy, then, be extended to men, who planned, and had almost realized, so tragic a spectacle? Let me fairly ask you, if the master of a family should find his wife destroyed, his children butchered, and his house burned to the ground, by the treachery of a slave, would not he, I pray you, execute a great and speedy vengeance on the perpetrator of deeds so horrible? Should the master forbear, what, think you, would be said of him? Would he pass for a man mild, gentle, and compassionate, and not rather as divested of all the tender visitings of our nature? To me, I confess, he would appear an unfeeling monster, who could with apathy look on at such atrocious crimes, and not sacrifice the author to his just resentment." &c. Page 79.

Vides duas esse sententias; unam D. Silani, qui censet eos, qui hæc delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos; alteram C. Cæsaris, qui mortis poenam removet, cæterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque, et pro suâ dignitate, et pro rerum magnitudine, in summâ severitate versatur. Alter eos, qui nos omnes, qui populum Romanum vitâ privare conati sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen extinguere, punctum temporis frui vitâ, et hoc communi spiritu, non putat oportere: Atque hoc genus poenæ sæpe in improbos cives, in hâc republicâ, esse usurpatum recordatur. Alter intelligit, mortem à Diis immortalibus non esse supplicii causâ consti-

Page 79. *tutam; sed aut necessitatem naturæ, aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem esse: Itaque eam sapientes numquam inviti, fortes etiam sæpe libenter, oppetiverunt. Vincula verò, et ea sempiterna, certè ad singularem poenam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. Itaque municipiis dispertiri jubet. Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis; difficultatem, si rogare. Deeernatur tamen, si placet: Ego enim suscipiam, et, ut spero, reperiam, qui id, quod salutis omnium causâ statueritis, non putet esse suæ dignitatis recusare . . Nunc, Patres Conscripti, ego mea video quid intersit. Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Cæsaris, quoniam hanc is in republicâ viam, quæ popularis habetur, secutus est, fortasse minùs erunt, hoc auctore et cognitore hujusce sententiæ, mihi populares impetus pertimescendi. Sin illam alteram; nescio an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur: Sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas reipublicæ vincat. Habemus enim, à C. Cæsare, sicut ipsius dignitas, et majorum ejus amplitudo postulabat, sententiam, tanquam obsidem perpetuæ in rempublicam voluntatis. Intellectum est, quid intersit inter lenitatem concionatorum, et animum verè popularem, saluti populi consulentem . . Quamobrem sive hoc statueritis; dederitis mihi comitem ad concionem, populo Romano carum atque jucundum: Sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facilè me, atque vos à crudelitatis vituperatione defendetis; atque obtinebo eam multò leviorem fuisse. Quamquam, Patres Conscripti, quæ potest esse, in tanti immanitate, punienda crudelitas? Ego enim de meo sensu judico. Nam ita mihi salvâ republicâ vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quòd in hâc causâ vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor (quis enim est me mitior?), sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordiâ. Videor enim mihi hanc urbem videre, lucem orbis terrarum, atque arcem omnium gentium, subitò uno incendio concidentem. Cerno animo, sepultâ in patriâ, miseros atque insepultos acervos civium. Versatur mihi ante oculos adspectus Cethegi, et furor, in vestrâ clade bacchantis. Cùm verò mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse se ex fatis sperasse confessus est;*

purpuratum esse hunc Gabinium; cum exercitu venisse Catilinam; tum Page 79.
lamentationem matrumfamiliâs, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum, ac vexationem virginum Vestalium perhorresco: Et, quia mihi vehementer hæc videntur misera atque miseranda, idcirco in eos, qui ea perficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque præbeo. Etenim quæro, si quis paterfamilias, liberis suis à servo interfectis, uxore occisâ, incensâ domo, supplicium de servis non quàm acerbissimum sumpserit; utrùm is clemens atque misericors, an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus esse videatur? Mihi verò importunus ac ferreus, qui non, dolore ac cruciatu nocentis, suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. &c. Sect. IV. V. VI.

When Cicero sat down, Catulus spoke in reply to Cæsar, and laboured more directly to refute his arguments; but, like the speeches of others, it has never been transmitted. Tiberius Nero, with a view to unite the sentiments of all parties, made a third proposition, or what may rather be considered as an amendment on Cæsar's motion, namely, to strengthen the guards on duty, and adjourn the debate for further deliberation. It was to this new proposition that Silanus, on a division, thought proper to adhere; and, being ashamed to appear altogether to depart from his first sentiment, he said, in explanation, that he had, from the first, meant perpetual imprisonment; as that, in respect to a Roman citizen, was the worst evil, that could befal him; Ἔσχατον γὰρ ἀνδρὶ Ῥωμαίῳ τοῦτο κακῶν ἁπάντων. Plutarch. in Caton. Minor. XXII.

These different motions divided and perplexed the Senate: Each had its warm, and active partizans; and it seemed difficult to determine which ultimately would preponderate. It was curious to see the strange, and contradictory doctrines now maintained by individuals, very different, adverse, and contradictory to those, which, at other times, they had professed; Cæsar, who, only a few months before, had strained every nerve to procure judgment of death against Rabirius, now warmly standing up for the excellence and inviolability of

Page 70. the Porcian law; and Cicero, who had so pathetically urged that institution, as an unsurmountable consideration, in the same cause, now easily waving it, on the pressure of the emergency. At length Cato, who, as Tribune of the People, was seated, near the door of the house, in his curule chair, and among the last called upon for his opinion, rose, and delivered that noble oration, which is given in the text, by Sallust. The exalted character of the man, his acknowledged patriotism, his manly eloquence, and, above all, the style of authoritative wisdom, in which he addressed the Fathers, at once turned the scale, and the original motion for death was carried by a great majority. For an account of the method of voting in the Roman Senate, see Vol. I. p. 523.

It is remarkable with what pertinacity, and even violence, Cæsar, in this debate, supported the cause of the Conspiracy, a conduct, which the historian likewise passes over in silence. Cæsar's own opinion, as we have seen, was clear for a confiscation of property: But, when that article was about to be inserted in the decree, he loudly objected to it. It was an insidious attempt, he said, to garble his motion, by adopting its severer part, while the milder, and more humane was studiously excluded. Finding himself still about to be left in the minority, he appealed, for succour, to the Tribunes of the People, and in vain solicited them to interpose their negative to the resolutions of the assembly. Cicero clearly saw of what moment it was, that night should not once more come on, with the question undecided; he therefore spoke himself in favour of Cæsar's plea, and besought the fathers, for the sake of unanimity, that the clause of confiscation should be altogether omitted. On this, Cæsar proceeded to start fresh objections to the principle of the decree itself. He maintained the utter illegality of passing sentence in any shape, until the prisoners were suffered to be heard in their defence, on an indictment before the People. The consequence was, that a general cry of disapprobation followed; and it was at this moment, according to several writers, that the Roman Knights, who were stationed, as a guard, at the door of the Senate, indignantly

rushed in, and attacked him with their swords; when he would have fallen a sacrifice to their fury, had not Curio, and others interposed, and favoured his escape. See Plutarch. in Cæs. VII. VIII. Edit. Reisk.—Sueton. in Cæs. XIV. Also Note 24. anteh. Page 79.

Among the other omissions, with which Sallust is chargeable, he has given no sort of notion of the style of vehemence, and pointed reproach, displayed by Cato, in his attack on Cæsar, in this memorable debate. Plutarch appears to have copied his account from the original speech of the former, and he uses no gloss nor varnish, like Sallust, to disguise the severity of this resolute patriot. When all seemed inclined, says he, to a mild decision, in consequence of the persuasion of Cæsar, Cato, with the greatest vehemence, eloquence, and energy, defended the opposite opinion. He reproached Silanus for his unmanly change of sentiment. He severely attacked Cæsar, accusing him of a design to subvert the government, although he took care to cloak it with the show of moderation, and a soft, and insinuating eloquence. He charged him, at the same time, with intimidating the Senate, in a question, wherein he had but too just cause to tremble for himself, and from which he might consider it as fortunate, if he escaped all suspicion, and just imputation of guilt. The man, he declared, who had openly and daringly attempted to rescue, from justice, the public enemies of the state, might well grieve for their punishment, and feelingly deplore, instead of deploring the fate of his country, that, by such wholesome severity, those miscreants were prevented from carrying into effect so black and horrible a design. *Γενομένης δὲ τοιαύτης τῆς τροπῆς, καὶ ἁπάντων ἐπὶ τὸ πραότερον ῥεόντων καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον, ὁ Κάτων πρὸς τὴν γνώμην ἀναστὰς, εὐθὺς ἴετο τῷ λόγῳ μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ πάθους, τόν τε Σιλανὸν κακίζων τῆς μεταβολῆς, καὶ καθαπτόμενος τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὡς χήματι δημοτικῷ καὶ λόγῳ φιλανθρώπῳ τὴν πόλιν ἀνατρέποντος, καὶ δεδιπλομένης τὴν βουλὴν, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν ἔδει δεδιέναι, καὶ ἀγαπᾶν, εἰ τῶν γεγονότων ἀθῷος ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ ἀνύποπτος, ἅτως περιφανῶς καὶ ἰταμῶς τοὺς κοινοὺς ἐξαρπάζων πολεμίους, καὶ τὴν παρ' ἐδὲν ἐλθοῦσαν ἀπολέσ-*

Page 79. θαι πατρίδα τοιαύτην καὶ τοσαύτην ὁμολογῶν μὴ ἐλεεῖν, ἀλλ' ὃς ἔδει μὴ γενέσθαι, μὴ δὲ φῦναι, δακρύων καὶ ἀνακλαιόμενος, εἰ φόνων καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων ἀπαλλάξωσι τὴν πόλιν ἀποθανόντες. In Caton. Minor. XXIII. pp. 399. 400. Edit. Reisk. Our author also forgets to introduce, into Cato's speech, the warm eulogium, which he bestowed on Cicero; how he extolled to the skies the merit of his exertions, in bringing to light the Conspiracy; how he applauded his firmness, in that day's debate, in nobly keeping up the spirit of the house, and in openly speaking out his own sentiments, previously to taking down the votes of the members. All which he moved should be honourably entered on the journals of the Senate. *Quòd patefecerim, quòd cohortatus sim, quòd denique, antequam consulerem, ipse judicaverim. Quæ omnia quia Cato laudibus extulerat in coelum, perscribendaque censuerat.* Epist. ad Attic. L. XII. 21.

It was during the heat of this discussion, that an incident occurred, which, although trivial in itself, is well noticed by Plutarch, as it marks the manners of the times, and the opposite characters of the parties. While Cato was warmly contesting the point with Cæsar, and the eyes of the whole Senate were turned upon the disputants, a billet chanced to be brought in, and delivered to Cæsar. Cato instantly caught fire at the circumstance. He openly accused him of treasonable designs; and moved, that the contents of the paper should be laid before the assembly. Cæsar, on this, with great composure handed the note to Cato, who happened to stand near him; and the latter no sooner cast his eyes upon it, than he recognized, with surprise, the hand-writing of his own sister Servilia. She had, it seems, dispatched a billet-doux to Cæsar, who was long her well-known, and most favoured lover; insomuch, that Marcus Brutus was pretty generally supposed to be his son. "Take it, you sot," said Cato, indignantly throwing down the billet on the floor, and resuming, as if nothing had happened, the thread of his discourse. Cato, as the President De Brosses would have said, never had been *Un homme à*

bonnes fortunes (φαίνεται δ' ὅλως ἀτύχημα γενέσθαι τῇ Κάτωνος ἡ γυναικωνῖτις); and he had no idea of a correspondence with the ladies interfering with the deliberations of a great assembly. Page 81.

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(41.) THE idea of bringing the characters of Cato and Cæsar into comparison, did not originate with Sallust. It seems, a few years before, A. U. 707, to have been brought into fashion, by the circumstance of Cicero's publishing a tract, or, as we should say, a Pamphlet, now lost, entitled "A Eulogium on Cato," in which he took an elaborate review of the life of that extraordinary man, in his private, his political, and his moral character, and extolled him to the skies, as having left no equal behind him. The piece, as it appears, was drawn up, from real motives of affection and friendship, within a few months after Cato's death. Cicero had been left guardian to his son; and that testimony of his esteem and confidence naturally induced the great orator to pay the tribute to his memory. Cæsar, although then in the possession of the supreme power, was far from taking offence at the production; but he opposed to it another tract, named "Anticato," now likewise unfortunately lost; in which he replied, paragraph by paragraph, to Cicero's book, accusing the deceased, with all the powers of his eloquence, as if in a regular trial, before a tribunal, but, at the same time, with the highest respect for, and compliments to Cicero. These two rival pieces were universally read and admired. The city of Rome was divided between them, as the influence of party, or of interest variously prompted; as some were inclined towards the great champion of liberty, and some were attached to its accomplished oppressor. These, of course, gave rise to innumerable publications of the same sort, of which the most eminent seem to have been a Letter from Hirtius to Cicero, on the one side, containing a long list of objections to Cato's character; and, on the other, a regular Life, and a panegyric of his conduct, by his son-in-law and nephew, Brutus. Thus the names of these great men

Page 81. being brought into competition, in a celebrated period, their merits formed a sort of political test, to every succeeding age of the empire: They became an inexhaustible source of controversy, between the friends of freedom, and the flatterers of power.

Sallust, who loved to appear, at least, impartial, was desirous to adorn his composition with something of this kind; but he prudently resolved to give no offence to the partizans of either. The parallel, which he draws, is therefore solely encomiastic; a circumstance, that the critics in general have overlooked, but which should never be forgotten, in judging of the delineation. In viewing the bright side of both characters, he well knew, that it was the only method of bringing them, at once, on a level with each other: If Cato's had defects which it were prudent to exclude, Cæsar's, he considered, would be still a greater gainer by the omission. See what has been observed on this beautiful parallel, in Essay Second, pp. 256. 257.

Of the character of Cæsar enough has been said, in the course of former Notes, to impress the mind of the young student, with a fair notion of its value; to divest it of some portion of its adventitious lustre, and to show the points, on which it may be esteemed both admirable and enviable. As there is no individual among the Romans, concerning whom their poets and moralists have talked with so much extravagant hyperbole as Cato, it may not be improper here, for the same useful purpose, to offer a few remarks upon his character.

Of Cato it may be said, in comparing him with Cæsar, that he was certainly a more worthy, if he could not be accounted so great a man. He was a steadfast friend to truth, to virtue, to liberty; yet, as he falsely measured the line of duty, by the Stoical standard, he could rarely apply it to common life, and therefore was often disappointed, not only of the end which he sought, but of the praise which he merited. In his private conduct, he was stern, morose, and inflexible. He banished, from his list, all the softer affections, and feelings of the heart, as enemies to justice, and as seducing men, from

the right path, by means of favour, clemency, or compassion; and the same principles he endeavoured to carry with him into public life. He had but one rule of conduct, namely, "to follow what was right," to be at all times, as Lucan says, the *Rigidi servator honesti.* But he had a spirit, which was incapable of bending to any times or circumstances: It incited him to resist the torrent of corruption; and, in that vain attempt, to disregard the force, that was able to overwhelm him. Instead of prudently managing the power of the great, so as to lessen the evil, and augment the good, of which their intrigues were susceptible, he constantly irritated them to greater violence, by pertinacity of opposition. In fact, as Cicero declared, with the greatest truth, his virtues were often useless, and even injurious to his country: He seemed to speak and act, as if he thought, that he really lived in some fanciful condition of mankind, and not in the midst of a great, and corrupt community *(Tanquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ, non tanquam in fæce Romuli).* Page 81.

Yet if we consider, with attention, Cato's public life, we shall find, that he was, by no means, always able to maintain these lofty sentiments. He sometimes could be inflamed by pride, misled by ambition, or party-zeal, and sometimes he could be softened, and influenced by flattery. The last act of his life was in perfect unison with his philosophic principles; as by those principles he was taught resolutely to put an end to it, whenever the sum of its evils seemed to overbalance the good. The spirit he showed in rushing upon death, which has so often been applauded beyond its merit, led the accurate observer above mentioned to think, that he was not sorry for having found so excellent an opportunity of *dying in character (Sic abiit è vitâ, ut causam moriendi nactam se esse gauderet).* If it be a proof of extraordinary strength of mind, to seek death, how much greater fortitude and magnanimity are requisite, to bear up against misfortune? Had this eminent man been acquainted with a philosophy, sublimer than all the precepts of the Porch could supply, it is probable that his

Page 81. conduct would have been materially different. As it is, in judging the morality of his actions, we should never forget the darkness of his age: In estimating his merits, we should allow for his prejudices. If Cæsar, in some respects, can never be praised, Cato, in few respects, deserves to be imitated.

(42.) Our author is not very correct, in placing Cato and Cæsar nearly on a footing, in the three particulars of age, eloquence, and nobility of birth. As to age, the difference between them was, indeed, not material: Cæsar was about thirty-seven, or thirty-eight, and Cato thirty-three, in the present period. In point of eloquence, it were vain to compare them together; as Cæsar, in the judgment both of contemporaries and after critics, and especially of Quintilian, yielded to no speaker of his time, except to Cicero. See Vol. I. pp. 139. 140. In regard to birth, the last head, the superiority was still more on Cæsar's side. Cato was descended only from Cato the Censor, by his second marriage; and the family of that distinguished person was indisputably Plebeian, although his admirers affected to trace it to the antient kings of Tusculum. A descent from kings, however, was considered as no great matter, even if proved to be real, at Rome, where all nobility was estimated, not by antiquity of race, but by the Curule magistracies, by which it had been distinguished (See Vol. I. p. 502—504.); and it is certain, that Cato the Censor was the first, who thus ennobled the Porcian name, about a century and a half before, and brought it into celebrity. Cæsar, on the other hand, as at the head of the Julian family, could boast an origin from the chief of one of the Tribes of Rome, in the time of Romulus; and thence it ascended, in a direct line, to Iülus, the son of Æneas, and consequently to a long line of Trojan princes. Hence Virgil says;

Julius à magno dimissum nomen Iülo.

Æneid. L. I. 292.

(43.) Some critics have remarked on this passage, where Sallust very properly gives Cato the praise of strict integrity, that Velleius Paterculus (L. II. 45.) means to censure the historian, without naming him, for thus *degrading* Cato's character. His words are, in speaking of Cato; *Cujus integritatem laudari nefas est.* Paterculus intended, I suppose, to intimate, that the praise of integrity could be applicable only to those, who had evil passions to subdue; whereas Cato's was so perfect, and immaculate a character, that it was even criminal to suppose in him the possibility of the triumph!—This is no bad example of that hyperbolical nonsense, which, I have above observed, was sometimes advanced, on the subject of this eminent man. In the same honourable class may be placed an assertion of the younger Seneca. In noticing certain persons, who presumed to find fault with Cato's love of wine, he gravely says, that they should have remembered, how much easier of the two the task would be, to prove that drunkenness is a *virtue*, than that vice could, in any shape, be imputed to Cato! *Catoni ebrietas objecta est: At facilius efficiet, quisquis objecerit, hoc crimen honestum, quàm turpem Catonem.* De Tranquil. Anim. XV. I scarcely think that I have caricatured the passage.—It is highly probable, that both Patereulus and Seneca considered these as bright thoughts, when they committed them to paper. That of Seneca, especially, is among the number of the *vibrantes sententiolæ*, with which it was thought extremely pretty, in a declining age of the Roman taste, for men of genius to adorn their compositions. The wonder is how, in any age, men of sense could be brought to read such absurdities with patience. Something more sober, as well as more elegant, is the sentiment of Livy, in a small Fragment, quoted by St. Jerom: For to Cicero, Pompey, and Cato, Livy took no pains to disguise his partiality, insomuch, that "the Pompeian" was a name frequently given to him by Augustus. The virtues of Cato, says the historian, were in themselves great and respectable, and can neither be exalted by the praise, nor lessened by the censure, of those who pretended to rejudge his

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Page 82. conduct: Yet that is a task, which men, celebrated for their genius, have on either side undertaken to perform. *Cujus gloriæ neque profuit quisquam laudando, nec vituperando quisquam nocuit: Cùm utrùmque summis præditi fecerint ingeniis.* But Plutarch is the only antient author we know, who has touched the character with real judgment, and impartiality of colouring.

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(44.) VALERIUS MAXIMUS tells a story of the "modesty" of Cato (although not, indeed, under that head in his arrangement), which is not a little characteristic of the manners of the times, as well as of the man. He had gone, it seems, with his friend Favonius, to see the Floralia, or games instituted in honour of Flora, a favourite exhibition with the people, which annually took place on the last day of April, and first and second of May. Strumpets, hired from among the lowest of the populace, appeared upon the stage, and exhibited a variety of obscene pantomimes and dances; and the people, on such occasions, claimed the privilege of calling on those wretched women to strip themselves naked; an order which was immediately complied with, and always with prodigious applause. Cato, who appears to have expected the exhibition, with no less delight, than the rest of the audience, turned to his friend, and asked what occasioned the delay? On being informed, by Favonius, that it was merely out of respect for him, that the people blushed to insist upon their privilege, he instantly got up, and left the theatre. The house shook with reiterated applause; and, as soon as he was gone, the people eagerly proceeded to indemnify themselves, for so modest and reluctant a forbearance. But they clearly testified, adds the narrator, how much more respect was thus entertained for Cato, than for themselves, and, indeed, collectively and individually, for the whole audience. *Catone ludos Florales spectante, populus, ut Mimæ nudarentur, postulare erubuit: Quod cùm ex Favonio amicissimo, sibi unà sedente, cognovisset, discessit è theatro,*

ne præsentiâ suâ spectaculi consuetudinem impediret. Quem abeuntem ingenti plausu populus prosecutus, priscum morem jocorum in scenam revocavit; confessus, plus se majestatis uni tribuere, quàm universo sibi vindicare. L. II. 10. viii. May we be permitted to ask, what symptoms of modesty, in any wise super-human, were here displayed by the hero of Utica? He deliberately went to the theatre, to see women dance naked; and he took credit to himself, for being too delicate or modest to witness the sight! The poet Martial, in an Epigram on this story, entitled, *Ad Catonem nimis austerum*, puts two excellent questions to Cato. Why, says he, in the first place, since you knew what was to happen, did you go into the house? And, in the second place, since you did go, was it merely that you might come out again? Page 82.

Nosses jocosæ dulce cùm sacrum Floræ,
Festosque lusus, et licentiam vulgi,
Cur in theatrum, Cato severe, venisti?—
An ideo tantùm veneras, ut exires?

It would not be easy to make out, how the character of the Stoic philosopher is here to escape the charge, either of gross immodesty, or insufferable vanity. His panegyrists may take their choice, which of the two they will incline to lay to the door of their favourite.

(45.) THE *Triumviri Capitales* were judges of an inferior order, who presided at certain tribunals, in all questions between slaves and strangers. See Plaut. Aul. Act. VII. 2. 2. They had also the charge of the prisons, and of the execution of criminals.

(46.) THAT is, says the President De Brosses, who had visited the place with great attention, after you enter the court-yard of the Prison;

Page 82. otherwise the description does not correspond with the nature of the ground: For, as the prison was built on the side of the Capitoline hill, in ascending to the right hand, from the Forum, the court-yard must necessarily have been formed in a sloping direction.

This edifice was erected by Ancus Marcius, the fourth of the Roman kings, and enlarged by Servius Tullius. See Liv. L. I. 13. It appears to have been divided into two principal parts, the Upper, and the Lower; of which the former was called *Robur*, or *Robus*, from its strength and security, whence malefactors were precipitated (Fest. Pomp. p. 410. Edit. Gotlof.—Liv. L. XXXVIII. 59.—Val. Maxim. L. VI. 3. i.—Tacit. Annal. L. IV. 29.); and the latter *Tullianum*, or the Dungeon of Tullius, from the name of the founder; or otherwise, *Lautumiæ;* that is, *Loca ex quibus lapidi excisi sunt;* in illusion to a place of the same name, built by Dionysius of Syracuse. See Cicero's description of the Sicilian prison, In Verr. L. V. 27. & 55.—Fest. Pomp. p. 304.—Liv. L. XXVI. 27. XXXII. 26. &c. M. De Brosses tells us, that he went through the whole, and that it accurately corresponds with the description of Sallust. The Tullian dungeon now serves as a subterraneous chapel, to a small church, built on the spot, called *San Pietro in Carcere*, in commemoration of St. Peter's imprisonment at Rome, when he is said to have been confined in the dungeon of Tullius. All the light it has is communicated by a grate in the roof, which opens into the church above it. Below the Tullian dungeon is another vault, or, more properly speaking, a sink or drain; as from the history of the Martyrs we learn, that the common-sewer of the prison passed underneath the dungeon. It seems to have been from the upper part, called *Robur*, down to this sink, that malefactors were antiently precipitated. This edifice, and the grand Common-sewers, built by Ancus Marcius, for the use of the city, which still subsist, are now more than 2400 years old, and, beyond a doubt, the most antient pieces of masonry in Europe.

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(47.) It is with particular pleasure, that I once more supply, from the information of Plutarch, some circumstances, with which Sallust has not thought proper to adorn his narrative, as they are both interesting in themselves, and honourable to Cicero.

Soon after the decree for capital punishment had passed, Cicero proceeded, at the head of the Senate, to the different houses, where the criminals were lodged: Plutarch, by mistake, calls them the houses of the Prætors. The Consul conducted Lentulus from the Palatine Hill, down the *Via Sacra*, through the middle of the Forum, while the principal persons in Rome on all sides attended, like a guard. The people stood silent at the horrour of the scene; and the youth looked on, with fear and astonishment, as if they had that day been to be initiated, into some awful mysteries of the aristocratic power (Μάλιστα δὲ τῶν νεῶν, ὥσπερ ἱεροῖς τισι πατρίοις ἀριστοκρατικῆς τινος ἐξουσίας, τελεῖσθαι μετὰ φόβου καὶ δάμβους δοκόντων). When the procession had passed through the Forum, and come to the prison, he delivered Lentulus into the hands of the executioner: After which, Cethegus was brought up; and the others followed in their order, and were all put to death. In his return, he perceived a crowd of persons, gathering together in the Forum, whom he well knew to belong to the Conspiracy. They were as yet ignorant of the fate of their leaders, and waited only for the night, which now approached, to make a resolute attack, and rescue them from confinement. On this, he called, with a loud voice, "They did live" *(Vixerunt)!* avoiding, agreeably to the custom among the Romans, all expressions of inauspicious import, but clearly intimating, that the culprits were put to death.

By this time it grew dark. As he returned through the Forum, in his way home, the people did not now conduct him, as at first, in a silent, and formal procession; but all ranks crowded round, with the loudest acclamations, hailing him the second founder of Rome, and the saviour of his country. The streets were illuminated, with a multitude

Page 83. of torches and lamps, placed at the doors. Women of rank came out with lights, on the tops of the houses, eager to behold, and do honour to the person, to whom the greatest characters paid a respect so extraordinary; men, who by their valour had enlarged the boundaries of the empire, and triumphed for their victories. Others, they observed, of the present day, had also been renowned for their services to the republic: They had added to her wealth; they had encreased her power; they had enriched her with the spoils of distant nations: But for Cicero alone it was reserved, to rescue her from danger, to preserve her existence, and to place her in a condition of exultation and security. To crush, by vigour actively exerted, a diabolical design, and to punish condignly the authors, did not seem in itself so extraordinary an achievement: But to suppress the most alarming, and extensive Conspiracy, that ever had been planned, and that too with so little public inconvenience, nay, without so much as any public commotion; that was, indeed, what justly excited wonder, and exalted his merit beyond all former example. Ὧν οἱ πλεῖστοι πολέμους τε κατειργασμένοι μεγάλους, καὶ διὰ θριάμβων εἰσεληλακότες, καὶ προσκεκτημένοι γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ἐκ ὀλίγου, ἐβάδιζον ἀνομολογούμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, πολλοῖς μὲν τῶν τότε ἡγεμόνων καὶ στρατηγῶν πλέστε καὶ λαφύρων καὶ δυνάμεως χάριν ἐφείλεαν τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον, ἀσφαλείας δὲ καὶ σωτηρίας ἑνὶ μόνῳ Κικέρωνι, τηλικοῦτον ἀφελόντι καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ κίνδυνον. ὁ γὰρ τὸ κωλύσαι τὰ πραττόμενα, καὶ κολάσαι τοὺς πράττοντας, ἐδόκει θαυμαστόν· ἀλλ' ὅτι μέγιστος ἦν τῶν πώποτε νεωτερισμῶν, ἔτος ἐλαχίστοις κακοῖς ἄνευ στάσεως καὶ ταραχῆς κατέσβεσε. In Ciceron. XXII. pp. 788. 789. Edit. Reisk.

In taking leave of Cicero, as we here do, at this most glorious moment of his life, it is proper to add, that his triumph was not of very long endurance; nay, that the very acts themselves, which had produced it, were made a handle, to effect his humiliation, and, in the end, to take away his life. He had evidently manifested a merit, and risen to a power, too conspicuous to be secure from envy. Clodius, against whom he had given evidence, on the trial for an intrigue with Pompeia,

from an ardent admirer was turned into an enemy, and boldly took the lead; Cæsar and his party urged on, and secretly supported him: The powerful faction, which had abetted the Conspiracy, lent its aid; while Pompey, by unfeelingly, as well as impoliticly standing neuter, enabled them to carry their point. An impeachment of Cicero, in less than five years, was moved before the people, for taking away the lives of Roman citizens; and, although Cicero had been nothing more than the official instrument, in the hands of the Senate, for enforcing their decrees, and punishing the conspirators, he was yet found guilty, and banished more than four hundred and fifty miles from Italy. Some years after, that is, A. U. C. 710, through the influence of Mark Antony, Lentulus's step-son, and the baseness of Augustus, he was put to death, and his head and hands fixed upon the Rostra, as a spectacle to the people. See Vol. I. p. 157. Page 83.

The writings of Cicero will, indeed, render him immortal; but his fate may serve as a standing lesson to those, who are inclined to prefer uncertain ambition, to the pursuits of genius. To such, also, as are enamoured of republican governments, it may tend to show the true spirit, which actuates them. Let them call to mind the fate of a Coriolanus, or a Scipio, and they will see the temper, with which the People, in general, display their partialities, and reward their benefactors.

(48.) The Roman Legion consisted, at different times, of very different numbers. In the days of Polybius, it was only 4200 strong; but, in those of Julius Cæsar, and the succeeding Emperors, it extended to no fewer than 6000, or 6100, together with the usual complement of 300 horse. See Liv. L. XLIII. 12.—Veget. de Re Milit. L. II. 4. &c. Each Legion was divided into ten Cohorts, each Cohort into three Maniples, and each Maniple into two Centuries. When the Century consisted, as its name imports, of a hundred men, the complement of 6000 was accurately made out. According to this establishment, Catiline's force did not exceed about 12,600 men.

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Page 84. (49.) It was inconsistent with the wise policy of the Romans, that any, but free citizens, should compose their armies, as they considered, that the commonwealth could never be faithfully defended, except by men, who felt some interest in its preservation. Slaves, therefore, were prohibited, under pain of death, from enlisting in the army. The Emperor Justinian afterwards softened the rigour of this ordinance, and made it lawful for masters to reclaim their slaves, who had gone into the service, without their consent.

(50.) ACCORDING to Appian, Catiline's force consisted, at one time, of no fewer than 20,000 men, of which about a fourth part only were regularly armed (De Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 714. Edit. Toll.); but the greater part of this promiscuous multitude disappeared, after it was certainly known, in the camp, that Lentulus, and the other ring-leaders of the Conspiracy, had been apprehended, and put to death.

(51.) THAT is, Cisalpine Gaul, or Gaul on the south side of the Alps; notwithstanding that most commentators and translators have mistaken it for the Transalpine country. From what Sallust says of Catiline's design, to escape unperceived, and by ways little frequented, *Utì per tramites occultè perfugeret in Galliam*, it seems impossible that he could mean any other than Cisalpine Gaul, which was separated from the Pistorian territory, by the Apennine mountains; whereas, between Catiline's position and Transalpine Gaul, there lay a vast tract of rich and populous country, through which he never could have hoped to fly *occultè per tramites*, a distance no less than from Tuscany to the foot of the Alps, and across the whole of the north of Italy. What the historian makes Catiline afterwards say, in his address to his men, concerning the forces of his opponents, *Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter à Gallià obstant*, leaves no room to doubt which of the Gauls is here alluded to; as Metellus Celer was, at the time, encamped

at the foot of the Apennines, in Cisalpine Gaul (now Bologna), and watching Catiline's motions. It is remarkable, that this should have escaped the President De Brosses's accuracy; for, in rendering the passage first mentioned, he, without any authority, whatever from Sallust, introduces "the Alps," and makes Catiline's plan to be, to push for those distant mountains; *Son dessein étoit, de gagner les Alpes, par des routes detournées.* See Tom. III. p. 187. Pages 87. 88.

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(52.) It would be endless to quote all the instances, that might be given, in which Sallust has imitated Thucydides: But the striking resemblance of this passage to one in the Cyropædia of Xenophon, where the Persian king addresses his troops, before the engagement, described at the end of the Third Book, leaves no room to doubt, that our author had that Greek historian in his eye, on the present occasion. *Μωρὸν γὰρ, τὸ κρατεῖν βελομένους, τὰ τυφλὰ τῦ σώματος καὶ ἄοπλα καὶ ἄχειρα ταῦτα ἐναντία τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας. μωρὸς δὲ καὶ εἴτις ζῆν βελόμενος φεύγειν ἐπιχειροίη, εἰδὼς ὅτι οἱ μὲν νικῶντες σώζονται, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀποθνήσκουσι μᾶλλον τῶν μενόντων.* P. 83. Edit. Leunclav.

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(53.) It would not be easy, from any antient historian, to select an address, from a general to his soldiers, in any wise to be compared to the speech of Catiline, whether for vigour, or spirit, or perfect verisimilitude. Tacitus's celebrated speech, which he gives to Galgacus, in the Life of Agricola, has been often extolled; but, with the reader of taste, it will not stand the comparison. That the merit of this speech is extraordinary, I readily admit: Yet there is in it not only an unnatural selection of topics, but an elaborate quaintness, and rhetorical turn of expression, which no stretch of fancy can assimilate with the situation and character of the Caledonian chief, and which utterly destroy all notion of verisimilitude.

Page 88. Mr. Murphy, in his Notes on the Life of Agricola, has not failed to commend, in high terms, and certainly with good reason, this effort of his favourite historian, and he compares it with the famous speech of Porus, in Quintus Curtius. On the subject of Sallust he is prudently silent. He saw, that it would not advance the fame of Tacitus, to bring their talents, in this department, into competition: Neither, as a skilful panegyrist of the *originality* of that historian, did he think it advisable to take any notice of Catiline's speech, as Tacitus, in that of Galgacus, has so freely borrowed from it. Indeed, in several other harangues, which Tacitus has given to military commanders, on the eve of an action, we are tempted to think, that he had the same composition in his eye. It is true, it may be said, that, without any collision, similarity of circumstances, and sometimes of character, may suggest, to men of genius, a correspondence of sentiments and reasonings; but the close resemblance, and whole turn of the phraseology of Tacitus, can leave no doubt as to the source, from which he copied both the one and the other. I shall here, for the amusement of the classical reader, quote a few of the passages, which are striking, in the speeches of Agricola, as well as of Galgacus, together with an example or two, from other parts of his writings. *Quotiens causas belli, et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est, hodiernum diem, consensumque vestrum, initium libertatis totius Britanniæ fore . . Ita proelium atque arma, quæ fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt . . Tunc temporis ac necessitatis monet, unam in armis salutem, sed ea consilio temperanda: Quòd, si fugerent, priùs silvas, profundas magìs paludes, sævitiam hostium superesse: At victoribus decus, gloriam, quæ domi cara, quæ in castris honesta, memorat . . Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia, aut commeatum eadem abundantia, sed manus, et arma, et in his omnia . . Quamvis plus vulnerum, eadem ciborum egestas fatigaret, vim, sanitatem, copias, cuncta in victoriâ habuere . . Vota, virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus, atque eadem victis adversa . . Si nemo absisteret, innoxium iter fore:*

Sin arma occurrant, ferro viam inventuros . . Sibi patriam, conjuges, Page 88. *parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam, causas belli esse . . porro, in ejusmodi consiliis periculosiùs esse deprehendi, quàm audere.* Quintus Curtius and Justin have, in like manner, drawn pretty closely after Sallust: But, as there is no modern critic, who has, as yet, stood up for *their* originality, I need not give many examples. *Pervenisse eos* (says Curtius), *unde fugere non possent. Tot terrarum spatia emensis, tot amnibus montibusque post tergum objectis, iter in patriam et penates manu esse faciendum . . Ite alacres, et spe pleni: In dextris vestris jam libertatem, opem, spem futuri temporis geritis . . Effugit mortem quisquis contemserit; timidissimum quemque consequitur . . Ignaviam sæpe acuit necessitas, et desperatio spei causa est . . Iter* (says Justin), *quod aliter non pateret, ferro aperiendum.* &c. &c.

I am very far from objecting to these writers, that they had the sense and taste to make choice of such a model as Sallust, for the purpose of giving vigour to their style: I would only express my wonder (as, indeed, I have frequently done before), how any scholar of the present day, when literary prejudices are disappearing, should gravely *deny* the fact; and, because his own classical idol chances to be Tacitus, how he should venture to hold him up as an *undoubted original*, who is too proud to tread in the footsteps of former writers. It had been well for Tacitus, when he was so anxious to copy the abruptness of Sallust, if he had copied, with more diligence, the chaster beauties of his manner; if, together with the conciseness, he had also attained the perspicuity of his master.

(54.) The Battle of Pistoria, which this action has been called, derived its name from Pistoria, now Pistoia, a considerable district, and town in Tuscany. The latter is situated on the river Stella, about twenty miles north-west of Florence.

There are few subjects, on which critics, commentators, and historians have more widely differed, than in ascertaining the ground, where

Page 88. this battle took place. Maneti, says M. De Brosses, in his History of Pistoia, informs us, that Catiline, when attempting to descend, by the narrow passes of the mountains, into the plain, was attacked by Petreius, near the village of Pittecio. Michael Angelo Salvi, in his History of the same territory, places the field of battle in the plain of Vaioni, and adduces a number of striking facts, in corroboration of his account. In his time, he says, in turning up the ground, near the place just now mentioned, quantities not only of human bones were discovered, but also pitchers, helmets, and coats of mail, together with a variety of coins of the age of Catiline. Others have advanced, that Gavinana, a small place to the northward of the town of Pistoia, was the site of the engagement. Villani, in his Universal History (L. I. 32.), goes as far off, to discover it, as the territory of Picenum (now Ancona), and confounds that district with Fuccechio, from which it is greatly distant; while the Cardinal de Retz confidently assures us (Mem. Tom. V. p. 114.), that it was a little below Volterra, where a house, named *L' Hospitalità*, is built on the field of battle.

When M. De Brosses was at Rome, the Abbé Soderini communicated to him yet another hypothesis. It was contained in a M. S. enquiry, concerning the scene of the battle, by the learned Juliano Pacione, who, it seems, had examined the whole country round Pistoia. This writer supposes that Catiline, on learning that Metellus Celer guarded the pass of Serra Bassa, on the side of Cisalpine Gaul, found himself obliged to measure back his steps; and, moving his camp from the little town of Cutiliano, or Catiliano (which from him is supposed to have derived its name), he passed the rivulet Lima, and descended from the heights, by the plain of Malarma, fifteen miles distant from Pistoia. Here, according to the Abbé, he met, and engaged Petreius, who had marched the whole way along the vale of Lima, for the purpose of intercepting him. The account, the same author adds, is confirmed by tradition; and the peasants still show a place upon the heights, known by the appellation of "The Tents of Catiline."

It was to be expected, that a scholar of the President De Brosses's research and accuracy, would bestow some pains to settle a point, which had been so frequently considered, and so variously contested. Accordingly, he resolved to visit the spot, and for that purpose provided himself with a sketch of the country round Florence, taken from the grand map of Italy, done in blue and gold, and hung up in the Vatican. In this expedition, he says, he was fortunate enough, by means of his friend the Abbé Nicolini, to be introduced to M. De Medicis, a relation of the Grand Duke, then governor of Prato; and likewise to M. Cini de San Marcello, author of Historical Remarks on the antient state of the Mountains of Pistoia, published at Florence, in 1737. M. De Medicis had also been governor of Pistoia; and, at the desire of M. De Brosses, drew up, for him, a valuable map of the whole of that territory, and its environs, including every place, connected with the engagement, and the movements of the three armies: But unfortunately, more than five-and-twenty years after, when M. De Brosses's History came to be published, the map had been mislaid; and he was obliged to supply its place with a far smaller, and less perfect sketch of the country, procured likewise, as he says, in Italy, in order to assist his researches. Page 88.

On comparing this sketch with the different hypotheses above mentioned, I found it extremely unsatisfactory. I was therefore obliged, for the use of the reader, to draw up a new topographical sketch of the Pistoian territory, and of its environs, taken chiefly from Bleau's celebrated maps of Italy, collated with the sketch of M. De Brosses; so that a tolerably correct notion may now be formed of the scene of this memorable engagement. Like M. De Brosses, I have, in general, preferred the method of giving the modern, rather than the antient names of places; because of the latter so little is now known, that it would have been impossible, by means of them, to convey any idea of the situation of the country. M. Cini de San Marcello composed two Essays, explanatory of his own opinion, and of the

Page 88. lost map of M. de Medicis; and the theory of the former seems so entirely to coincide with the antient remains, mentioned by Salvi, and with the face of the country, as delineated by Sallust, that I have no hesitation in adopting it, as the ground of the following statement.

From the situation of Etruria, both in respect to the city of Rome, and the north of Italy, or Cisalpine Gaul, Catiline, from the beginning, evidently chose the district first mentioned, for his grand point of rendezvous, as soon as he should take the field, whatever might ultimately be the success of his enterprise. Manlius, accordingly, his best officer, was stationed at Fæsulæ, which is the modern town of Fiesoli. When forced, by Cicero, prematurely to leave Rome, he made straight for Arretium (now Arrezzo), as Sallust tells us, and from thence to the Camp of Manlius; and, as soon as he learned the approach of the two armies, sent against him by the Senate, he resolved to follow the course of the Apennines from Fiesoli. Directing his march by Mugello and Bacterino, he arrived opposite to Vernio, where the mountains open into the plain, and where the river Rheno, after taking its rise in the district of Pistoria, enters that of Bologna (formerly Bononia). It is obvious that here the rugged sides of the Apennines are the least lofty, and afford the easiest descent into the level country. His main object was, if he could have accomplished it, to march suddenly southward, and seize Rome, as he had been solicited to do, by dispatches from Lentulus: But, struck with terrour at the detection, and execution of his associates, he was reluctantly obliged to change his plan, and to prefer the chance of drawing the war into length, by escaping to the Bolognese territory, that is, to Cisalpine Gaul. When encamped near the point of the Apennines, just now mentioned, he was alarmed to find, that Metellus Celer, who commanded in Picenum (now Ancona), with a much greater force, had, by rapid marches, got before him, and pitched his camp at the foot of the mountains, near Sambuca, for the purpose of guarding the pass. Thus, being obliged to wheel about, and retreat by the same route he

had come, he soon found himself at Tizzoro, near the rivulet Bardelona, and within sight of Antonius. The Consul's Lieutenant, Petreius, had probably before-hand concerted, with Celer, their plan of operations; for, instead of attempting the mountains, he had all along persuaded Antonius steadily to traverse the plain, and, determined to watch the motions of the rebels, had made him keep nearly up with them, the whole way from Prato, to the banks of the Rheno, where he well knew they must chuse, between marching towards the Bolognese, that is towards Gaul, or descending into the plain, in the neighbourhood of Pistoia. Page 88.

By attending to this plain account, and tracing, upon the map, the line of march of the three armies, we shall at once apprehend the description of Sallust, and the difficulties which Catiline had to encounter. Tizzoro, as M. De Brosses describes it, is, in fact, a sort of bold amphitheatre, rising between the Rheno, and the small stream of the Marosca. On the left, according to the statement of Sallust, it is closed in by lofty mountains, and, on the right, it is flanked by a craggy rock *(Erat inter sinistros montes, et ab dextrâ rupe asperâ)*. The spot of ground, or small plain, on which Catiline drew up his men, M. De Brosses says, is now called *Il paione di Vaione*. It is much lower than the Apennines, but yet considerably above the level of the low country. From the town of Pistoria, he adds, it is distant about two miles, misprinted, I suppose, for ten miles *(deux milles* for *dix milles;)* that is, Italian miles; and it lies immediately between that place, and the pass, by which Catiline descended from the mountains.

Between the description of the President De Brosses, and the sketch with which it is accompanied, I am sorry to observe, that little agreement prevails; although the description itself is sufficiently perspicuous. In the sketch, the situation of several of the places, as well as the course of the rivers, is inaccurately given. Mugello and Bacterino are no where to be found: Tizzoro, and the streams of the Bardelona and the Marosca are likewise omitted; and, what is worst of all, the Plain

Page 89. of Vaione, where the battle was fought (marked, as usual, with two *Swords*, in order to distinguish it), instead of being, as he tells us, *two*, is nearly *nine* miles from Pistoria. On the faith of M. De Brosses, however, who visited the spot, I have placed the field of battle in the same manner as he has done; and I have endeavoured to supply some of his principal defects.

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(55.) The Resumed Veterans *(Evocati)* were veteran soldiers, who had already served out their time *(Emeriti, qui stipendia explevissent)*, that is, the space of twenty years in the infantry, and half that number in the cavalry service; after which, they were sometimes induced to serve again, under a favourite general, on the pressure of some public emergency. A war against the Gauls, or a war in Italy (called emphatically *Tumultus*), like the present rebellion, admitted of no excuse from military service, and then the veterans, and sometimes the infirm and sickly, were forced to enlist. On such occasions, two flags were displayed from the Capitol, the one red, for summoning the infantry, and the other green, for the cavalry. No time was lost, in going through the ordinary forms of the levy, or *Delectus:* The Consul only cried aloud, "Let those follow me, who are willing to defend their country" *(Qui rempublicam salvam esse vult, me sequatur.* Liv.); and, by this means, an army was immediately embodied. The men thus levied, were called *Tumultuarii, Subitarii,* or *Conjurati,* and were not bound for any certain term of service. See a few lines below, where our author, speaking of Petreius marshalling his troops, mentions those, that were called out, *Tumulti causâ,* and which expression I have translated idiomatically, "on the breaking out of the rebellion."

(56.) This person is named Furius, by Plutarch; and Cicero makes mention of him, as among the ringleaders of the Conspiracy.

(57.) THE Romans made use of various devices, as standards, or colours in their armies, namely, that of the Eagle, the Wolf, the Dragon, the Minotaur, the Wild-boar, the Horse. Of all these, the Eagle only was composed of metal, often of gold or silver, and carried on the top of a spear, pointed at bottom, for the purpose of being fixed into the ground, on the encampment of the army. All the rest were painted, or otherwise represented; on the colours. These standards, or ensigns, were denominated *Numina Legionum*, and worshipped by the soldiers, with a high degree of religious reverence. The Eagle, being considered as the principal standard, was always carried at the head of the first Cohort of every Legion. Every Maniple also had its ensign, or standard; which, in antient times, was nothing more than a bundle of hay, carried on the top of a pole; afterwards, a spear, with a cross piece of wood on the top; sometimes, the figure of a hand, and a small round, or oval shield, commonly of silver, on which were represented figures of the warlike deities, such as Mars, or Minerva. The Cohorts were numbered First, Second, Third, &c. of the Legion, to which they belonged. Marius was so partial to the Eagle, that, in his second Consulship, he abolished all other ensigns, which rendered the number of Eagles in an army, at least in his time, very great. Cæsar tells us, that, at the battle of Pharsalia, he took no fewer than fifty-nine. See Veget. de Re Milit. L. I. II.—Var. de Lat. Ling. L. IV. 16.—Liv. L. VIII. 1.—Cæs. de Bel. Civil. L. III. 99.—Ovid. Fast. L. III. 16.—Tacit. Annal. L. I. 43. Hist. L. I. 41. &c. &c. Page 89.

As to the Eagle, mentioned in the text, see Note 73. anteh. It seems to have been a favourite standard with Catiline, and regarded, by him, with a sort of superstitious reverence. Cicero openly tells him, that he well knew how long he had kept it in his house; that he had erected to it an altar, and worshipped it with secret, and abominable rites, as often as he undertook any desperate, or bloody enterprize. *Sciam pactam, et constitutam esse cum Manlio diem? A quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi, ac tuis omnibus, perniciosam esse*

Page 89. *confido, et funestam futuram; cui domi tuæ sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit, sciam esse præmissam? Tu ut illâ diutiùs carere possis, quam venerari, ad cædem proficiscens, solebas? à cujus altaribus sæpe istam dexteram impiam ad necem civium transtulisti?* In Catilin. I. 9.

(58.) MARCUS PETREIUS was one of the most skilful generals of this period, and in the military art second to none of his cotemporaries, except Cæsar, against whom he contended, with uncommon valour and ability. Petreius is supposed to have been the son of Cnæus Petreius Atinas, who was first Centurion of a Legion, under Lutatius Catulus, in the war against the Cimbri. M. Petreius bore the Questorship, A. U. C. 663; after which, being promoted to the command of a Legion, he served in the Italic War, under Pompeius Strabo, father to Pompey the Great, and, by his extraordinary merit, soon raised himself to the highest employments. Of military discipline he was a consummate master; but his character was harsh and inflexible, and sometimes degenerated into a severe, and needless cruelty. See some remarkable examples, in Cæsar De Bel. Civil. L. I. 75. 76.—Sueton. in Cæs. LXXV. &c. During his Tribuneship, A. U. 668, he got a law enacted, which went afterwards by his name, that if any corps was guilty of disobedience to their officers, they should immediately be decimated; that is, that every tenth man should be drawn out by lot, and punished with death. See Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 750. Edit. Toll.

In the Civil Wars, Petreius took up arms for Pompey, to whose interests he manifested an invariable attachment. When that commander weakly yielded to Cæsar, by abandoning Italy, Petreius, together with Afranius and Scipio, commanded in Spain, in which country he made a vigorous, though ineffectual resistance. On taking refuge in Africa, he joined his forces to those of Juba, king of Mauritania, and, by his efforts, revived the hopes of the party, until the

chiefs, at the battle of Thapsus, were finally defeated by Cæsar. Page 89. Faustus Sylla and Afranius were taken prisoners, and put to death; and Cato, who commanded at Utica, fell upon his own sword. As for Juba and Petreius, they had no hope of mercy from the conqueror, and they agreed to perish by mutual wounds. Rushing upon each other with determined fury, Petreius, who from age was the weaker, soon fell; and the prince, at his own desire, was dispatched by his domestics. Cæsar's troops were so incensed at Petreius, for his cruelties to the prisoners, that they insisted on his son being put to death. See Hirt. de Bel. Afric. LXXXVIII. & seqq.—Liv. Epit. CXIV.—Dion. Cass. L. XLIII. 1—4.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 800. 801. Edit. Toll.—Lucan. L. IV. VI. 310.—Oros. L. VI. 14. &c.

For the purpose of making head against Catiline, after he had actually taken the field, it was impossible to have pitched upon two persons more proper, than Metellus Celer and Petreius. The character of Celer, which was virtuous and intrepid, has been given above, in Note 76.; and that of Petreius, although deficient in the gentler virtues, was not less eminent for vigour, and attachment to the republic. If it was a subject of astonishment how Catiline, with his talents for enterprise, his boldness, his activity, the high rank, and the number of his adherents, was fairly driven out of Rome; it seems not less wonderful, with a Consul like Antonius, attached to his interests, at the head of the opposing army, and all Italy, as it was, for nearly six weeks unprotected, how he should have been forced to risk his fortune on a single battle, unable either to engage the enemy to advantage, or, by means of stratagem, to spin out the war. But it was to the genius of Cicero that the commonwealth was equally indebted, for his expulsion from Rome, and his discomfiture at Pistoria. This indefatigable magistrate, not content with exacting a promise of neutrality from his colleague, used his utmost influence, in procuring the appointment of firm, and well-affected persons, to act under him. Petreius, in consequence, was nominated his Lieutenant; and Sextius, one of Cicero's

Page 89. most confidential friends, who had so lately distinguished himself in the preservation of Capua, was promoted to the important situation of Quæstor. See Note 69. anteh.

Antonius, when he came to act with such men as his advisers, was greatly embarrassed. In his heart, he had no desire to encounter the rebel leader, in any shape; and, after exhibiting, by the rapid march from Prato, a decent degree of vigour, he secretly intended to connive at his escape across the Apennines, into Cisalpine Gaul. That this idea was also entertained by Catiline is apparent, from his so frequently marching, and countermarching on the heights *(Modò ad urbem, modò in Galliam castra movere)*, instead of at once descending on either side. But the sudden appearance of Celer, to guard the northern pass, was an occurrence, on which both Catiline and the Consul had neglected to calculate, and it wholly confounded the devices of both. Antonius, on the one hand, was warmly urged, by both his Lieutenant and his Quæstor, to bring Catiline to an action; and Catiline, on the other, when he reflected on the firmness and intrepidity of Celer, thought it by far the more prudent measure, if he must risk a battle, to trust himself to Antonius. That partizan, he hoped, although at the head of a greater force, might contrive by some means to favour his cause; and, if he did not enable him to gain the day, might yet suffer him to escape with impunity. In this dilemma, Antonius thought proper to counterfeit a fit of the gout. He bound up his limbs; and, confining himself to his tent, left the entire command of the army to Petreius.

Sallust, as we find, is wholly silent as to Antonius's motive for this measure; neither does he insinuate, that it was adopted by him, as a cloak for feelings of a very different species. Dion Cassius, however, is more explicit, or more candid. He plainly says, that Antonius was so perplexed, that he feigned indisposition (Αὐτὸς μὲν νοσεῖν προεφασίσατο). As to Catiline, it appears, that he continued ignorant of the stratagem: For, although his speech to his men, as Sallust gives it, is one of the

most bold and spirited, ever delivered on the eve of an action, and breathes nothing but revenge, mingled with despair; yet it is probable, as the same Greek writer observes, that he never was without the hope of a different issue from the combat. He believed, to the last, that his friend would not be unmindful of their former engagements, and contrive some expedient for throwing the victory into his hands. Page 89. Αἴτιον δὲ, ὅτι ἐλπίδα αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ συνωμοτὸν ἐθελοκακήσειν ἔσχεν. L. XXXVII. p. 53. Edit. Stephan.

Cicero, a few years after, in his pleading for Sextius, does not hesitate to lay open the real causes of the danger, which threatened the commonwealth at this crisis, in order to display the public services of his friend. As soon as Sextius, says he, had, by his exertions, placed Capua in a state of security (See Note 77. anteh.), I wrote to him to draw together, without delay, all the troops he could muster in Campania, and, at the head of these, to make the best of his way to Rome. It was immediately after the execution of Lentulus, and during the last days of my Consulship. The new Tribunes, who were just entering into office, had already commenced their intrigues; and there was danger, lest the flame of sedition, which seemed, for the time, to be extinguished, should again burst forth, with fresh violence. The arrival, at this juncture, of the troops of Sextius, who had executed my orders with the greatest promptitude, did not fail to strike the faction with surprise, and taught them the necessity of at least affecting moderation. But, as it fortunately happened, Cato was among the number of these new magistrates; and we soon perceived, that the firmness and intrepidity of such a patriot, would operate more powerfully, than a whole army of soldiers, in protecting himself, and all good men, and the public, from the violent designs of his colleagues. I, therefore, lost no time in dispatching Sextius, with what force he had collected, to the Consular army. His speedy arrival in the camp was indeed opportune; as, had it happened later, a very different issue might have attended the contest. I do not assert, that Antonius was

Page 89. resolved not to engage the rebel troops; but, possibly, he might not have pressed it with extraordinary anxiety; and, possibly also, he was not free from certain private apprehensions, in regard to the issue. This, however, I will say, that, had it not been for the skill and gallantry of Petreius, his authority with the men, his unshaken patriotism, and persevering exertions in the public service; had it not been for the vigour of Sextius, who lost no opportunity of contributing his aid to rouse, and inspirit, and urge on the tardiness of the Consul; there is little doubt, but that that winter would never have witnessed the extinction of the war. Could Catiline only have escaped, from the frosts and snows of the Apennines; could he once, with the return of spring, have found his way into the country, and supplied himself with forage and provisions in abundance, the devastation, and utter ruin of Italy must have ensued; nor would such a miscreant have yielded, without a most desperate struggle, and a tremendous effusion of civil blood. *Sextius, cum illo suo exercitu, summâ celeritate est Antonium consecutus. Hîc ego quid prædicem, quibus hic rebus Consulem ad rem gerendam excitarit? quot stimulos admoverit homini, studioso fortassis victoriæ, sed tamen nimiùm communem Martem, bellique casum metuenti? Longum est ea dicere: Sed hoc breve dicam. Si M. Petreii non excellens animo, et amore reipublicæ, non præstans in republicâ virtus, non summa auctoritas apud milites, non mirificus usus in re militari, extitisset, neque adjutor ei P. Sextius, ad excitandùm Antonium, cohortandum, impellendum fuisset, datus illo in bello esset hiemi locus; neque umquam Catilina, cùm è pruinâ Apenninii, atque è nivibus illis emersisset, atque æstatem integram nactus, Italiæ calles, et pastorum stabula præclara cepisset, sine multo sanguine, ac sine totius Italiæ vastitate miserrimâ, concidisset.* See Orat. pro Sext. IV. V.

(59.) The Military Tribune, in the Roman armies, was an office of considerable distinction. There were antiently three only; but after-

wards six, appointed to each Legion; and they commanded under the Page 89.
Consul, each in his turn, during a month. In the field, the Tribune usually had under him ten Centuries, or about a thousand men. Besides this, they were judges of all controversies, which took place in the army: It was their duty to visit the guards; to take care of the entrenchments; and they had the honour of wearing a ring of gold, in the same manner as the Equites.

Præfect *(Præfectus)*, when put by itself, as in the present passage, signified a Præfect of the auxiliaries, or allies *(Præfectus auxiliarium Cohortium, atque sociorum)*; which rank was nearly the same in those troops, as the Military Tribune, above mentioned, in the service of the Legions.

The Prætors at Rome were officers, the second in rank and dignity in the state, and next to the Consuls. They were created, at first, for the important purpose of administering justice within the city, when the supreme magistrates, on account of almost incessant wars, were necessarily absent. While the empire continued in its infancy, and was limited only to Italy, there were no more than two Prætors; of whom one had the title of Prætor of Rome *(Prætor Urbanus)*, and the other of Foreign Prætor *(Prætor Peregrinus)*, as they variously administered justice to citizens and strangers. In process of time, when Sicily and Sardinia, and the two Spains, came to be subdued, no fewer than six Prætors were found necessary. To that number Sylla added two, or four, according to some writers; Julius Cæsar, first two, and then four more. In the absence of the Consuls, they had the power of convening, and presiding in the Senate, and in the assemblies of the People; but they were by no means exempted from military service. Their chief employment, on the extension of the empire, was the government of the provinces. That office they had, like the Consuls, regularly assigned to them by lot, on going out of office; and there, like those magistrates, they were princes for

Page 90. the time, exercising the most uncontroled, and despotic authority, and generally accumulating immense fortunes.

As to the appointment of *Legatus*, or Lieutenant to the General, it was the next in dignity, in the army, to that of the Consul, being, for the most part, in his own nomination; and hence, men of Prætorian, and even Consular rank, frequently held it, under their friends or relatives. The general had the power of appointing one, or more Lieutenants, to act under him, as the extent of his force, or the importance of the war required. They were, like Senators when absent from Rome, usually attended by Lictors; and they acted as the standing council of the commander in chief.

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(60.) The Prætorian Cohort was a small body of men, which always attended the General, as a guard to his person, and in camp had its station near the *Prætorium*, or General's tent; an appellation derived from the circumstance of the ancient Latins styling all their commanders Prætors. Scipio Africanus the elder first instituted the Prætorian cohort, giving the men, who composed it, one half more pay, than the rest of the army (*Sesquiplex stipendium acciperent.* Fest. Pomp. p. 375. Edit. Gothof.) The institution, however, seems to have been perfectly well known, in an early age of the commonwealth, soon after the expulsion of the Tarquins. Livy tells us, that the Dictator Posthumus, in the war against the Latins, had *Cohortem suam, quam delectam manum, præsidii causâ, circa se habebat.* L. II. 20; which is the thing itself, without the epithet, by which it afterwards was distinguished. Originally, in Scipio's time, it seems to have consisted of five hundred men; but the number was greatly augmented in succeeding periods. It is remarkable, that Cæsar, in all the Commentaries of his wars, makes no mention, except incidentally, of such a division of the army, although it is frequently noticed,

by both Sallust and Livy. In process of time, under Augustus, when the Emperors assumed greater power and state, the prince's tent was called *Prætorium Augustale*, and his usual body-guards, the Prætorian Cohorts; which institutions, with their names, were continued under his successors. The Prætorian guards were placed under the command of a certain officer, styled the Prætorian Præfect *(Præfectus Prætorii)*, who had his commission from the Emperor; and the men were constantly quartered in the capital; until Sejanus, for the purpose of forwarding his own dark design, persuaded Tiberius to form a Prætorian camp, without the city. See Tacit. Annal. L. IV. 2. The consequence was, that they soon came to overawe Rome, and frequently, in after-times, gave away the purple. Page 91.

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(61.) FLORUS, at the close of his sketch of the Catilinarian War, seems to have copied Sallust almost verbatim, in giving an account of the battle of Pistoria. *Quàm atrociter dimicatum sit, exitus docuit. Nemo hostium bello superfuit. Quem quis in pugnando ceperat locum, eum, amissâ animâ, corpore tegebat. Catilina, longè à suis, inter hostium cadavera repertus est; pulcherrimâ morte, si pro patriâ concidisset.* L. IV. 2. ult. *Pulcherrimâ morte, si pro patriâ concidisset,* is a beautiful sentiment, and even an improvement on the original; and the whole would have been still more beautiful, if the mode of expression had corresponded with the excellence of the thoughts, and not partaken so much of that sententious, and sparkling character, which is constantly to be found in the schools of declamation. Had Cicero been to adopt the concluding sentiment of Florus, I am persuaded he would have done it, somewhat in the same judicious manner, in which it has been adopted, and expanded by Dr. Robertson, in his History of Charles the Fifth. In describing the death of the Constable de Bourbon, who fell under the walls of Rome, to which

Page 92. city he had laid siege, at the head of the Imperialists, that elegant writer thus expresses himself: "A musket bullet, from the ramparts, pierced his groin with a wound, which he immediately felt to be mortal . . And he soon after expired, with a courage worthy of a better cause, and which would have entitled him to the highest praise, if he had thus fallen, in defence of his country, and not at the head of its enemies."

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(62.) THIS naturally calls to mind the interesting description in Tacitus (Hist. L. II. 45.), when the armies of Otho and Vitellius unite in mutual condolence and congratulation, after the action at Bedriacum, which determined the fate of the empire. *Remissâ legatione, patuit vallum. Tum victi victoresque, in lachrimas effusi, sortem civilium armorum miserâ lætitiâ detestantes. Iisdem tentoriis, alii fratrum, alii propinquorum vulnera fovebant. Spes et præmia in ambiguo; certa funere et luctus. Nec quisquam adeò mali expers, ut non aliquam mortem moereret.*

As the narrative of Sallust concludes rather abruptly, with the battle of Pistoria, it may be proper to add a few circumstances, which seem naturally connected with the history of the Conspiracy.

Immediately after the action, Antonius dispatched messengers to Rome, with the joyful tidings of the decisive victory that had been gained, and of the death of Catiline. Having ordered his head to be struck off, he sent it with the messengers, for the purpose of ascer-

taining, that nothing further could now be dreaded from his machinations. A public thanksgiving was decreed by the Senate. Mourning, which had been put on, as in cases of public calamity, was laid aside; and Antonius, however undeservedly, obtained the title of *Imperator* by a public decree; although, says Dion Cassius, the numbers of the slain were not such as could entitle the conqueror to that appellation. (Καίτοι τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν πεφονευμένων ἐλάττονος παρὰ τὸ νενομισμένον ὄντος.) But this seems to be a mere fancy of Dion Cassius; as the title of *Imperator*, at least during the republic, was never conferred on such grounds, but was the free-gift of the troops, or else a compliment from the Senate, according to the nature and importance of the victory. Appian mentions, that, in his time, it came to be understood, that no general could acquire that title, unless 10,000 of the enemy were left dead upon the field (Bel. Civil. L. II. p. 747. Edit. Toll.); a prudent regulation, to which Dion Cassius (who wrote a hundred years after him), might allude; and made probably with the intent, of preventing the honour from being lavished, on every trivial occasion.

After the defeat and death of Catiline, although the great flame of rebellion was extinguished, yet some inconsiderable sparks still continued alive; and they might have mounted into a blaze, had they not been actively smothered, by the friends of Cicero, and of the constitution. The shattered remains of the rebel army began to assemble in Etruria; and its petty leaders, forming their adherents into small bodies, spread themselves, by degrees, over that country, and Cisalpine Gaul. So late as the end of August, that is, nearly nine months after the action near Pistoria, one of these parties still maintained itself in the former district, under the command of Lucius Sergius, a relation, or, more probably, a Freedman of Catiline. *Reliquiæ conjuratorum, cum L. Sergio, tumultuantur in Hetruriâ.* Fragment. Act. Diurn.

The Proconsul Metellus Celer had the charge of watching the motions of these banditti. He was anxious, at all events, to bring them to an engagement, and, if they could not be made prisoners, to extirpate them with the sword. In the course of the year, a number of petty encounters took place, along the banks of the Po, generally disadvantageous to the rebel cause. Partly by good fortune, and partly by perseverance, their leaders at length succeeded in gaining the Alps; where having concentrated their force, they resolved to penetrate into the country of the Allobrogians, a people, as we have seen, who were but too ripe for revolt. Here, however, the activity of Celer again defeated their projects. Having gained information of their route, he by rapid marches, as in the affair of Catiline, got possession of the passes, on the opposite side of the mountains, and at length succeeded in surrounding, and cutting them to pieces.

Thus, was completely crushed this far-famed Conspiracy, which only prepared the commonwealth for fresh troubles. Beyond question, it was the most dangerous to the government, that ever had existed, whether in regard to the atrocity of its character, or the number and influence of its partizans. It is true, Cicero, by his exertions, had averted this calamity; but he was unable to save the liberties of his country, or to restore the antient manners. Since the days of the Gracchi, internal dissention, the evil, which had silently undermined the constitution, and the inveterate hostilities of the two great orders in the state, had, more than once, brought the commonwealth to the brink of ruin. The influence of the Equites, who, as a third order, might have tended to maintain the political balance, Cicero wisely endeavoured to promote; and, had the same judicious principle been acted upon by his successors, they might have preserved, or, at least, they might have prolonged, the existence of public liberty. As it was, even the eyes of contemporaries could discern strong symptoms of political decay, and that the republic was fast hastening to a close.

Alike polished and corrupted, it exhibited only the shadow of its former vigour; all the licentiousness, without the security, of a free constitution. With outward splendour, there was, as Sallust says, "rottenness at the heart." It was too feeble and degenerate, to struggle for the continuance of freedom, but yet too proud, to submit to the name of servitude. The intermediate state, which followed, was naturally to be expected, namely, the despotism of a few; perhaps, of all others, the least favourable to either public, or private happiness: But it broke what yet remained of the spirit of antient independence, and paved the way, for the ascendency of a single ruler.

END OF THE NOTES

ON THE

CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

JUGURTHINE WAR,

OR OF THE

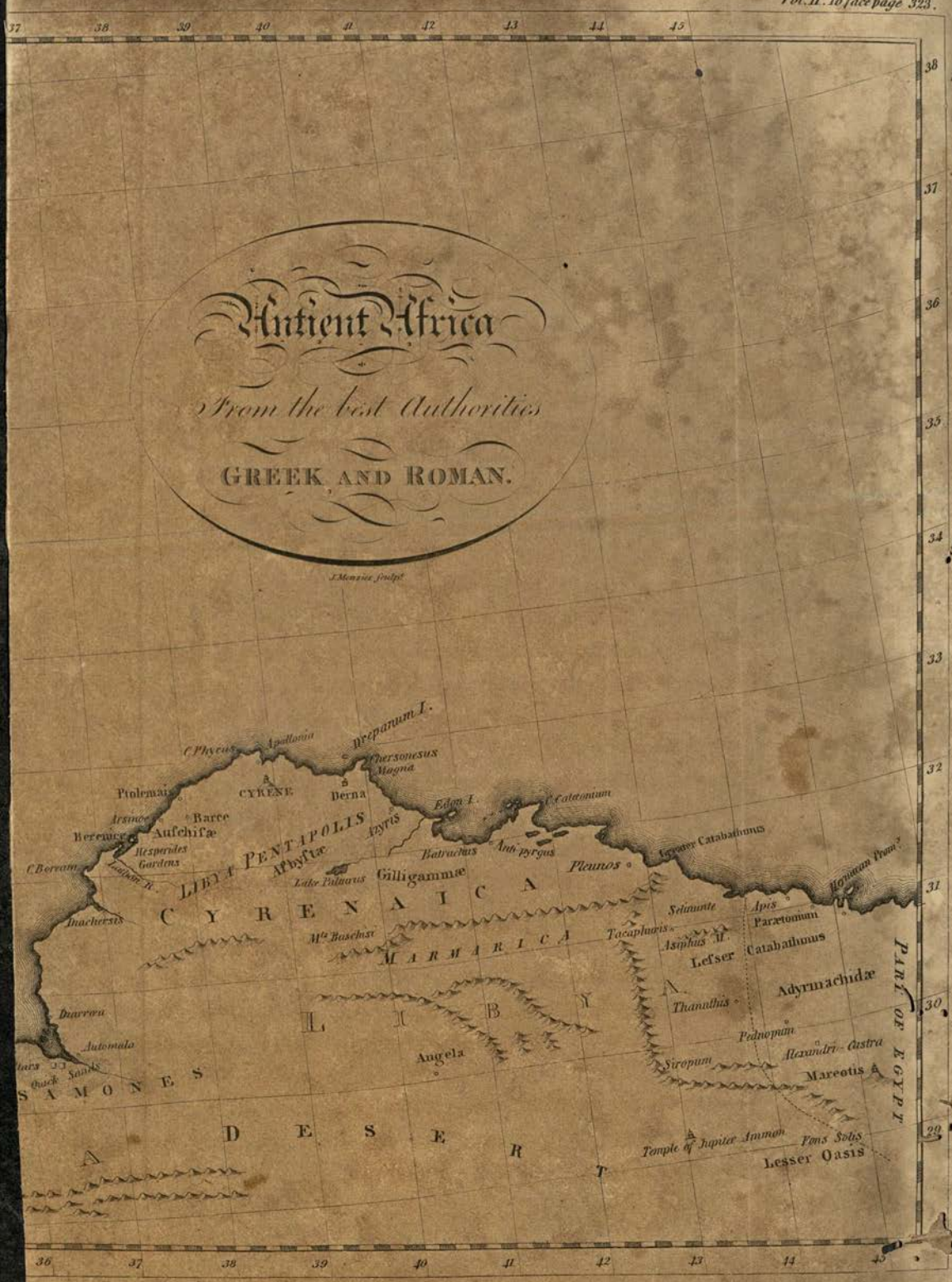
CONQUEST OF NUMIDIA.

Antient Africa

From the best Authorities

GREEK AND ROMAN.

J. Menzies sculpt.



THE

JUGURTHINE WAR.

1. It is an unfounded complaint, that is urged by mankind, concerning the imbecillity of their condition, and the shortness of life; a state, as they allege, of perpetual vicissitude; placed at the mercy of Chance, rather than under the guidance of Virtue. On due consideration, notwithstanding, we shall find, that man, above all creatures, is gifted with excellence and energy; although the one he degrades, and the other he misapplies; in his pursuits far more frequently without diligence, than talents to direct it, or time for their exertion. Proœmium.

Mind is the great presiding principle, that regulates human life (1). If the mind make choice of the road of virtue, and aspire to true glory through that path, of innate imbecillity, or the dominion of accident, there will be no longer any complaint. The human character will then shine forth, in all its lustre, superior to fortune, and independent of her gifts. For over integrity, diligence, and the other qualities, fortune is possessed of no power: She is unable to bestow them, and

she cannot take them away. But if, impelled by appetite, or seduced by passion, the mind ignobly sink under the dominion of sense, vice and indolence impose their fetters, and habit gradually rivets them. Corruption once begun, it soon takes root in the heart. Our vigour relaxes: The flame of genius is extinguished; and time passes away, without improvement. Meanwhile, the frailty of nature is sure to be charged with the train of misery that ensues. Thus it usually happens: Men refer miscarriage in enterprise to any source, rather than to their own misconduct.

Of the extent of our faculties, if diligently exerted, there can be no sort of doubt. Were the same intenseness of effort displayed in the interests of virtue, as we see continually lavished away upon objects, in themselves vain and useless, prosecuted with assiduity, and even in contempt of danger; chance, instead of a capricious tyrant, would be rather an obedient auxiliary, in the journey of life. Mortal, in regard to our existence, we ever must remain; but exertions, such as this, would obtain a glory, which could never die (2).

II. As man, by his constitution, is of a two-fold nature, a compound of soul and body, so all his concerns and pursuits, by consequence, partake either of the one, or of the other. Symmetry, and grace of form, wealth, corporal strength, and the like, being all of the nature of body, soon pass away; but intellectual efforts are immortal, like the brighter archetype, from whence they proceed. Thus, the goods of fortune, and every corporal possession, are necessarily finite, and, as they have their origin, so they also have their period. To exist and to perish, to flourish and to decay, is the fate of sublunary

things: The soul, eternal and incorruptible, is exempt from dissolution. It regulates human action: It pervades, directs, and animates the universe; but itself is free, and cannot be circumscribed by any limits (3).

Such being the condition of mortal existence, how great should be our astonishment at the depravity of those, who, wholly sunk in sensual gratifications, pass their days in sloth, and the habits of luxury? Their rational faculties, meanwhile, of all possessions the noblest and the best, are suffered to lie torpid, without a wish to cultivate, or an effort to exercise them. To dispel this lethargy were a fruitless attempt; vain to point the road to fame, through ingenuity, or works of genius; a field infinitely diversified; in which success will seldom be missed, if we have the ambition of excellence.

III. The honours of the magistracy, and high command, may be regarded as among the chief pursuits, that give a scope to the mental faculties: But they seem not to be any longer the objects of honest ambition. The post of honour has ceased to be the reward of virtue: Nor does it appear that they, who by crooked arts outstrip their rivals, thereby greatly add to their reputation, or enhance their security. To lord it despotically over our country, and our kindred, is, at best, a dangerous pre-eminence. He, who rules, may indeed correct abuses, and usefully labour for the public good; but it must be by a revolution, that he attains his object; and that is but another name for bloodshed, and proscription, and the horrours of civil war. To strive for power, with toil to ourselves, and, in the end, with the certainty of odium from others, is, in my mind, the height of madness. Profligate, as

well as frantic, must be the ambition of him, who, in order to pamper the pride, or promote the aggrandizement of a few, would voluntarily sacrifice his independence and his honour, and every better feeling, that becomes a man (4).

IV. Historical composition displays a field for genius, that lies not open to these objections. On its peculiar utility I forbear to enlarge in this place, as the pens of others, who have so often celebrated it, render my praise superfluous. Besides, I trust, that, in thus declining the task, I may escape the imputation of a vain importance; as highly to extol the historic character, might seem to be pronouncing an indirect eulogium on myself (5).

Notwithstanding the advantages and importance of history, I doubt not but there may be some, sufficiently ready to ascribe my labours to a different cause. I have withdrawn myself from public business, and have, in their judgment, sunk into that indolence, which, in others, I so loudly condemn. According to those cavillers, to salute the multitude, and to court popularity, by feasts and shows, are the sole occupations, worthy the name of active life. But such men should remember, at what period I succeeded in the career of civil dignities. Let them reflect on the persons, then left behind me, in the honourable competition; and, on comparing these with a set of men, who have since found their way into the Senate, it will candidly be acknowledged, that sloth had no share in the determination, and that with good reason I adopted another plan of life. To court retirement was to practise virtue. As for my voluntary seclusion, greater emolument, perhaps, may from thence redound to the common-

wealth, than from the boasted activity, or rather impotent bustle of others, who condemn it.

The moral effect of commemorating past transactions is beyond a doubt. It was observed, by Quintus Maximus, by Publius Scipio, and by others also, whose names have illustrated the republic, that even the contemplation of the images of their ancestors, had a powerful effect, in inciting them to virtue, and to honest fame. Not that the wax itself, or the figure which was impressed upon it, could possess the magic influence. It was the voice of glory, which eloquently spoke through that inanimate substance. It recalled, to the memory, the achievements of a former day: It gave birth to a generous contest with antiquity; a contest, which was, indeed, nobly kept up, and terminated only with the triumphs, and with the equal glory of those excellent Romans.

Would that the spirit had come down from them to the present times!—It is true, with our forefathers we now maintain a successful competition; but it is the competition for wealth and profusion, not for sober industry, or superior virtue. Even new men, who heretofore were wont, by illustrious deeds, to anticipate the nobility, which they justly acquired, find, that the surest road to preferment is not in the paths of honour, but in the arts of cunning, of peculation, and of open fraud. The settled maxim seems to be, that the high offices of Consul, Prætor, and the like, possess, in themselves, a sufficient portion of weight and lustre, and borrow no reflection, whether of vice or virtue, from him who holds them.

On this subject I have dwelt at extraordinary length. Perhaps, I have spoken my mind with too much freedom. I shall only add, it is with grief and indignation, that I trace the

profligacy of Roman manners.—Let us now come to our purpose.

Previous sketch of Numidian history.

V. Of the present History it is the object to record the War, which was waged, by the Romans, with Jugurtha, King of Numidia (6). In the choice of the subject, the author has been guided by two motives: First, because this war in itself was eventful and bloody, and prosecuted, on either side, with various turns of fortune: Secondly, as it forms an era in the history of the republic, when an important blow was first given to the arrogance of the nobility. Of this memorable struggle, between the Nobles and the People, it may truly be said, that it confounded, in its fury, all things divine and human, lighting up a civil war, of which the violence shook the empire, and desolated Italy (7). But, before we enter on this design, it will be proper to ascend to certain occurrences of an earlier date, and connected with the subject, of which the knowledge will tend to throw considerable light upon the subsequent history.

During the Second Punic War, when the Carthaginians, under Hannibal, reduced the power of Italy to a lower ebb, than had ever been effected since the maturity of the empire, Masinissa (8), king of Numidia, was received into the friendship of Rome, by Publius Scipio, the same, who, afterwards, for his glorious achievements, was surnamed Africanus (9). In this war, Masinissa did us faithful service, acquiring, by his valour, a distinguished reputation: On which account, after the overthrow of Carthage, and the captivity of Syphax, whose empire stretched over a vast portion of Africa, Masinissa obtained, from the Roman People, a grant of all the domi-

nions of that prince, which then devolved to them, by right of conquest. From thenceforward, Masinissa's friendship towards us continued sincere and unshaken, and ended not but with his life; the only sovereign of his house, who ever had enjoyed so extensive an empire.

To this prince succeeded Micipsa, his surviving son (10); the two others, Mastanabal and Gulussa, having been cut off by illness. The monarch last mentioned had also issue, Adherbal and Hiempsal; But his nephew Jugurtha, the son of his brother Mastanabal, he brought to court, and educated in every way like the young princes. Being born of a concubine, the youth, it seems, had not been noticed by Masinissa, and was, on that monarch's death, left in the obscurity of a private station (11).

Hopeful character of JUGURTHA.

VI. As Jugurtha grew up to man's estate, he displayed both a robust, and a captivating form; but the endowments of his mind were far more conspicuous. Despising the incitements of indolence and luxury, he was wholly trained up in the Numidian manners. He delighted in the hardy exercises of that nation. He contended, with young men of equal years, in feats of horsemanship, in swiftness of foot, or in throwing the lance; and by all notwithstanding that his superiority was acknowledged, he yet retained their affection. To the manly pursuits of the chace, he likewise dedicated a great portion of his time; constantly the first, or among the first, to wound the lion, and other beasts of prey. In a word, it was Jugurtha's character to be ever foremost in effort, and the last to speak of his own excellence.

In the beginning, Micipsa was delighted and flattered with the aspiring genius of his nephew, and he anticipated the lustre, which talents so splendid would reflect upon his kingdom. But a closer attention to the situation of the man began to open his eyes. He beheld Jugurtha in the flower of youth, with a rising reputation; his own children helpless infants; himself declining into the vale of years.—The picture sunk deep into his mind, and terrified his fancy.—When he revolved the nature of the human heart, he remembered that it is the slave of power; that it is easily dazzled by ambition; that it is headlong in the gratification of its unruly appetites. Besides, what virtue could withstand the seductions of opportunity? Even for moderate minds, self-interest might prove too powerful, presented, as it was here, by his own and his childrens' age, in its most alluring form. To end these doubts by cutting off Jugurtha, were big with danger. He was the idol of the Numidians; and such a stretch of power might excite an insurrection, or plunge the kingdom into a civil war.

He is sent to Numantia.—His popularity in the Roman army.

VII. On every side, the case was full of difficulty. The king, although he beheld his nephew with deep mistrust, was yet convinced, that to remove him would prove every way unsafe, whether by secret practices, or by open violence. But the spirit of Jugurtha, which was prompt and daring, and thirsted for military glory, seemed to furnish means more secure. Under colour of distinction, he might be exposed to dangers in the field; and the rest fortune would perhaps accomplish.

It happened, at this time, that Micipsa was sending to the Romans, then engaged in the siege of Numantia, succours of

horse and foot, which were about to depart for Spain: Accordingly, the young prince was put at the head of the Numidian auxiliaries (12); in the hope, that, ostentatious of his valour, he would soon finish his career, either through the rashness of inexperience, or the fury of the enemy. But these secret expectations the event utterly disappointed.

The genius of Jugurtha was keen and penetrating, as well as ardent in enterprise. No sooner had he arrived at Numantia, than he applied himself to study, with attention, the temper of Publius Scipio, the Roman general (13), no less than that of the enemy. He was diligent and indefatigable in the discharge of duty; prompt and modest in the obedience of orders; and if danger was in question, he was the first to face it. Thus, his fame quickly spread abroad throughout the army; alike the favourite of our men, and the terrour of the Numantians. The fact was, Jugurtha possessed both wisdom in council, and valour in the field, qualities not often united in the same person: For the confidence, which courage supplies, is sometimes damped by foresight; and, sometimes, foresight is overborne by a rashness, which that virtue should restrain.

Scipio was not without a discernment of men. The Numidian prince he soon ranked among his intimate friends, and daily loaded him with proofs of favour and partiality. When a desperate blow was intended to be struck, Jugurtha was sure of employment. Wherever he appeared, fortune seemed to smile; for his advice generally gave earnest of success, and his valour insured it. The munificence, which adorned, and the genius and address, that marked his character, captivated

the Romans, of whom not a few admitted him to their co nfi dence, and lived with him in habits of the closest intimacy.

Memorable advice of Scipio Africanus.

VIII. In our army there were, at that time, a set of men sufficiently numerous, some of antient, and some only of recent nobility, in whose minds the love of wealth predominated over every better principle; one and all of them of a factious spirit; in power at Rome; and among the allies less distinguished for solid worth, than for figure and ascendency. To Jugurtha these men were lavish of their proffers of service; and they dazzled the imagination of a youth, in whose aspiring mind ambition had already begun to take root. From his present condition, they insinuated, to the Numidian throne, the transition was easy, and, on the death of Micipsa, he might mount it, without a rival. In himself, they said, were virtue and talents worthy to reign: At Rome, it was well known, that every thing had its price.

A. U. C. 620. On the reduction of Numantia, Scipio resolved to dismiss the auxiliary forces, and return to Italy. In a military assembly, held previously to his departure, he publicly addressed Jugurtha, extolling his conduct in the highest terms, and loading him with presents. Afterwards, however, he drew him aside into his tent, and privately admonished him, to cultivate the friendship of the Roman People, rather by means of open, and honourable services to the state, than by private influence, however specious. He warned him against the practice of bribery and corruption; emphatically adding, that it ever must be hazardous to purchase from the few, what was the property of the many. Hitherto, he said, Jugurtha had pursued a course of virtue: The bright prospect of honours

lay open before him; and, by the same means, fortune might, in time, conduct him to the possession of the supreme rank. But, if he were in haste to rise through the avarice, and the profligacy of mankind, the gold, in which he should confide, would precipitate him to his ruin. A. U. C. 620.

IX. HAVING thus expressed himself, he dismissed the prince, with a letter to Micipsa, which, in substance, was as follows: "The Numantian war now happily closed, I send back to you "Jugurtha, to whose valour and services it is fit that I bear "testimony. I know that to you this intelligence will be "pleasing. To us all he has endeared himself, by his personal "merit; and we charge ourselves with the task of rendering "him acceptable to the Senate, and to the Roman People. "As a friend, I congratulate you on the possession of a ne-"phew, worthy of yourself, and of his grandfather Masi-"nissa." Jugurtha is adopted by his uncle Micipsa, and associated in the succession to the crown.

The fame, which flies before successful enterprise, had already reached Numidia. Micipsa, when he perceived the voice of rumour to be confirmed by the dispatches of the Roman general, was struck with the intelligence. The merit of his nephew, no less than the ascendency he had acquired, softened his severity, and sentiments of tenderness found admission to his heart. He resolved to overcome Jugurtha by acts of kindness; and, without delay, adopting him as his son, associated him, as heir to the kingdom, equally with the two other princes. A. U. C. 632.

In a few years, the old king declined apace. Oppressed with age, and worn out with infirmity, when he saw his end approaching, he summoned, it is said, to his presence, his

A. U. C. 635. friends and kindred, together with Adherbal and Hiempsal; and, before this assemblage, he addressed Jugurtha, in the following strain.

Address of the old King to his sons, upon his death-bed.

X. "It was while you were yet a child, Jugurtha, that I "undertook to educate you in princely state, and to extend "towards you my royal protection. Destitute alike of pro- "spects, as of fortune, you had then lost your father; and, "being myself without issue at the time (14), I indulged the "pleasing hope, that, as in me you had found a parent, so "gratitude, in your bosom, would supply the place of natural "affection. Nor has that hope, happily, been disappointed. "Fully to enumerate your extraordinary merits were unneces- "sary here. But of late, in the Numantian war, your con- "summate conduct cast a lustre on my kingdom: Through- "out Spain, it has restored the glory of our house; while the "Roman People, from good will towards Numidia, have thus "been warmed into cordiality of friendship. In a word, you "have surmounted the greatest of human difficulties: You "have vanquished envy, and set her venom at defiance.

"For me, as I am about to end my days, I conjure you by "this right-hand, by the faith and honour of a king! transfer, "to these young princes, to whom blood has closely allied "you, who are your brothers, too, by my adoption, the same "affectionate regard, which has been ever manifested to my- "self. Repose not, I beseech you, in strangers that confi- "dence, which, in the breasts of your kindred, would be repaid "with kindness, and grow to a principle of lasting affection. "It is not in armies, nor in treasures, that the true strength, "and bulwark of a kingdom are to be found, but in generous

" attachment. Real friends, my children, force is unable to A. U. C. 635.
" command, gold has no power to purchase: It is kindness
" that must gain, and fidelity that will secure them. But for
" steadfast friendship where shall we seek, if brothers' hearts
" are cold and indifferent? Who is there will place reliance
" on the man, who wars with nature, and abjures his kin-
" dred?—My sons, I am about to leave you an empire, in
" your hands sufficiently stable, if you be virtuous, and love
" one another, but of which your vices, or your enmity will
" sap the foundations. Blessed with concord, even insignifi-
" cant states flourish in prosperity; but the storms of dissen-
" tion overpower the mightiest.

" To you, Jugurtha, I here chiefly address myself. Supe-
" rior in years, as in wisdom, to these raw, and inexperienced
" princes, on your prudent affection much depends. Remem-
" ber, in every contest, that, of the two, the stronger party is
" ever, with the world, the more unpopular: Even although
" he should receive, still he is supposed to commit the injury,
" from the greater power, which he possesses, of aggression.—
" And you, Adherbal and Hiempsal, hear my last injunctions!
" Mark well, and reverence this extraordinary man: On the
" model of his virtues be diligent to form your own charac-
" ter. At all events, I trust, you will give no room for the
" reproach, that my real has been outstripped by my adopted
" offspring (15)."

XI. To this address Jugurtha made answer in a modest strain, corresponding to the occasion; though well aware that the old king dissembled, and, under the mask of affection, disguised the sentiments of his heart. In a few days after,

Death of Micipsa.—Differences between the young Princes.

A. U. C. 635. Micipsa breathed his last. Having interred him with regal magnificence (16), the princes agreed upon a general congress, in which they should deliberate concerning the state of the kingdom, and adjust their respective claims. Hiempsal, the youngest of the three, was of a violent and haughty temper; and having, on former occasions, glanced, with contempt, at the ignoble extraction of Jugurtha by the mother's side, seized this opportunity of mortifying him. He thrust himself down by his brother, thereby occupying the right-hand of the prince, and excluding Jugurtha from the place of honour, which is accounted, likewise, the midst of three in Numidia (17). After much importunity from Adherbal, he was, with difficulty, persuaded to remove, and to give place to superior years.

In this conference, the administration of the government underwent a full discussion. Among other things, a proposition was brought forward by Jugurtha, touching the public acts of the kingdom, and the edicts of Micipsa, importing, that, for five years back, they should all be rescinded. During that period, he said, the deceased monarch had been in a state of dotage, and wholly unequal to the weight of government. To this Hiempsal replied, with quickness, that the scheme had his entire concurrence; and the more particularly, as, within the three last years, his royal father had adopted Jugurtha, and framed the will, by which he had been called to the succession (18). The words were intemperate, and might excite little notice at the time: But the retort, which they conveyed, was keen and sarcastical; and, sinking deep into the bosom of Jugurtha, it gathered rancour for a future day.

Alternately stung with rage, and disquieted with apprehension, the destruction of Hiempsal was planned by him not

long after. To accomplish that object his whole thoughts were bent; and whatever revenge or cunning could devise, was set on foot with secret solicitude. But the arts of circumvention appearing slow in their operation, he determined at once to throw off the mask, and, at all events, to effect his purpose. A. U. C. 635.

XII. In the first conference between the princes, of which I have already made mention, various altercations had arisen. Finding it impossible to reconcile their jarring interests, a distinct division, both of territory and of treasure, was judged expedient, as the only measure, that could restore concord. For both objects a time was fixed, but the latter was to employ an early day: And, in the meanwhile, the princes took up their residence in the neighbourhood of this important deposit, each as accident or inclination prompted. Jugurtha attacks and assassinates Hiempsal. A. U. C. 636.

Hiempsal chose the town of Thirmida; occupying, as it chanced, the house of a person, who had been on service with Jugurtha, as his principal Lictor; a first-rate favourite, and high in his master's confidence. The opportunity was accidental; but it seemed fair for striking a stroke of perfidy, and Jugurtha eagerly embraced it. By a profusion of promises, this man was induced to procure false keys to the house, which, as the owner, he might visit without suspicion; and of the nature of the stratagem no conjecture could arise, as the real keys had been delivered to Hiempsal. When the blow was to be struck, it was concerted, that Jugurtha should himself appear, with an armed force, to make use of the occasion.

A. U. C. 636. The Numidian executed his orders with secrecy and dispatch, and introduced a band of soldiers, under covert of night. The men rushed into the house with fury. They dispersed in every direction, in search of the prince, putting to the sword all who fell in their way. Some were butchered in their sleep; others, while running to and fro, awakened by the tumult. In the search none escaped; as every apartment was burst open, and every corner investigated. Amidst this scene of uproar and carnage, Hiempsal was discovered in the hut of a maid-servant, to which he had fled for shelter, in the commencement of the fray, alarmed for his safety, and ignorant whither he was going. He was immediately dragged forth to execution, by the soldiers, who, agreeably to their instructions, brought his head to Jugurtha (19).

Rupture between Jugurtha and Adherbal.—Defeat of the latter, and his escape to Rome.

XIII. A DEED like this, so flagitious and daring, was quickly rumoured abroad, and filled all Africa with astonishment. The faithful subjects of the late king were, not less than Adherbal, seized with apprehension. The nation split into two factions. In point of numbers, Adherbal had the advantage, but courage and discipline were on the side of his rival. Jugurtha, therefore, perceiving himself not in force, strained every nerve to augment his resources. Some cities declared for him from sentiment; others he reduced by force of arms; and it was obvious that his ambition, being now set loose from common restraints, would grasp at the dominion of all Numidia.

When his brother's murder was made known to Adherbal, he, without delay, dispatched ambassadors to Rome, in order to announce, to the Senate, that tragical event, and the doubtful condition of his own fortunes. Relying, however, on supe-

riority of numbers, he thought he might attempt to make head against the usurper, and trust his fortune to the sword. An action ensued: But Adherbal was totally routed; and escaping from the field of battle, into the Roman Province (20). made the best of his way from thence to Rome. A.U.C. 636. A.U.C. 637.

Jugurtha was now arrived at the summit of his wishes. He had obtained possession of the Numidian throne; but the season of reflection on his crimes was at hand. The storm which, from the vengeance of the Romans, he clearly saw, must soon gather round his head, inspired him with terrour; while his sole resource lay, in the avarice of the nobility, and the promised efficacy of the treasures he possessed. In a few days, therefore, ambassadors were sent off to Rome, loaded with gold and silver; with instructions, first, to revive, by liberality, the attachment of his former friends; next, to gain over others; and, lastly, to be diligent in their efforts, as long as the prince's interest could in any wise be strengthened, or a hand was open to receive a bribe.

When the ambassadors arrived at Rome, they made their approaches to his friends with the most splendid presents, overpowering, with their munificence, not only the Numantian connections of the prince, but also many others of the same temper, who, at that period, could command a party in the Senate. This mode of persuasion produced its effect. Instead of the merited odium, with which the name of Jugurtha was at first loaded, he soon rose in the esteem, and acquired the favour of the nobility. Already many persons of that order had tasted his bounty; others hoped to share it; and both strenuously united, in canvassing the rest of the Senate, with the view to procure a mild decision. When the Numi-

A. U. C. 637. dian emissaries thought their partizans sufficiently in force, a certain day was appointed to both parties, when the cause should obtain a hearing before the house; on which occasion, as we learn, Adherbal opened his complaint, to the following effect.

Speech of Adherbal, in the Roman Senate.

XIV. "My father Micipsa, CONSCRIPT FATHERS, with his "dying breath enjoined me, to consider the kingdom of Numidia as mine in respect to the administration only, but "that the supreme dominion, and the rightful sovereignty "were vested in you (21). With earnestness he commanded "me, to make the interests of the Roman People the fixed "standard of my conduct, whether in peace, or in war; to regard them as my kinsmen; to love them as my relations; "confidently assuring me, that in your friendship I should "find wealth, and arms, and every support that might be "needful for the dignity and honour of a crown. These admonitions sunk deep into my heart, and I resolved to adopt "them as my rule of life. But scarcely had my father closed "his eyes, when Jugurtha, the most profligate, and abandoned "of mankind, unexpectedly attacked me, stripped me of my "possessions, and drove me from my kingdom.—This atrocious "act is in the face of your authority; the victim an unhappy "prince, boasting that he is the ally, the hereditary friend of "Rome, the grandson, and successor of Masinissa!

"Would to heaven! Conscript Fathers, while I thus sue "for aid, that I could implore it for services, which myself, "and not my ancestors, had rendered to the commonwealth. "Pierced, as I am, to the quick, and doomed to witness a "scene of calamity, would that I had merited the gratitude of

" Rome, without wanting her protection; or, if I did, that A. U. C. 637.
" I could have claimed it as my due, in the hour of dis-
" tress! As it is, I greatly fear, that virtue stands in need
" of a broader shield, than that of innocence, to protect it.
" Unable to turn Jugurtha's heart, or to restrain his violence,
" I have appealed to the tribunal of a Roman Senate; to
" which, with a singular infelicity, I am thus compelled to be
" a burden, before I have an opportunity to give an earnest of
" my services. Of other monarchs it has been the fortune,
" after yielding to the arms of Rome, to obtain her friendship,
" or they have sought her protection, from the storms of ad-
" versity. It was that memorable struggle of the republic,
" with the power of Carthage, which first witnessed the attach-
" ment of our family; a period when Numidia was a name
" of some value, and Roman honour was of greater account,
" than the Roman fortunes. Conscript Fathers; behold the
" offspring of those disinterested princes! It is on your gene-
" rosity, and their services, that he now presumes to rest his
" suit.

XV. " YET, had I no other plea to advance, than misfor-
" tune, that alone were of power to touch the hardest heart.
" But yesterday a king, illustrious in lineage, with an army at
" my devotion; flourishing in all the splendour of wealth and
" power:—To-day, precipitated from that high estate; for-
" lorn, destitute, and sunk in misery, I am come a wretched
" suppliant, for the bounty of others! In such a case, never-
" theless, it were worthy of the Roman name to prevent op-
" pression, and, by doing justice upon the guilty, to check the
" growth of power, built on systematic wickedness. It is by

A. U. C. 637. "that wickedness, that I am now an exile from territories, re-
"ceived by my ancestors, at the hands of the Roman People;
"out of which my father and grandfather, in conjunction with
"their armies, drove Syphax and the Carthaginians. Thus,
"Conscript Fathers, are your benefits torn from me: In the
"injuries, which I sustain, are you vilely insulted!

"Alas! wretch that I am! are these the fruits of Micipsa's
"generosity? Couldst thou but look up, venerable parent,
"and behold the monster, cherished by thee with a partial
"affection, nay associated with thy offspring in the possession
"of the kingdom, now their most envenomed foe, their unna-
"tural murderer!—Shall our family never taste the sweets of
"repose? Shall blood, and exile, and the devouring sword
"be its continual portion?

"While the Carthaginian empire yet flourished, we endured
"calamities of every species. The enemy were on our fron-
"tiers, you, our only allies, at a distance: But we faced the
"danger, and found a resource in our arms and valour. After
"this faithless nation was expelled from Africa, a lucid interval
"of tranquillity succeeded. Numidia rejoiced in the calm, as
"knowing no foe, while Rome was without a quarrel to avenge.
"When lo! on a sudden, Jugurtha arose; fierce, insolent,
"and breathing destruction! His career opened with the
"murder of my ill-fated brother, his own near relation, whose
"kingdom fell the recompence of that horrid fratricide. For
"myself, although I avoided his snares, and narrowly escaped
"a similar catastrophe, I was too soon assailed with war and
"violence; evils which, under your protection were the least
"to be apprehended: And cruelly driven, as you now behold
"me, from my native home, exposed alike to want and dere-

" liction, I grieve to find, that any spot of earth affords a se- A. U. C. 637.
" curer refuge, than my own kingdom!

XVI. " OFTENTIMES, Conscript Fathers, have I heard my " father declare, and from him I have imbibed a reliance on " the sentiment, that they, who undertook to obtain your " friendship, undertook, indeed, a task of difficulty; but, that " once accomplished, they were of all men the most secure " from insult. The attachment of our family to the Roman " cause has to the utmost been tried; in all your wars a willing " ally, and ready, in your service, to encounter every danger. " It is for you, Conscript Fathers, since those wars have ceased, " to give to Numidia the blessings of security.

" My father left behind him but two sons. Jugurtha, the " third by adoption, he fondly hoped, would by kindness be " softened to attachment, and that fraternal affection would " take root in his heart. Need I add what followed?—*Of* " those three one is basely murdered: I myself have, with " difficulty, escaped from the other's dagger!—Wretch that I " am! whither shall I turn me? what course shall I pursue? " The natural connections of our house are no more: My " father, through age, paid the debt to nature: My brother " fell by the stroke of an assassin, as unnatural as he is im- " pious! As for my other friends, connections, or relations, " they have all perished by various disasters. Some, seized " by Jugurtha, expired upon the cross; and some were ex- " posed by him to the fury of wild beasts. The few, whose " lives he spared, with an exquisite malignity, were cast into " dungeons, debarred from the light of the sun: There they

A. U. C. 637. "linger out their days in misery, a doom far more wretched "than death itself.

"Were I in possession, Conscript Fathers, of all that I have "lost; were my fallen fortunes in their meridian splendour, "and my antient adherents still standing by my side; it is to "you I should resort, on any sudden emergency; to you who, "from the majesty of Rome, should be arbiters among the "nations, whether in the redress of wrongs, or in the distribu- "tion of justice. But for an unhappy exile, a miserable out- "cast from his native soil, abandoned by all, stripped of the "comforts, nay the decencies of his condition, whither can he "fly? to what power can he turn for protection? Can he "implore the states, and princes of Africa, by your partial "friendship envenomed against him? Into what territories "can he enter, without being reproached with monuments of "Numidian hostility, in the Roman cause? In a word, is "there a man, who has been hostile to you, and can yet be "melted with compassion for Adherbal?

XVII. "Conscript Fathers; from Masinissa we had it "in command, and he bequeathed it to his children, as a va- "luable legacy, to cultivate the friendship of none but the "Romans. Every other alliance, or political connection, we "were taught by him to reject, with a firm indifference. In "your friendship, he said, there was an ample defence: And, "should fortune decree the downfal of the empire, Numidia "must perish by the same blow. But your power and gran- "deur know no symptoms of decay, protected by valour, and "sustained by wisdom, no less than by the favour of the im- "mortal Gods. Fortune yet smiles on Rome; and, as the

" world yields an obedience to her power, so, on that account, A. U. C. 637.
" she can the more easily avenge the wrongs, and redress
" the grievances of her faithful allies.

" One thing alone I have here cause to apprehend, and that
" is, the intrigues of Jugurtha. Some persons may be partial
" to him through private friendship; and, as they little know,
" they may therefore be misled by that subtle traitor. Duped
" by his arts, as I am informed, they strain every nerve in his
" cause: They canvass, with diligence, this assembly: They
" importune every one of you not to prejudge a question, in
" which the party accused is unheard and absent. In respect
" to myself, they say, I frame an artful story; I detail the
" miseries of a fictitious affliction: Under colour of sustain-
" ing violence, I have abandoned Africa, when I might still
" have continued in the possession of my crown. Would to
" heaven I but beheld that monster, whose foul machinations
" have wrought my ruin, deploring calamities not less imagi-
" nary! Would that the immortal Gods, or that you, their
" vice-gerents, were at length touched with human misery!
" So might he, who is now permitted to triumph in his crimes,
" expiate by severe, but just retribution, his black ingratitude
" to Micipsa, my brother's murder, and the too real woes,
" which I experience.

" O my lost, my much loved brother! who wast, in the
" bloom of life, cut off by treachery, and that treachery, be-
" cause it was unnatural, therefore little suspected! Thy fate
" was, indeed, untimely: But to repine at it were unjust, as
" it was happiness to die. With thy life, it is true, thou didst
" resign a crown; but thou escapedst the calamities, that were
" reserved for Adherbal, those of flight, and exile, and poverty;

A.U.C. 637. "for such is the cup, which has been my portion (22). Pre-
"cipitated from a throne, the inheritance of my fathers; a
"dismantled king; I furnish a monument of the instability of
"human greatness.—Thus destitute, how shall I vindicate a
"brother's wrongs? Holding existence itself by the will of
"others, by what effort shall I provide for my kingdom?

"O that in death, the best refuge of affliction, I could hope
"to find an honourable asylum! O that on that peaceful
"shore I could shun the storm, and, with it, the disgrace of
"sinking under a load of injury and insult! Circumstanced
"as I am, to die with honour is impossible; and for me life
"has lost its attractions.—Conscript Fathers; by yourselves I
"conjure you! by your parents; by your dear children; by
"the name and majesty of the Roman empire, hear, and aid
"me! It is for you to avenge my just wrongs; to snatch
"from ruin a kingdom, which is rightfully yours. Suffer not,
"I beseech you, the Numidian crown to be worn by a usurper,
"nor sullied by his crimes, and the blood of our family (23)!"

Shameless venality of the Nobles.—Success of Jugurtha's intrigues.—Character of Æmilius Scaurus.

XVIII. When the king had thus made an end of speaking, Jugurtha's emissaries offered a short reply. Trusting more to the influence of their gold, than to the strength of their cause, they merely stated; "That the Numidians, and not Jugurtha,
"were chargeable with the murder of Hiempsal, whose cruel
"disposition had provoked his fate. As to Adherbal, he had
"been wholly the aggressor, in the late troubles. Vanquished
"in arms, which he himself had taken up, he had thought fit
"to come to Rome with his complaint of injuries, because,
"forsooth, he was not suffered to commit them with impunity.
"In regard to himself, Jugurtha humbly requested of the

"Senate, that they would only permit his conduct at Numan- A. U. C. 637.
"tia to speak for him; nor lay less stress on a renown fairly
"acquired, than on the declamation of an enemy, however
"specious." Both parties then withdrew, and the business was taken into consideration by the Fathers.

The faction in the Senate, which espoused the cause of the ambassadors, and many others, corrupted by their influence, were ready to act their part. They began with making light of Adherbal's distresses: They warmly painted forth the fame and merit of Jugurtha; and laboured, by vociferation, by vehemence, and by every means in their power, to make an impression; as zealously becoming the advocates of the guilt and infamy of another, as if their own fame and reputation had been at stake. But truth and honour were not wholly extinguished. A few, superior to corruption, endeavoured to stem the torrent. They moved a spirited decree, purporting to grant instant succours to Adherbal; and to call, to a severe account, the authors of Hiempsal's death.

Of these measures Æmilius Scaurus (24) was the chief promoter. Active, bold, and turbulent, he was a man distinguished by his high descent, and by an eagerness to grasp at wealth, and power, and public honours. He possessed withal an address so consummate, as completely enabled him to restrain his appetites, and to disguise his vices. Scaurus had perceived the imprudence of Jugurtha's emissaries, in scattering their bribes, without either moderation or concealment. It was to be apprehended, that, as it happened in similar cases, public odium would follow. He therefore resolved to steer clear of the temptation, and to sacrifice, to prudence, the secret wishes of his heart.

A. U. C. 637. Commissioners appointed to divide Numidia between the Princes.—Corrupt conduct of Opimius.

XIX. In the Senate, however, the voice of honour was drowned, by the clamours of a mercenary, and pernicious influence. A decree passed, for the appointment of ten Commissioners, who should be empowered to divide, equally between Jugurtha and Adherbal, the dominions, which had been in the possession of the late king. At the head of this commission appeared Lucius Opimius (25), a man of principal figure and ascendency, and, at the time, a leading member of the Senate: For during his Consulship it was, that both Caius Gracchus, and Marcus Fulvius Flaccus were cut off; and a shock so severe to the popular interest, Opimius had improved with extraordinary zeal and activity.

A. U. C. 638. Jugurtha, although he had every reason, at Rome, to regard this man as among the number of his friends, yet received him, on landing in Africa, with the most ceremonious respect. But secret means were likewise set to work: Splendid presents, and lavish promises followed. Duty, reputation, every better principle gave way; and the whole conduct of Opimius was so shaped, as entirely to coincide with the king's interests. By similar methods, approaches were made to the other commissioners, whose virtue, for the most part, made a feeble resistance. A few only were proof against the allurements of gold, and disdained to forfeit the honour of their character.

In the partition of the kingdom, the districts bordering on Mauritania, the richer in point of soil and population, were assigned to Jugurtha. Adherbal's division, which comprehended the other half of Numidia, was more splendid in buildings, and more commodious with sea-ports; and, although more beautiful, it was more defenceless, and of less solid value.

By the nature of my undertaking I am here naturally led to give some account of the situation of Africa, and of the various nations, whose origin and history, in the course of alliances or wars, have come to our knowledge. Of the other parts of that vast continent, of which there is no certain information, it is by no means my intention to speak. Some regions, by reason of the intense heats, are thinly inhabited, some, on account of a surface, which is rocky and barren, while others present nothing but a dreary solitude. The most known, and best peopled parts, of which I am to treat, shall, however, be described with all possible brevity (26). A. U. C. 638.

XX. In the geographical division of the globe, it is usual to reckon three continents, among which Africa occupies the third place: A few writers, indeed, have reckoned two only, Asia and Europe, including Africa in the latter (27). The extent of Africa to the west, is as far as the straits, which form the communication between our sea and the ocean; to the east, to a region of great declivity, called, by the natives, Catabathmos (28). The sea of Africa is tempestuous, with few harbours on the coast: The soil is rich, productive of grain, and kindly to cattle, but unpropitious to the growth of timber. Here showers of rain seldom descend, and few springs are to be found: Add to this, that noxious animals of many kinds infest the country. The natives are robust, healthy, patient of toil, and able to run with extraordinary swiftness. Diseases among this people are rarely fatal. If we except those, who perish by the sword, or are devoured by beasts of prey, they, for the most part, enjoy a length of days, and, at last, through age, drop into the grave (29). Description and colonization of Africa.

A.U.C. 638. In regard to the original planting of Africa, authors are not agreed. The account, which I am now to give, of the early colonists, the accessions to their numbers, and their various intermixtures and connections with one another, differs, it is true, from the reports generally prevalent (30): But the celebrated Carthaginian Books, said to have belonged to King Hiempsal (31), to which I had access, are the source of my information, and of which the tenour entirely coincides with the belief concerning their descent, still current among the natives. For the authenticity of the relation, I pretend not to vouch. Having stated to the reader my authority, he is left at freedom to judge for himself.

Gætuli and Libyans.

XXI. The Gætuli and the Libyans (32), as it appears, were the first nations, that peopled Africa; a rude and savage race, subsisting partly on the flesh of wild beasts, and partly, like cattle, on the herbs of the field. Among those barbarous tribes, social intercourse was unknown, and they were utter strangers to laws, or to civil government. Wandering, during the day, from place to place, as inclination prompted; at night, wherever chance conducted them, there they took up their transient habitation. After the death of Hercules (33) in Spain, agreeably to the notion of the Africans concerning that hero, his army soon dwindled away; a heterogeneous mass, made up of different nations, without a leader, and filled with ambitious chiefs, each aspiring to erect for himself an independent sovereignty. A division of this body, consisting of Medes, Persians, and Armenians (34), sailed over, as it is said, to Africa, and seized on the hithermost shores of the Mediterranean.

Medes, Persians, and Armenians.

The district nearest to the ocean fell to the lot of the Persians: And as the country was destitute of materials for building, they had recourse, for habitations, to the hulls of their ships, with the keel turned upwards; a natural device in an uncultivated people, who were without the possibility of purchasing wood from the Spaniards, or yet of obtaining it by barter, for other commodities. The extent of the sea, which washed their coast, and an unacquaintance with the language of the nations beyond it, were sufficient checks to commerce, in this early period. In process of time, these tribes intermarried, and were mingled with the Gætuli: And, from a habit of rambling from place to place, in order to make trial of different soils and situations, they called themselves Numidians (35). Of these remote events, the cottages of the Numidian peasant still furnish evidence. They are known, in the language of the country, by the name of *Mapalia* (36), and retain, to this day, the oblong figure, closely following the model of a ship's bottom; while the roof slopes, with a gentle curvature, from the top of the ridge, to the extremity of the sides. A. U. C. 638 Numidians.

The Medes and Armenians, on the other hand, received the accession of the Libyans to their community; for the latter nation dwelt nearer to the African sea; while of the Gætuli the seats lay more towards the sun, not far from the burning heats of the torrid zone. The Libyans also greatly outstripped their neighbours in cultivation, and were able to cover their country with towns and villages; for, being separated from the Spaniards only by a narrow strait, an interchange of commodities with that nation certainly took place at an early period. By degrees, the name of Medi was corrupted to Mauri (37), in the barbarous dialect of Libya. M

A. U. C. 638. But to return to the Persians: Their affairs soon assumed a flourishing aspect. Under the appellation of Numidians, the community overflowed with inhabitants, and poured its redundant numbers over the districts round Carthage, which, from that migration, were called Numidia. Firmly supported by each other, the colony and parent state were soon able to extend their empire over the adjoining districts. Some they reduced by force of arms, and others they awed, by terrour, to obedience; adding, to wealth and power, the glory of military reputation. Of those, however, who pushed their conquests to the shores of our sea, the success was the most rapid. The Libyans, in that quarter their adversaries, were an unwarlike race; but the fiercer spirit of the Gætuli, towards the south, made a vigorous resistance. In process of time, the whole of lower Africa yielded to the Numidian arms; and the conquered country, from the one extremity to the other, received the name, together with the laws, of its new masters.

Phœnicians. XXII. After these events, the Phœnicians landed in Africa (38). Numbers at home accidentally multiplied, joined to the thirst of independent power, and foreign conquest, impelled the leaders; while the populace, together with such as were desirous of novelty, helped to compose the expeditions. Hippo, Adrumentum, and Leptis (39), besides other places on the coast, were, in consequence, built by them; and so rapid was the growth of these colonies, that some have been able to support, and some have reflected a lustre on, the states from Carthage. which they sprung (40). Of Carthage, in this place, I judge it better to say nothing, than, by too slight a notice, among other objects that claim attention, to tarnish the lustre of a city so celebrated (41).

Proceeding towards Catabathmos, the point of partition between Africa and Egypt, the first place, that we find on the sea-coast, is Cyrene, a Greek colony from Thera (42). Next to Cyrene lie the two Syrtes (43), with Leptis situated between them; and then the Altars of the Philni (44); which last place was held as the boundary of the Carthaginian empire, on the side of Egypt. To these succeed some other towns, also belonging to the same people. The rest of that vast tract, stretching from thence, as far as Mauritania, is possessed by the Numidians (45); and the Mauri have the region, which is over against the Spanish coast. At the back of Numidia the Gætuli are reported to inhabit; a savage tribe, of which a part only make use of huts; while the rest, less civilized, lead a roving life, without restraint, or fixed habitations. Beyond the Gætuli is the country of the Æthiopians; and after this the deserts of the torrid zone, which are scorched by the rays of a vertical sun (46). In most of the places, which belonged to Carthage, we had officers, who, with commissions from Rome, administered the government, at the time of the Jugurthine war. Then, also, a great part of the Gætulian nation, and Numidia, as far as the river Mulucha (47), were subject to Jugurtha. Over all Mauritania, Bocchus swayed the sceptre; a prince unacquainted, except by name, with the Romans, and to us equally unknown, until the above mentioned period, either as a friend, or an enemy.—I will here close the account of Africa and its inhabitants; having, I trust, said enough concerning either, to answer the objects of the present history.

A. U. C. 638.

Æthiopia.—Division of Africa at the time of the Jugurthine War.

XXIV. The ten commissioners, having, by the division of the Numidian kingdom, fulfilled their instructions, departed from

Jugurtha invades Adherbal's territo-

rics.—Siege of Cirta. A. U. C. 638.

Africa. Jugurtha rejoiced to see, that, instead of the pains and penalties, which he had dreaded, he was fairly in possession of the wages of his guilt. The assertion of his friends at the siege of Numantia, that "every thing at Rome had its price," seemed now to be confirmed by his own experience; and, inflamed by the promises of those, whom, by means of his gold, he had so successfully corrupted, he began to look on the kingdom of Adherbal with an evil eye. The contrast of his own, with the character of that amiable prince, added powerful incentives. He himself was active, and skilled in arms; while Adherbal was mild, and utterly unwarlike. Distinguished by a meekness, which almost invited oppression, it was sufficiently plain, that, however he might experience, he never could be an object to inspire terrour.

A. U. C. 639.

Having drawn together a body of troops, he made a sudden irruption into Adherbal's territories. All, who were met by this disorderly band, were instantly secured. Houses were burnt to the ground; flocks, herds, and other booty were carried off, as lawful prey; while a party of horse scoured the country, spreading terrour and destruction wheresoever they went. This exploit performed, he retired with his followers, in order to wait the event. He was in hopes that Adherbal would be roused to revenge; and, having recourse to arms to repair the insult, that open hostilities would consequently ensue. But the prince felt that war was not his element. He was distrustful of the firmness of his Numidians; and he clearly saw, that his best strength lay in the protection of the Roman People. On sending deputies, therefore, to Jugurtha, to remonstrate on the late outrages, although the answer was in a style of derision and insolence, yet, admonished as he felt by past experience, it was his resolution rather to smother his

resentment, and submit to any indignity, than again appeal to the decision of the sword. A calm forbearance, however, tended to inflame, rather than allay the rapacity of Jugurtha, who already, in imagination, swallowed up the possessions of his rival. Instead of a band of freebooters, he now brought into the field a powerful army, aspiring, without disguise, to the sovereignty of all Numidia. Wherever he appeared, he carried devastation: The country was laid waste; the towns were surrendered to the pillage of his troops; who, amidst these outrages, exulted with confidence, while a general panic overspread the dominions of Adherbal. A. U. C. 639.

XXIV. That prince now plainly perceived, that nothing was left but the alternative of either relinquishing his crown, or resolving to maintain it by force of arms. Yielding to necessity, he drew to his standard a body of troops, and appeared in force against Jugurtha. The two armies came in sight of each other near the sea-coast, close by the town of Cirta (48): But, as it was the close of evening, they both pitched their camp, putting off, till the following day, the decision of the contest. Jugurtha, in the mean time, concerted a plan for storming the enemy's entrenchments. Some time after midnight, and just as the day began to dawn, on a preconcerted signal, the attack was commenced, and the enemy taken by surprise. Some were scarcely awake; others endeavoured to seize their arms, and form in their ranks; but the whole were soon put to the rout. The prince himself, attended only by a few horsemen, made his escape to Cirta; and so close was the pursuit, that, had not a number of Romans, who chanced to be in the place, lent their assistance, A. U. C. 646.

A. U. C. 640. and hindered the victorious party from gaining the walls of the town, one and the same day had witnessed the commencement, and the termination of the war.

Jugurtha, on this, resolved to besiege the place. Towers, and battering engines of every sort, were advanced against the works, and moving pent-houses, constructed for the protection of the assailants (49). By pressing the siege with vigour, he was anxious that the place should fall, before the return of the Ambassadors, whom he heard had, previously to the engagement, been dispatched to Rome.

No sooner was it made known to the Senate, that in Numidia the flame of war was again lighted up, than three persons, all young men of rank, were deputed to the princes. They had it in command to intimate to both, that it was the pleasure of the Senate and Roman People, that they should lay down their arms. If they had any differences to settle, or grievances to be redressed, calm discussion was every way preferable to armed violence. As to themselves, their conduct was unbecoming, and it was derogatory, moreover, to the dignity of Rome.

Three Deputies dispatched to Africa.—Pressing application of Adherbal to Rome.

XXV. The deputies made the best of their way to Africa; and their journey was hastened by the circumstance, that, previously to their departure, the rumour of the late action, and of the siege of Cirta, had been circulated at Rome; but no pains were spared to soften every circumstance. Jugurtha, having admitted them to his presence, and heard their address, entered on a studied vindication of his conduct, decorated with professions of attachment to the Senate, and the profoundest respect for its authority. He appealed to the tenour

of his life from his youth up, which had, he said, been a course of virtue, and dedicated to the pursuit of honest fame. It was by these arts, he observed, and not by such baseness as was imputed to him, that he had found favour in the sight of Publius Scipio, that illustrious Roman. From similar conduct, also, and from no want of descendants of his own, had Micipsa, the late king, associated him with his children, as heir to the kingdom. Yet, conscious of rectitude, and manifest as his merit was thus to the world, injuries, perhaps, he might the less easily brook, as, on his part, they were the more unmerited. Attempts, of the blackest kind, had been made upon his life, by Adherbal; and those being brought to light, his own security was the sole object he had in view. In the Roman People, it would be a stretch of power equally cruel and unjust, if they debarred him the privilege of self-defence, the common right of all mankind. He concluded with an assurance, that ambassadors, on his part, should, without delay, be dispatched to Rome, fully instructed touching every point in dispute. Thus the conference ended; but without the deputies being able to obtain admission to Adherbal. A. U. C. 640.

Jugurtha remained no longer quiet, than he thought the ambassadors had time to be out of Africa. To carry Cirta by assault seemed a fruitless attempt, on account of the natural strength of the place (50): He, therefore, was forced to turn the siege into a blockade; enclosing the works with a rampart and a ditch, and securing the whole with towers firmly constructed, and manned with troops. Night and day his vigilance was the same. Sometimes he worked by stratagem, and, sometimes, he acted with sudden vigour. At one moment, he tampered with the garrison, in the hope of seducing them

A. U. C. 640. from their duty; at another, he attempted to work upon their fears; ever animating the courage of his own men, and skilfully marking every circumstance, that might be improved to his advantage, or turned to the annoyance of the enemy.

By these efforts, Adherbal was reduced to the last extremity, and all hope of protracting the war vanished from his mind. He was without the prospect of succour from abroad; in want of provisions of every sort; and the enemy was implacable, and bent on his ruin. In this crisis, he addressed himself to two of the boldest, and most active of his adherents, the companions of his flight to Cirta; who, touched with sympathy for the misfortunes of their prince, and tempted by the promise of a vast reward, which he held out to them, undertook to make their way, in the dead of night, through the enemy's lines, and, reaching the coast, instantly to put to sea, and proceed to Rome. Success attended the attempt. The Numidians, in a few days, faithfully executing their orders, dispatches
A. U. C. 641. from Adherbal were laid before the Senate, and they proved to be to the following purport.

His Letter to the Senate.

XXVI. "CONSCRIPT FATHERS; impute it not to my "fault, that I thus frequently importune you, but to the true "cause, the relentless persecution of Jugurtha. To compass "my destruction is the first wish of his heart; and it is now but "too evident, that nothing less than the blood of an unhappy "prince can satiate a fury, unawed by the fear of the Gods, "and utterly regardless of your high displeasure. Almost "five months have elapsed, since by this cruel foe I am "held in close blockade. Gratitude to my father Micipsa "is long since dismissed from his thoughts; and he laughs

" alike at your decrees, and at my prerogative, as a friend and A. U. C. 641.
" ally of the Roman People. On the one hand, famine stares
" me in the face; on the other, the rage of a sanguinary ene-
" my: Which of the two is the more dreadful, I am at a loss
" to determine.

" Amidst the gloom of depression, I own, I feel little
" anxious to enlarge on the subject of Jugurtha: Sad expe-
" rience has already taught me, how little credit is given to a
" tale of misfortune. I will just observe, that deeper designs,
" than my ruin, lie lurking at his heart; and, erelong, the
" mask will assuredly drop off. Meanwhile, my kingdom,
" and the favour of Rome, he cannot both hope to possess:
" To which he gives the preference, no man can doubt. From
" the opening of his career, and the foul assassination of my
" brother Hiempsal, to the period of my own expulsion from
" the inheritance of my ancestors, you, it is true, were not
" directly implicated: In a scene of blood and outrage,
" we were the only sufferers. But mark what followed. A
" kingdom, held by your authority, was overrun and subject-
" ed; myself, your viceroy in that kingdom, closely besieged;
" and the deputies from the Senate amused with empty pro-
" fessions, and, in the end, treated with contempt. These are
" the exploits of Jugurtha! What then remains, but to bridle
" his fury, by the strong hand of power?

" Would, Conscript Fathers, that I could be justly charged
" with counterfeiting affliction! Would that the facts, that I
" now state, or those which I formerly set forth in the Senate,
" were the mere work of fancy, rather than that their proof
" should be found, in the cruelty of my sufferings! Living,
" as I do, a monument to the world of Jugurtha's crimes, I

A. U. C. 641. "forbear, from henceforward, to deprecate calamity, or the "stroke of death: I implore only the boon of being snatch- "ed, ere it be too late, from the vengeance of a foe, and to "close my days, without the tortures he has prepared for me! "As for the kingdom of Numidia, Conscript Fathers, it is "your own: Decide concerning it according to your plea- "sure: But me I conjure you to rescue from his impious hands, "by the majesty of the empire, by the ties of friendship! "And by the services of our house, I may also add; if in your "bosoms a spark of attachment yet remain, to the memory of "Masinissa."

Fresh Deputies sent to Jugurtha, with Scaurus at their head.

XXVII. This letter being read in the Senate, a motion was made, and supported by a considerable party, to send an army instantly into Africa, with orders to push forward to the support of Adherbal, and the relief of Cirta; reserving, meanwhile, for the consideration of the Fathers, the flagrant contumacy of Jugurtha, who, notwithstanding the prohibition of the deputies, still kept the field. To these salutary counsels violent opposition was made, by the leaders of the king's faction, who laboured, with all their might, to ward off, or at least to soften, so fatal a decision. Thus, as it often happens, the honour of the commonwealth fell a sacrifice to corrupt machinations, and to private interest.

Fresh deputies, however, were put into commission for Africa; grave and elderly persons of illustrious rank, and who had filled the highest offices of the state; among which number was Marcus Scaurus, whose character I have already touched, a man of Consular dignity, and, at that time, Prince of the Senate. The fact was, the Numidian business had come

under a cloud of suspicion: And the deputies, being pressed by the earnest solicitations of the messengers of Adherbal, were prevailed on to embark within three days, and, after a quick passage, landed at Utica (51). From that place, they dispatched letters to Jugurtha, desiring his immediate presence in the Roman Province, whither they had come to confer with him, on the part of the Senate. A. U. C. 641.

Jugurtha, when he found, that men of high descent, and said to be, at Rome, of the foremost consequence, were sent manifestly to counteract his designs, was, on the first impulse, greatly agitated. Fear and ambition alternately distracted him, at the same moment. On the one hand, to call in question the authority of the Senate, by disregarding their representatives, were big with danger: On the other, his heart, goaded on by evil desires, urged him to improve the present juncture, and strike a decisive blow. At last, terrour yielded, and his natural bias to rapacity surmounted every scruple. His army was now ordered to prepare for an assault. The town was furiously assailed in different quarters, at the same moment, with the hope, that, by thus causing a division of the force of the enemy, vigour, or stratagem, or accident, perhaps, co-operating with both, might at last enable him to carry the works. But every nerve was strained without effect. Baffled in his scheme of getting possession of Adherbal's person, previously to the interview with the deputies, and not daring, by detaining them any longer, to exasperate Scaurus, whom he most dreaded, he passed into the Province, attended only by a small body-guard of horse.

In the conference, that succeeded, the commissioners went at large into the case of Jugurtha's contumacy, in not desisting

A. U. C. 641. from the siege; and they expressed the sentiments of the Senate, which were in a high tone of indignation and displeasure. But, after much time being wasted in discussion, the meeting broke up, without coming to any conclusion, and the deputies, in consequence, took their departure to Italy.

Capitulation of Cirta, and death of Adherbal.

XXVIII. At Cirta, the result of the negociation was soon known to the garrison. The Italians, by whose valour alone the siege had been spun out, began to think in good time of providing for their safety; trusting, that, if a capitulation were brought about, the name of Roman citizens would yet protect them. To Adherbal they represented, that no course was now left, but to surrender at discretion, only taking care, that sufficient security should be given for his life: As for all other matters, they might safely be trusted to the wisdom and justice of the Senate. The unhappy Prince, to whom any thing was more desirable, than a reliance on the honour of Jugurtha, was obliged to comply; and, being in the hands of men, who had the power to enforce what they so earnestly recommended, the capitulation was made, agreeably to their wishes. By Jugurtha's order, Adherbal was instantly hurried to execution, and expired on the rack (52). A general massacre followed. All the Numidians of a manly age were put to the sword; and the merchants, without distinction, who were found with arms in their hands, shared a similar fate.

Declaration of war against Jugurtha.—The command given to Calpurnius Bestia.

XXIX The intelligence of these events being conveyed to Rome, the subject was warmly debated in the Senate. The venal tools of the Numidian king were no less active, than on former occasions; and, by interest with their friends, by cavil-

ling at the forms, and throwing obstacles in the way of the proceedings, they endeavoured to gain time, and, as far as possible, to soften the atrocity of his guilt. Open and incontestable as the facts were, had it not been for Caius Memmius (53), one of the Tribunes of the People for the ensuing year, there is little doubt but that the prince's money and corrupt influence had completely triumphed. The business being drawn into a tedious length, public odium would have died away, and the enquiry fallen to the ground. Memmius was possessed of no mean talents for intrigue. He detested the overbearing spirit of the nobility: And, by means of his speeches, he made it clear to the people, that an inconsiderable faction had set on foot a scheme, to veil Jugurtha's crimes from the public eye; and, in the end, to skreen him from justice. A. U. C. 641.

The Senate, conscious that purity of motives made no part of their praise, dreaded the storm of popular fury, which was beginning to gather. They made haste to comply with the terms of the Sempronian law (54); and, by a nomination of the provinces to the future Consuls, Italy and Numidia were entered on the list. At the Comitia, which succeeded, Publius Scipio Nasica, and Lucius Bestia Calpurnius (55) being declared duly elected, Italy fell to the lot of the former, and the latter obtained Numidia. Levies for the army, designed for Africa, immediately commenced, accompanied with a vote of credit, for its equipment and support, and for answering every exigency of the approaching war. A. U. C. 642.

XXX. When the noise of these preparations reached Jugurtha, he was greatly disappointed. That gold should fail

Ultimate failure of Jugurtha's in-

A. U. C. 642. trigues.—Character of the Consul Calpurnius.

at Rome, was an idea, which had never entered his thoughts. He lost no time in dispatching his son to the Senate, attended by two confidential favourites, and instructed, like the first ambassadors, whose intrigues had been so successful on Hiempsal's assassination, to trust to similar methods, and, without scruple, "to bribe every man they met." On their arrival at Rome, when Bestia, in the usual style, took the sense of the Fathers, whether it was their pleasure, to permit the Numidian ambassadors to enter the city (56)? it was instantly replied, "That unless they came, in the name of "their master, to make an unconditional surrender of himself "and of his crown, into the hands of the Roman People, they "were peremptorily ordered, in the space of ten days, to de-"part out of Italy." This answer was signified, by order of the Consul, to the Numidians, who went home, without so much as opening their commission.

Calpurnius, meanwhile, having completed his levies, had the precaution to name, as Lieutenants to act under him, men only, who were distinguished by the nobility of their birth, their extensive ascendency, and their intriguing spirit. Relying little on his own virtue, it was his design, whatsoever he might do amiss, not to stand alone; and, if called to an account, to have a firm band to protect him. Among this number Scaurus was not forgotten; the same whom I have had occasion, more than once, to notice. The Consul, notwithstanding, was a character far above mediocrity. He added, to external endowments, the lustre of many virtues; but they were shaded by a covetousness, which rendered them of no avail. He was patient of labour; endued with foresight; as an officer, possessed of no inconsiderable experience; in danger

firm, and not easily either taken by surprise, or disconcerted by stratagem. A.U.C. 642.

The legions marched, through Italy, to Rhegium, where they embarked for Sicily; and, from thence, they passed over into Africa. Calpurnius opened the campaign with great vigour. Having previously established his magazines for supplies of every sort, he poured his troops, at once, into Numidia. Some successful actions followed; by which he reduced several towns, and secured a multitude of prisoners.

Calpurnius and Scaurus both bribed by Jugurtha. —Mock surrender of that prince.

XXXI. JUGURTHA resolved to try the effect of negociation. His first care was, by means of deputies, to tamper with the Consul; and they were directed to paint forth the war he had undertaken, as in its nature fierce and difficult. By inflaming his avarice they found the way to his heart; and he yielded, at once, without resistance (57). In all Scaurus was his great associate, and confidential adviser. Although, amidst the corruption of most of his friends at Rome, Scaurus had hitherto been careful to keep aloof, and had railed against Jugurtha, with unceasing acrimony; yet the immensity of the bribe, now proffered, threw him off his guard: Duty, and a sense of honour vanished away before it.

The success of this negociation exceeded Jugurtha's most sanguine hopes. An expedient to gain time, by a cessation of hostilities, was, in the beginning, all he had in view; while he trusted that, during the interval, by money or interest, at Rome, a more favourable turn might be given to his affairs. But the accession of Scaurus to the party enlarged his views: It even opened the prospect of bringing about a peace; and he immediately determined on a personal conference with his

A. U. C. 642. new friends, for proposing the preliminaries, and adjusting every article. As a sort of hostage for his safety, Sextius, the Quæstor, had orders, from the Consul, to repair to Vacca (58), a town belonging to Jugurtha, under colour of receiving a quantity of corn, which Calpurnius, in order to amuse those about him, publicly required the deputies to furnish; and a truce was agreed upon, on both sides, as a prelude to the surrender, which it was expected would take place.

In effect, Jugurtha, according to his resolution, entered the Roman camp. In an address to the council, which was summoned to receive him, he slightly touched on the disadvantages, from obloquy and prejudice, under which he laboured, and craved leave to surrender at discretion: The terms were adjusted, in a private interview, at which Bestia and Scaurus only assisted. On the following day, in taking the sense of the council on the expediency of the measure, no votes were set down, no opinions delivered; a general approbation was thought sufficient (59); and the surrender itself immediately took place. In compliance, however, with the directions of the council, elephants to the number of thirty, a multitude of horses and cattle, together with an inconsiderable sum of money, were delivered to the Quæstor.

On this, Calpurnius set out for Rome, in order to be present at the election of the new magistrates. Throughout Numidia a perfect calm seemed to prevail; and in our army the inactivity of profound peace.

Notoriety and unpopularity of the Numidian

XXXII. It was impossible that the affairs of Africa, and the temper which guided the late transactions, could long remain a secret. At Rome, the conduct of the Consul engrossed

the public conversation: In places of general resort, as well as private circles, every circumstance was discussed. As for the People, they expressed their indignation without reserve, while the Senate was thrown into the utmost perplexity; in doubt whether they should give their countenance to so foul a transaction, or, by an act of their authority, annul the Consul's proceedings. What chiefly prevented them from at once acting with dignity and honour, was the pernicious influence of Scaurus, whom report directly implicated, as the adviser and accomplice of Bestia; and, for that reason, there was a wish to shelter both.

A. U. C. 642. business at Rome.—Consternation of the Senate.

Amidst the doubt and delay, thus exhibited by the Fathers, Caius Memmius, of whose bold genius, and rooted hostility to the Patrician power, I have already made mention, was busy in another quarter. Memmius incessantly harangued the People, exhorting them to vengeance against their betrayers. Neutrality, he asserted, would be a dereliction of freedom, an act of treason to the republic. He set forth, in various points of view, the pride and cruelty of the nobles; and, in a word, neglected no method of inflaming the popular mind to the highest pitch.

As Memmius was accounted one of the foremost speakers of his time, and his eloquence productive of the most powerful effects, I think, that, in this place, it will be proper, to present the reader with one, from among his numerous speeches. As the most interesting, I shall select that noted oration, delivered in one of the popular assemblies, soon after the return of Bestia; and which was couched in the following terms.

A. U. C. 642. Inflammatory Speech of Memmius to the People.

XXXIII. "MANY and various are the considerations, Romans, that might tend to shake my firmness in your cause, "did not the love of my country exceed them all;—the ascendency of a faction; the feebleness of the laws; in yourselves "an ignominious tameness; and, especially, the experience, "that the honours of integrity are long since fallen to decay, "and that danger, instead of distinction, attends the possessor (60). Painful it is, indeed, to take a retrospect of the "fifteen last years of our transactions (61); a black and evil "period, when the pride of a few has trampled on the necks "of the Roman People; when your virtuous champions, one "after another, have perished unrevenged: Yourselves, meanwhile, sunk in apathy, and debased by indolence, are unable "to make head against your foes, though prostrate, and at "your mercy; with a slavish awe looking up to men, who, "were you not strangers to a becoming vigour, would tremble "at your frown!—These are melancholy truths. Yet, led as "I am, by an irresistible impulse, to oppose the encroachments of a faction, I shall boldly exert that liberty of action, "and of speech, in which I glory, as my birth-right. With "what success or advantage I may exert it, it is for you, Romans, to determine.

XXXIV. "To fly to arms, for the redress of wrongs, was "a resource well known to your ancestors; and in that they "acted well and bravely: But I advise not such a measure "now. Armed violence, or virtuous secession is alike out of "season; for it is apparent, that your adversaries are about to "fall, precipitated to ruin, by their own temerity.—Review, "but for a moment, the list of their excesses.

"After the death of Tiberius Gracchus, who aimed, they A.U.C. 642.
"said, to erect a despotism, and for that imputed crime was
"basely murdered, persecutions the most inhuman were set
"on foot, against the people. When Caius Gracchus, and
"Marcus Fulvius were also put to death, what multitudes of
"your order perished in prison! Nor was it by the forms of
"law, but by the will and pleasure of your sovereign rulers,
"that a period was put to either massacre (62).—But, if you
"will, let these horrible deeds pass without a censure. Let it
"be deemed the proof of a dangerous ambition, to make re-
"stitution, to the people, of their violated rights; and since,
"for the expiation of our offences, civil blood was to flow,
"let that, too, be called an act of justice!—Let me ask you,
"did these exploits close the catalogue? Year after year,
"you have yourselves beheld, with silent indignation, the pil-
"lage of the treasury. You have beheld potent monarchs, and
"independant states, pouring their tribute into the Patrician
"coffers; and you have, moreover, seen the few, who received
"it, in the secure possession of the most enormous wealth, and
"of the highest honours. Nor do they hold it of much ac-
"count to do these things with impunity. Ever ready to go
"forward in guilt, they have now, at last, betrayed the laws
"themselves, the majesty of the People, and, in a word, all
"things, divine and human, into the hands of your enemies!
"And think you that they blush at such enormities? No.
"Hardened in wickedness, and without an idea of compunc-
"tion, they assume airs of grandeur, and glitter with magnifi-
"cence! In the face of the public, they display their Pontifi-
"cal dignities, and some the pride of their Consulships and tri-
"umphs; impudently regarding them as the rewards of honour,

A. U. C. 642. " not as the wages of rapine, and of iniquity!—Slaves, bought
' with gold, are not without some tincture of a manly spirit,
" and they rouse at the injustice of an oppressive master:
" And shall you, Romans, who were born to empire, submis-
" sively stretch forth your necks to the yoke?

" But who, I pray you, are the men, who have thus seized
" upon the commonwealth? Monsters of iniquity! with
" bloody hands, and of abandoned manners; all insatiable in
" covetousness, matchless in villany, and swelling with arro-
" gance! men ever ready to offer up their good-faith, their
" honour, their religion, at the shrine of interest. Of these,
" some have attained to eminence, by massacring your Tri-
" bunes; some, by being at the head of iniquitous prosecu-
" tions; few of them but, in one way or another, have spilt
" your blood; and all, of course, exulting in security, just in
" proportion as they rise in wickedness! Instead of dreading,
" at your hands, the punishment due to their crimes, they take
" advantage of your cowardice, and become themselves ob-
" jects of terrour. In short, this profligate crew are linked
" together as one man. They have the same desires, the
" same aversions, the same fears; a union which, with virtuous
" minds, deserves the name of friendship; but, where depra-
" vity is at the heart, it becomes conspiracy and faction.

XXXV. " Would to the Gods, Romans! that your hearts
" were but as ardently devoted to the cause of liberty, as theirs
" are to pride, and the lust of power! Were such happily the
" fact, the commonwealth would not be made, as it now is, a
" theatre of devastation; and those high honours, of which
" you are the fountain, instead of being prostituted to impu-

" dence, would become the rewards of integrity, and unas- A. U. C. 642.
" suming virtue. Call to mind, I beseech you, the bright
" examples of a former day; when your ancestors twice with-
" drew to Mount Aventine, and, with arms in their hands,
" asserted their just rights, and the majesty of the People:
" And will you, their posterity, be slow in maintaining those
" liberties, which they have transmitted? Nay, will not you
" come forward, with the greater ardour, when you remember,
" that, although to faint in the struggle for the acquisition of
" freedom, is to be without honour; yet to relinquish it, when
" acquired, is to inspire contempt?

" In the present crisis, I shall probably be asked, What
" measures, then, should we pursue? My answer is, Let jus-
" tice be done upon a set of men, who have sold their country;
" but let the justice of the Roman People be tempered with
" wisdom, not exasperated by revenge. Let us avoid all ex-
" tremes of force and violence, calmly consulting our own
" dignity, not the demerits of the culprits. Let a legal enquiry
" forthwith be instituted; and let them stand or fall, by the
" evidence of Jugurtha himself; who, if he actually have sur-
" rendered, will bow, with submission, to your decrees: But,
" on the contrary, should he despise them, of that sort of sur-
" render, or pacification, you will then judge, which would
" insure, to Jugurtha, impunity for his crimes, and immode-
" rate riches to the heads of a faction; but which, in fact,
" compromises the public interest, and fixes indelible disgrace
" upon the Roman name!

" But, perhaps, it may be, you are not weary of oppression.
" Possibly you look back, with regret, to those not distant
" times, when your rulers were still in the zenith of their power;

A. U. C. 642. " when kingdoms and provinces abroad, when, at home, peace
" or war, the force of the laws, the rights of the subject, the
" terrours of the tribunal; in a word, when every possession,
" whether civil or religious, was completely engrossed by a
" few persons in power. You, meanwhile, that is, the Roman
" People, invincible in arms, and sovereigns of the universe,
" were humbly content, if they spared your lives! Nor was
" there a man of you, in that abject period, who had sufficient
" spirit to refuse the yoke.—For myself, although it is my set-
" tled maxim, that tamely to brook an injury, is base and
" dishonourable, yet those profligate delinquents are still your
" fellow-citizens; and I could bear, with patience, that you
" generously pardoned them, were it not apparent, that such
" lenity would involve your own certain ruin.

XXXVI. " Of forgiveness, were it admissible, it must here
" be observed, that it would be of little avail, unless, while
" you exerted it, you took away from them the power to
" repeat their crimes: Inherent depravity would still prevail,
" and your task would for ever be to be begun anew. A
" prey to disquietude, there would only be the choice, either
" of relinquishing your liberties, or effectually securing them,
" by the strong hand of power. Is there, I pray you, the sha-
" dow of hope, that good-faith or harmony can subsist between
" you? On the one side is a passion for liberty; on the other
" are ambition, and a thirst of despotism: They delight in the
" exercise of oppression; you glory in checking and avenging
" it: By a monstrous perversion of every principle, they act
" towards our allies as enemies, and towards our enemies as
" allies. Rest assured, that, between such heterogeneous na-

" tures, peace or friendship is an illusion of the fancy, which A.U.C.642.
" can never be realized.

" Wherefore, I most strenuously exhort you, not to suffer
" these foul delinquents to escape unpunished. The question
" is not here, concerning the pillage of the treasury: It is
" now no ally, that complains of Roman avarice or extortion;
" crimes, in themselves, sufficiently flagrant, but by habit
" made familiar, and therefore little regarded. To an enemy,
" fierce and formidable, those traitors have betrayed the au-
" thority of the Senate; they have betrayed the dignity, and
" independence of the People. At home and abroad, the
" interests of the commonwealth are set to sale, and adjudged
" to the highest bidder!—These are no light, or venial errours:
" They cry aloud for enquiry, for swift, and ample vengeance!
" Suffer the perpetrators to reap the fruit of their misdeeds,
" and we have but one course to pursue;—to bend the knee,
" and acknowledge them as our masters! For, if to do, with
" impunity, whatsoever we think fit, be not actual despotism,
" I know not the meaning of the kingly title.

" Yet, Romans, let not the sentiments I express be unfairly
" interpreted. Let no man indulge the ungenerous wish, that
" a verdict of guilt, rather than of innocence, should pass
" against these his fellow citizens: Yet remember, that virtue
" is undone, when profligacy can elude the stroke of justice.
" Besides, as a political maxim, I may venture to advance it,
" that public ingratitude, even to the best characters, is a safer
" errour, than a pernicious laxity of public discipline. Virtue,
" if you neglect it, only remits its efforts; but neglected vice
" grows bold in secret, and thrives through impunity. Re-
" strain the latter, and you already do much to hinder a

A. U. C. 642. "recurrence of those emergencies, in which the former must "be called forth."

Cassius sets out to bring Jugurtha to Rome.—Utter corruption of the African army.

XXXVII. By these, and such like speeches, skilfully timed, and frequently delivered, Memmius persuaded the people to send Lucius Cassius (63), then one of the Prætors, to Africa, in order to bring Jugurtha to Rome. By holding forth, to the Numidian king, the pledge of the public faith, it was expected, that he would lay open the scene of corruption, in which Scaurus and the others were engaged, and, thus, that the facts might be substantiated, and the charge clearly brought home to those bold delinquents.

In Numidia, during these occurrences, the officers, on whom the command of the troops had devolved, on the departure of Bestia, were not slow in profiting by the example of the commander in chief. They gave a loose to rapacity and licentiousness. Some, in consideration of a sum of money, restored, to Jugurtha, the elephants, which, in terms of the capitulation, he had been compelled to deliver: Some were bribed to give up the deserters; and others, breaking out into acts of open hostility, ravaged the districts, then at peace with the republic. A sense of honour once laid aside, avarice found no bounds to its progress, and raged, at last, like an epidemical distemper.

The popular decree, meanwhile, procured by Memmius, struck the nobility with consternation; and Cassius was suffered, without opposition, to proceed to Africa. Jugurtha he found in manifest dismay: All his horrible deeds had occurred to his recollection, and he regarded his affairs, with doubt and despondency. Cassius endeavoured to dispel his fears.

Since he had wisely surrendered, he said, to the arms of Rome, he would do well, rather to throw himself, at once, on the mercy, than to provoke the vengeance of the Roman People. In regard to the safety of his person, he added, the king might dismiss every apprehension; for, on that head, he should regard his own honour as privately pledged; an assurance, which Jugurtha esteemed as of no less importance, than the faith of the republic. Such, at this period, were the fame, and ascendency of Cassius. A. U. C. 642.

XXXVIII. JUGURTHA, without loss of time, attended Cassius to Rome; yet wholly divested of regal pomp, and even dressed in such a garb, as to excite compassion. Of firmness on trying occasions there was no want in the Numidian king; and the assurances of the faction, by whose criminal practices he had hitherto been supported, tended to invigorate his hopes. Judging it, however, prudent to procure the reinforcement of some active partizan, Caius Bæbius, a Tribune of the People, for an immense sum of money was listed on his side; a demagogue of tried, and unconquerable impudence, such as he trusted would not only shield him from all personal insult, but even from the weight of public vengeance. Jugurtha summoned to appear before the People.—Specimen of the intrigues of popular magistrates.

Memmius convened an assembly of the People, who were now highly exasperated against Jugurtha. The general cry was, that he should, on the spot, make a discovery of the accomplices of his guilt. If he proved refractory, some were for loading him with irons; and some even for doing execution on him, as a public enemy, according to antient usage. But Memmius, who was more concerned for their dignity, than the gratification of their passions, endeavoured, by every

A.U.C. 642. method, to allay the tumult. Strenuously labouring to sooth their minds, he at the same time declared, that he should never witness a disgraceful violation of the public faith through mistaken violence. Having obtained silence, he seized his opportunity, and produced Jugurtha before the assembly.

In a spirited address, he took a review of the whole of the prince's conduct. He enlarged on "the bribery of his agents "at Rome, and the atrocious acts, that had been committed "in Numidia; his horrible ingratitude to the late king, and "the murder of both his brothers." Then, turning to Jugurtha, he observed, "That, although to the People it could be "no secret, what instruments he had used, in these dark trans-"actions, or by whose weight and influence they had been "abetted, yet it was their pleasure to have a full disclosure "from his own mouth. If the prince," he said, "acted with "candour, and told the truth, he had every thing to hope, "from the clemency and honour of the Roman People: But "if, on the contrary, he attempted concealment, his accom-"plices, by that means, would gain no advantage, while it "proved the ruin of his own fortune and prospects for ever."

As soon as Memmius had done speaking, Jugurtha was called upon to answer for himself. Bæbius, the Tribune, who, as I have already said, was corruptly retained by Jugurtha, instantly stood up; and, desiring the prince to remain silent, resolutely opened his defence. The populace were roused to a transport of fury. They rent the air with shouts: They endeavoured to terrify him with their looks: They threatened violence to his person; committing every sort of excess natural to men, wild and distracted with the frenzy of passion. But, through dint of impudence, Bæbius at last carried his

point. Thus, the assembly broke up, and the people, as usual, were made the bubble of contending factions; while the spirits of Jugurtha, of Bestia, and a crowd of others involved in the prosecution, began to revive (64). A. U. C. 643.

XXXIX. THERE chanced to be at Rome, at this juncture, a certain Numidian, by name Massiva, the son of Gulussa, Micipsa's brother, and, by consequence, grandson to Masinissa. In the late struggle between Jugurtha and Adherbal, this youth had sided with the latter; and, on Adherbal being put to death, after the capitulation at Cirta, he had escaped to Rome. Spurius Albinus, who in the Consulship succeeded Bestia, and had Quintus Minucius Rufus for his colleague in office (65), laboured to fire the ambition of the exiled prince, persuading him to apply, by petition to the Senate, for the kingdom of Numidia. Of the house of Masinissa he was now the true surviving heir: Jugurtha's crimes were manifest to the world; himself alarmed and dispirited, and brought under a cloud of public odium. The fact was, that the sole drift of Albinus was to have the direction of the war. In the allotment of the provinces, Numidia had fallen to himself, and his colleague had obtained Macedonia: To feed, therefore, not to allay the flame of contention, was what best suited his purpose. He assassinates Massiva, and is forced to quit Italy.

No sooner were the views of Massiva made public, than Jugurtha perceived the necessity of cutting off his rival. The power of his antient friends being already in its wane, could no longer stand him in stead. Some, on account of their evil deeds, were seized with remorse; and others, on finding that they had fairly ruined their reputation, began, through fear,

A. U. C. 643. to shrink from the danger. In this exigency, he applied to Bomilcar, a person allied to him by blood, and among the number of his most confidential adherents. This man was instructed, by means of money, an engine which had seldom been found unsuccessful, to engage assassins privately to way-lay Massiva; should covert stratagem, however, fail, at all events to dispatch him.

Bomilcar readily undertook the business. Knowing how to chuse fit instruments for his purpose, he set a narrow watch on the prince's motions; his hours of going abroad; his places of resort; the distribution of his time; the style of his occupations; and, at length, when the opportunity seemed fair, he prepared to strike the blow. One of the villains, more anxious to do his work, than studious of caution, rushed fiercely upon Massiva, and laid him dead on the spot; but he was himself surrounded, and instantly secured. When brought to examination, touching so atrocious an act, and pressed by many, and especially by the Consul Albinus, to declare who were his employers, he made a full discovery. Bomilcar was, in consequence, arraigned as the principal; a proceeding rather founded on natural equity, and material justice, than on the strict law of nations; as the man, beyond question, was in the suite of a prince, who had obtained an assurance of the public faith, and, on that footing, had come to Rome.

That Jugurtha was at the bottom of a contrivance so foul and detestable, no man doubted: Yet he met the general indignation with a daring effrontery, and hoped, by that means, to bear down the truth; until public obloquy becoming loud and clamorous, neither bribery nor interest was able to withstand it. In the commencement of the action against Bomil-

car, he had been forced, by delivering up fifty of his friends, A.U.C. 643. to give bail for the appearance of that culprit (66): Yet he chose rather to consult his interests in Numidia, than the safety of his sureties at Rome, and privately sent home the favourite. The probability was, had Bomilcar stood his trial, and suffered for the crime, a prompt obedience to the king's commands would, from that moment, have been at an end, among his Numidian subjects. The consequence was, in a few days, an order from the Senate to depart out of Italy, with which he speedily complied.

It is said, that, having got without the gates of Rome, Jugurtha often turned round towards the city, on which he gazed with fixed attention. At last, breaking forth into a sudden exclamation; "Devoted city, "he cried, "whose venality, erelong, must accomplish thy ruin! The only question is, to find thee a purchaser (67)."

XL. ALL negociation being now at an end, Albinus was in haste to open the campaign in Africa. His first care was to supply the military chest, and to send over, for the army, provisions and stores of every sort; on which he instantly set out, to put himself at its head. As the season of the elections was fast approaching, he trusted, by that period, either to be able to bring the enemy to a decisive action, or to compel them to lay down their arms, or, in short, by some means to finish the war. Jugurtha, on the other hand, had an opposite game to play: With him safety lay in delay, and in devising expedients to gain time. At one moment, he would come to an immediate surrender: At another, he changed his tone, and, pretending doubts and apprehensions, broke off the conference.

Renewal of the war.—Ill success of the Consul Albinus.

A. U.C. 643. Sometimes, as if panic-struck, he would fly before the Roman army; then, suddenly wheeling about, charge them with vigour. In this manner, the spirits of his troops suffered no depression; while, between a desultory warfare, and a well-acted anxiety to negociate, the Consul was completely baffled and fatigued.

There was a rumour at the time, which by many was believed not to be destitute of foundation, that a perfect intelligence subsisted between Albinus and the Numidian king. How otherwise could the conduct of the former be explained? Was it probable, that such seeming ardour should evaporate in preparation; or that the war, without some secret connivance, should be thus singularly spun out, and at last end in nothing? However that may be, the time passed away without a blow being struck, till the approach of the elections obliged Albinus to depart for Rome, and leave his brother Aulus, with the rank of Prætor, to command in his stead.

Great disturbances at Rome.—Siege of Suthul, under Aulus.

XLI. At Rome, in this juncture, all was tumult and wild commotion, occasioned by the seditious spirit of the Tribunes of the People. Two of those magistrates, Publius Lucullus, and Lucius Annius, thought fit to continue in office, beyond the time limited by law. In this resolution they persisted, in spite of their colleagues, who in a body opposed the encroachment; and, amidst the conflict of parties, during an entire year, no elections could be held.

To Aulus, who, as I already said, commanded, as Prætor, in Numidia, this appeared an interval too favourable not to be improved to the utmost. From a seasonable vigour, he hoped either to derive the glory of terminating the war, or at all events, to extort money from Jugurtha, by the terrour of his

arms. Fired with these ideas, he drew forth the troops, during the month of January, from their winter-quarters. In spite of every obstacle, from the inclemency of the season, they pushed forwards, by forced marches, into the country, and unexpectedly appeared before the town of Suthul (68), where the king's treasures were reposited. That the place could not be taken, nor even regularly invested, in the depth of winter, was sufficiently evident, protected as it was by the favour of the elements, not less than by its natural strength. The walls were built on the edge of a craggy mountain, rising suddenly out of the plain; of which the soil, being naturally swampy, and laid under water by the winter rains, the whole space without was rendered one continued morass encompassing the works. For the wild, and rash project conceived by Aulus, it is not easy to account. Perhaps his design might be, by a seeming contempt of common difficulties, to intimidate Jugurtha; or, perhaps, excessive covetousness had blinded him to the utter impossibility of success. Be that as it may, the siege commenced with alacrity. Mounds of earth were thrown up, from which to assail the walls: Moving penthouses were brought forward, to cover the troops; and every method, that the military art supplies, was vigorously employed to carry the place. A. U. C. 644.

XLII. JUGURTHA was not slow in observing the vanity and ignorance of the Consul's Lieutenant; and formed the design, by artfully inflaming his phrenzy, to improve the juncture to his own advantage. Deputies, on the heels of one another, were continually dispatched to Aulus, having it in charge to address him, with all submission and humility; Inexperience of the Lieutenant.—Defeat and disgrace of the Roman army.

A.U.C.644. while Jugurtha himself, with an affected solicitude to shun the enemy, kept aloof among his forests and fastnesses, marching only by unknown, and unfrequented paths. At length Aulus, conceiving himself to be on the eve of a conclusive treaty, abandoned the siege of Suthul. He fully imagined, that the Numidian king was retreating before him; and, too eagerly pressing on his rear, suffered himself to be drawn into deserts, known only to the enemy.

Meanwhile Jugurtha, who had chosen expert agents for his purpose, tampered night and day with the Roman army. The Centurions, and commanding officers of the troops of horse, began to waver in their duty. Some were bribed at once to go over to him; and others stipulated, on a given signal, to abandon their posts; a mode of treachery the more dangerous, as it was the less open to observation. Having made every necessary arrangement, he took his opportunity, and, at the head of a powerful force, in the dead of night, surrounded the Roman camp. The men, in the first tumult of surprise, were thrown into confusion. Some ran to seize their arms; others endeavoured to secure a lurking-place; while the treacherous and disaffected artfully helped to spread the alarm. The consternation soon became universal. The enemy, it was plain, were in force; the night was unusually dark; danger on every side stared them in the face: In the perplexity of the moment, whether to make a stand, or betake themselves to flight, no man could decide.

The traitors, just now mentioned, did not forget their engagements with Jugurtha. One Ligurian Cohort, a troop of Thracian horse, and a few Legionary soldiers, deserted to the prince; and a principal Centurion of the third Legion,

having quitted his post, on an important part of the works, which he was stationed to defend, left that quarter open, and the enemy rushed in sword in hand. The Romans now fled in all directions. The greater number threw away their arms. Utter disgrace and confusion followed; until a neighbouring hill, of which they took possession, stopped their flight. The darkness of the night, and the plunder of the camp, which Jugurtha was unable to restrain, fortunately prevented him from making use of his victory. A. U. C. 644.

On the following day, a conference with Aulus took place. The language of the king was in a lofty style. "The Roman "army," he told him, "was completely at his mercy. Hem- "med in on every side, he could suffer them to perish by "famine, or he could cut them off to a man. But the inso- "lence of success was no part of his character; and he re- "membered the vicissitude of human affairs. The Romans," he said, "after passing under the yoke (69), should depart safe "and unmolested; on the express condition, that, in ten days, "they evacuated Numidia." These terms were dreadful, and big with ignominy: But instant death being the only alternative, a treaty was concluded upon the spot, on the conditions which Jugurtha had thought fit to dictate.

XLIII. When the intelligence of these transactions reached Rome, grief and consternation filled the city. Some were deeply touched with the public disgrace; and some, unused to the events of war, trembled for the safety of the empire. The conduct of Aulus excited the indignation of all ranks of men; but of such, especially, as had often distinguished themselves in the field. To preserve his life, they said, and al-

The Senate refuses to ratify the treaty, made by Aulus.—Albinus departs for Africa.

A. U. C. 644. though with arms in his hands, he had forfeited his honour, when he should nobly have defended it, or perished in the attempt. In this disposition of the public mind, the Consul Albinus, who saw the storm of popular odium, from all quarters gathering against his brother, began to be apprehensive, that it might burst upon himself. He resolved to lay the business before the Senate. But eager, in the mean time, with all vigour to prosecute the war, he lost no time in recruiting the army, and applying for auxiliary forces to the allies, and to all the states of Latium. The Fathers, as was to be expected, justly passed a decree, declaring the invalidity of the late treaty, which, without the sanction of the Senate and Roman People, must, of course, fall to the ground: And the Consul, being prohibited by the Tribunes from transporting his new-raised levies to Africa, departed himself, notwithstanding, in a few days, for that country.

Previously to the arrival of Albinus, the troops had gone into winter-cantonments in the Roman Province, as Numidia was evacuated in compliance with the treaty. In the present circumstances, his anxious wish was to retrieve his brother's character, and, by marching directly against Jugurtha, to endeavour to lessen the obloquy, that had been cast upon it. But, on reviewing the army, he found, that the late disgrace had sunk their vigour. The nerves of discipline were relaxed; and disorder and idleness being introduced, their morals were gone to ruin. In these circumstances, his ardour was without avail, and he calmly suffered it to subside into inaction.

Mamilian Law, or enquiry into the

XLIV. Meanwhile, at Rome, in the assembly of the People, Caius Mamilius Limetanus, one of the Tribunes,

moved the following decree: "That an inquiry be instituted "into the conduct of those persons, by whose advice Jugur- "tha had thrown off the authority of the Senate; into that of "all who, in the capacity of either deputies or generals, had "corruptly received a bribe from that prince, or had restored "to him his elephants or deserters; and, finally, to call to ac- "count whosoever had presumed, of their own power and au- "thority, to conclude, with the enemy, any treaty regarding "peace or war." These heads of accusation, without doubt, came home to numbers; while others, though not directly implicated in the charges, yet dreading, that through the obnoxiousness of their party they might be drawn into danger, were willing secretly to counteract, what they could not prevent by avowed opposition. Under colour of favouring the enquiry, they laboured, through their connections in Latium, and the other states of Italy, to render the decree unpopular, and to throw every obstacle in the way of its success.

A. U. C. 644. corrupt conduct of the Nobles.

During the whole of this business, the zeal of the people at Rome was carried to an almost incredible height; and it is truly wonderful, with what eager enthusiasm, and united energy, they entered into, and carried through this favourite measure. The commonwealth, or its interests, never entered their thoughts: But the measure was mischievously levelled at the nobility, and, for that reason, eagerly supported. Such, at this period, was the extraordinary animosity of party-spirit.

In order to give effect to the decree of Mamilius, three persons were appointed, as conductors of the enquiry. Marcus Scaurus, whom we have already seen as the Lieutenant, and prime adviser of Bestia, alone of all the Patrician party, met it with an unmoved assurance; and he even had the address

A. U. C. 644. to procure his name to be inserted in the commission; a circumstance the more remarkable, that the party of his friends was, at this time, fairly put to the rout, the people flushed with success, and the public mind not yet recovered, from the distraction and terrour of the late disaster. As to the enquiry, it was conducted with intemperance and rigour: Report stood for proof; and there was no rule of judgment, but the will and pleasure of the multitude (70). This, however, was nothing more, than had happened in former struggles, when the nobility, many times, like the populace on this occasion, displayed all the pride and insolence of victory.

Rise of the Patrician and Popular factions at Rome.—Fate and temper of the Gracchi.

XLV. Of the division of the commonwealth into two parties, the Popular faction, and that of the Senate, the origin was of recent date, it having sprung up at Rome, but a few years before, together with all its corrupt, and pernicious consequences. For this evil two causes may chiefly be assigned; the perfect calm, which prevailed throughout the empire, and a superabundant portion of those blessings, always of first-rate value in the eyes of mankind, and of which they have so seldom failed to abuse the possession.

Previously to the overthrow of Carthage, the Senate and People united, with equal harmony and moderation, in administering the government. Ambition, and a thirst of power, had, as yet, infected no class of the community; and the constant dread of foreign hostilities proved, at home, the nurse and the security of virtue (71). But a course of prosperity removed this salutary check; and corruption and pride, the inevitable consequences, broke in without control. The sweets of peace, which, during a life of war and hardship, were

thought to comprise the essence, and lead to the summit of every enjoyment, after they arrived, introduced a poison far more fatal than the evils of either. With the nobles, rank and influence engendered tyranny; and liberty degenerated into licentiousness among the people: Selfishness followed; and usurpation, rapacity, and violence became the general character. Men thus split into two factions, each struggling for the ascendency. The commonwealth stood alone: It interested neither; and it was rent to pieces, in the madness of the conflict (72).

From obvious causes, the Patrician party usually took the lead. The power of the People, on account of their numbers, being less easily concentrated, they were more incapable of acting with united energy. The reins of government, therefore, were held by a few, who directed all its operations, whether foreign or domestic. In their hands was placed the disposal of the exchequer: They administered the provinces: They filled the magistracy; and they exclusively enjoyed the possession of honours, and the pride of triumphs. Of the people the lot was miserable in the extreme, depressed by want, and harassed by military service. The wealth and plunder, obtained in war, fell to the lot of the general, or, at least, they were shared by a few individuals; while the parents and children of the common soldier were frequently driven from their little possessions, as often as they chanced to border on the domain, and excite the rapacity of some greater neighbour.

Thus, avarice and power were leagued together. They triumphed at large; they laid waste the community; they dismissed all sense of justice or moderation, throwing off the most

salutary restraints, and most awful sanctions; till at length they arrived at the edge of the precipice, from which they were to fall, by their own excesses. Did it happen, that among the nobility some illustrious characters arose, who, for real glory, disregarded the enjoyment of ill-gotten power, the rest were instantly up in arms against them; the state was thrown into convulsions; and discord raged with the fury of civil war. The concussion of the elements was not more tremendous.

XLVI. Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, whose ancestors, during the Carthaginian, and other wars, had rendered eminent services to the republic, were the first great champions of the people, and the strenuous assertors of civil liberty, boldly laying open the vices and crimes of men in power. On this, the nobles, struck with consternation, and conscious of their enormities, strained every nerve to defeat these dangerous designs. Sometimes they employed, as the instruments of their intrigues, the Italian allies, and the people of Latium; and sometimes the Roman knights, whom the lure of interest, and the hope of sharing in their power, had drawn over from the popular faction. First, Tiberius Gracchus was cut off. A few years after, Caius Gracchus, zealously treading in the footsteps of his brother, together with Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, also fell a victim. The elder of the Gracchi lost his life, while Tribune of the People; and the younger, during his office as one of the three commissioners for planting colonies abroad. The fact was, the zeal of those intrepid brothers was indiscreet and intemperate. Eager in the extreme to carry their point, they forgot the prudence, which is necessary to

success. They forgot this important principle, that the end cannot, in any case, sanctify the means; and that the truly virtuous man will rather yield to evil, than employ it as an instrument, even for the purposes of good.

The ascendency of the Patrician party was, from this time, complete; but they used their advantage with caprice and cruelty. Of the vanquished faction, numbers were driven into exile, and many perished by the sword of the executioner; while their adversaries, by such measures, added infinitely less to the power they possessed, than to the terrour and hatred, with which it was regarded.—The page of history is too full of examples of a like intemperate policy having wrought the downfal of mighty empires. It is the fate of factions to strive, with desperate violence, for the mastery over one another; and, that once obtained, they shut their ears against pity and humanity.

But the delineation of party-views is not my purpose. Endless, indeed, would be the task of him, who should undertake to detail, in all their wideness of extent, their corruptness and animosity, the dissentions and the manners of a degenerate empire.—I will, therefore, once more take up the thread of my narrative.

A. U.C. 644. The Consul Metellus sets out, to take the command in Africa.—Deplorable condition of the army in that continent.

XLVII. After the treaty concluded by Aulus, and the dastardly behaviour of our army, Quintus Metellus and Marcus Silanus, the Consuls elect for the year (73), divided the provinces between them, and Numidia fell to the lot of the former. Metellus was a man of spirit and talents. Distinguished by principles, decidedly hostile to the popular interest, he yet possessed a character, which was without a

A.U.C. 644. stain, and he stood high in the esteem and confidence of all parties.

From the first moment that Metellus entered into office, he considered, that as, of all other duties, the war only excepted, his colleague, of course, would take an equal share; he might turn his whole thoughts to that important object. Having no confidence in the army in Numidia, he pushed forward the business of making fresh levies. Succours were required from every quarter: Arms, horses, engines, military stores, together with provisions in abundance, were collected; and, in a word, every article that seemed requisite in a war, exposed to various exigencies, which foresight must prevent, and to innumerable wants, which prudence must supply. To give efficacy to these preparations, the vigour of the Consul was seconded by the authority of the Senate; by virtue of which, troops were draughted from the allies, and the states of Latium; while the princes in alliance with the republic, of their own accord, sent in auxiliary forces: In a word, an ardent zeal was displayed, in chearfully drawing forth the united strength of the empire. When the armament was completed, and every arrangement made, according to the Consul's wishes, he set out for Numidia.

By the appointment of Metellus, the public expectations were warmly excited. The unblemished character of the man, and a mind, which was superior to the temptation of a bribe, diffused the general hope, that at length a remedy would be found, for the insatiable avarice of former officers; a distemper, which had fatally paralyzed all our efforts in this quarter, while it gave vigour and effect to those of the enemy.

XLVIII. On his arrival in Africa, Spurius Albinus, the Proconsul, resigned to him the command of the army; but it was an army dispirited and feeble, and utterly relaxed in indolence. Every thing announced the corruption of the men. They were incapable of fatigue: They shrunk back from danger: In words they were valorous and fluent, but cowards in their hearts; and ready, on every occasion, to plunder the allies, while they themselves, if attacked, would have fallen a prey to an enemy: In short, a licentious, and disorderly band, with whom all wholesome discipline had gone to ruin. From such troops Metellus could expect no advantage to the service, the hourly vexation, which their irregularities occasioned, greatly outweighing any confidence or support he could derive from their numbers. In consequence, also, of the delay, which had attended the elections, the summer was far advanced; and he was aware that, at Rome, the whole city was erect with expectation, as to the issue of the campaign. For these reasons, he determined to proceed with caution, and avoid hazarding an action, until, by a course of duty, and manly exercise, he should wean the soldiers from their dissolute manners, and be able to restore the antient discipline of the camp. A.U.C. 644.

Previously to the time, when Metellus obtained the command, Albinus, the late general, had sunk under the fortunes of his brother Aulus, and the consequent disgrace of the Roman arms. As he did not so much as stir beyond the Province, the best of the summer, during which his command lasted, was consumed in the indolence of standing camps; nor did he ever think of shifting them, until want of forage, or the odour of the place, fairly obliged him to take up other

A. U. C. 644. ground. By this course of life, the troops forgot all sense of duty. In the camp, contrary to universal usage, no guard was mounted during the night: Soldiers, as well as officers, wandered, at pleasure, from their colours: The sutlers and retainers of the army (74), mixing indiscriminately with the men, issued from the lines, and, rambling night and day through the country, pillaged wherever they went. In those excursions, villas and farm-houses were frequently taken by assault; each party vying with the other, in the richness of the booty in cattle and captives, which it triumphantly brought in, and exchanged with the merchants, for foreign wines, and other articles of luxury. The corn, also, allowed by the government, was openly sold, and bread daily purchased, to save the labour of the manufacture. All were dissolved in sloth and intemperance; and every excess, that can be expressed or imagined, resulting from an indulgence in those ruinous vices, may be said to have been surpassed, by this corrupt, and abandoned crew.

His exertions to restore the antient discipline.

XLIX. METELLUS, we must acknowledge, had a difficult part to act. But in the task of reform, I must observe, that he certainly proved himself as firm and wise, as in the field he was the general of consummate talents; so judicious was the course, which he knew to steer, between an unbecoming compliance, and a stern severity. In the first general orders, that were issued, it was his object at once to strike at the root of those pernicious practices, which administer to idleness. The selling of bread, and dressed victuals within the lines, was, therefore, strictly forbidden: Retainers of the camp were prohibited from following the army, and the common soldier, whether in camp, or on the march, from having the use of a slave,

or beast of burden of any species: And these regulations were followed by others, no less effectual and judicious. Besides this, the camp was daily shifted: Difficult marches were undertaken; fresh positions taken up; and, the new lines being marked out, entrenchments were thrown up, and fortified with a palisade, as if an enemy had been at hand. In the camp, guards were regularly mounted, and often relieved. The general himself, together with his Lieutenants, frequently went the rounds, visiting the night-watch, and sentinels on duty (75). In like manner, when on the march, his vigilance was unremitted. Sometimes he headed the leading columns; sometimes he marched with the centre, at other times with the rear; taking care, in every quarter, that the files were close and regular; that none quitted their colours, or swerved from their ranks; and that each soldier carried his own provisions, as well as his accoutrements and arms (76). By these means, ere long, sober discipline returned; and the change was brought about, rather by preventing disobedience, than by inflicting punishment. A. U. C. 644.

Jugurtha inclined to surrender to the Romans.—Address and vigour of the Consul.

L. JUGURTHA, in the mean time, through his emissaries, having received accounts of the vigilance of Metellus, and being persuaded, while at Rome, of the firm integrity of the man, began to believe that his own fortune had, at last, deserted him, and to think of a surrender in good earnest. Accordingly, he sent off ambassadors to the Consul, with orders to address him in a submissive style, and with full powers to deliver up all his possessions to the Roman People, stipulating only for his own life, and that of his children. But Metellus, by his observations on the Numidian character, had already

A. U. C. 644. perceived, that it was without pretensions to integrity, fickle in the extreme, and fond of change. He cautiously sounded the deputies apart; and, finding them apt for his purpose, by dint of promises, he easily engaged them in a plan to betray their master: If the possession of his person could be obtained without dispatching him, no pains were to be spared, towards that important object; but, at all events, they were to deliver him, dead or alive, into the hands of the Romans. In a public audience, previously to the departure of the deputies, having given a specious answer to Jugurtha's proposition, he marched, in a few days after, into the enemy's territories, at the head of an army, now spirited and resolute, and eager for action.

On entering Numidia, all wore the semblance of profound quiet. The cottages teemed with inhabitants; the husbandmen were at work in the fields; and flocks and herds grazed in the pastures. From the towns and villages the royal Præfects came forth to meet the troops, ready to provide forage, to furnish carriages, and, in a word, to be every way at the disposal of the Roman general. Metellus, however, was not to be thrown off his guard. He continued to march forward in regular order of battle, with scouts and flanking parties in all directions scouring the country, in the same manner as if the enemy had been at hand. The show of submission, which was now so speciously held out, he considered as probably intended to draw him into an ambush, or as a colour to disguise some exquisite stroke of perfidy.

The order of march was arranged in the following manner. Metellus himself led the van, composed of the light Cohorts, and supported by a chosen band of slingers and archers.

Caius Marius (77), his Lieutenant, was stationed in the rear, A. U. C. 644.
at the head of the cavalry; while the Tribunes of the Legions, and the commanding officers of Cohorts, with the auxiliary horse, took post upon the wings. Among the troops last mentioned were interspersed detachments of light infantry, in order to repulse the cavalry of the enemy, from what quarter soever they might direct their attack. The genius of Jugurtha was so fertile in stratagem, he was so perfectly acquainted with the face of the country, and withal, so consummate a master of the military art, that, whether he chose openly to show, or cautiously to conceal himself, whether he proferred peace, or avowed hostility, in all the danger seemed alike, and the necessity for vigilance was equally indispensable.

LI. THERE lay, at no great distance from Metellus's route, a town of Numidia, named Vacca (78), in all the kingdom the most celebrated mart of trade, and, on that account, the residence, as well as the resort, of a multitude of Italian merchants. Here the Consul thought fit to place a garrison, and ordered a magazine to be formed of forage and other stores. Besides, the experiment, which would thereby be made, of Jugurtha's sincerity, the local advantages of Vacca pointed it out as a post of the first-rate importance; and, should the present calm not continue, from the concourse of traders, and the opulence of the place, it would be of material utility in executing the plans, which he formed for the campaign. Occupation of Vacca.

During these transactions, Jugurtha renewed his solicitation for peace, with redoubled ardour, requesting, by means of embassies still more submissive than the former, only his own,

A.U.C.644. and his childrens' safety, and declaring himself ready, were that granted, to make, at once, a complete and unconditional surrender. The deputies, like the others, were graciously received, drawn into the same treacherous designs, and then dismissed. Metellus continued dark and impenetrable. He neither absolutely rejected, nor in direct terms acceded to the king's pacific propositions; patiently expecting, that, the time by these delays being gradually spun out, the deputies would have courage to make good their engagements, and strike some secret, and sudden blow.

Plan of Jugurtha to attack the Romans on their march.—Nature of the country.—His stratagem to effect his purpose.

LII. JUGURTHA, when he compared the conduct with the professions of Metellus, and found them completely at variance, at length perceived, that his own wily arts were turned against himself: While by specious language he was lulled into security, a destructive war was actually carried into the heart of his dominions. Thus duped, he had weakly suffered a most important place to be wrested out of his hands, by an enemy already too well acquainted with the country; while insidious attempts were made, to shake the allegiance, and alienate the affections of his subjects. Nothing, therefore, remained, but to trust his fortunes to the issue of an engagement. Having by his scouts gained intelligence of the route of the Romans, the nature of the country, through which they had to pass, inspired him with the hope of gaining a decisive advantage; and, resolving not to let slip the opportunity, he drew together all the force he could collect, and pushing forward in the same direction, but by unfrequented paths, he got the start of Metellus, before the latter could have information of his approach.

On the side of Numidia, that, by the partition of the kingdom, fell to the lot of Adherbal, there was a river, named the Muthul (79), which, taking its rise in the south, flowed through that district. A chain of mountains, about twenty miles distant, ran in a direction parallel to the river; wild and desert, and uncultivated by the hand of man. Between these mountains and the river, and almost equidistant from either, there rose a hill of great extent, covered with wild olives and myrtles, and such other trees, as love to shoot forth, in a dry and sandy soil. The intermediate plain was parched with heat, and wholly uninhabitable for want of water: But, towards the banks of the Muthul, it assumed a better aspect: It was there shaded with copse-wood, rich in flocks, and cultivated by industry. A.U.C. 644.

LIII. This hill, which stretched itself across the plain, flanked the Romans, in their march to the river; and here Jugurtha took post, lengthening out his front to the greatest possible dimensions. To Bomilcar he gave the command of the elephants, and a part of the infantry, with instructions how to act; and took his own station, in a quarter nearer the mountains, at the head of the cavalry, and supported by a body of chosen foot. Having made this disposition, he rode through the ranks, exhorting each troop and company, in a manner suited to inflame their courage. He besought them "to bear in mind their former valour, the glory which they had "acquired by the late victory, and nobly to unite in defending "themselves, and in freeing their country from Roman ava-"rice. The enemy," he said, "they had to cope with they "well knew, and had already vanquished; even obliging

A. U. C. 644. " them ignominiously to pass under the yoke. The general, " indeed, was changed; but would that circumstance work a " change upon their character? As for himself, he had done " his duty. As their general, he had provided for them every " advantage as to ground, which they well knew, but of which " their adversaries were ignorant (80); and he had, moreover, " secured them against an unequal contest with an enemy, su- " perior in numbers, as in discipline. It was for them, there- " fore, resolutely to wait the signal for the attack, and, that " given, to pour down upon the Romans. Should victory " crown their valour, that day would end their toils: But, " should defeat ensue, it would be a prelude to oppression, " and to every species of calamity (81)."

To this address he omitted not to add individual exhortation. Those whom, on account of their heroic deeds, he had elevated to rank, or rewarded with opulence, he reminded of his liberality, and pointed out their example to others. To all he was ready with some apt persuasive, agreeable to the genius and character of each; sometimes by entreaty, sometimes by promises, and even by threats, indefatigably labouring to excite their courage.

Meanwhile, Metellus was seen descending from the heights, but without any notion of the intentions of the enemy, until he began to discover them upon the hill. At first, he was doubtful what to think of the strange appearance they exhibited. The Numidians lay close, and kept themselves and their horses behind the bushes; but, by reason of the lowness of the skreen, they were neither fully displayed, nor entirely hid from the view. Neither arms nor colours were suffered to appear: But the rugged nature of the place, united to the

artifice, with which the whole was conducted, gave ample room for suspicion. The general was convinced that an ambush was intended, and halted on the spot. Resolving to alter the disposition of the troops, he instantly formed the line to the front, on the right division, that flank being next the enemy. The order he chose was that of three lines, the first covered and supported by the two others. The slingers and archers were ordered into the intervals between the companies of foot; and all the cavalry posted on the wings. Having encouraged the men by a concise speech, such as the nature of his situation, and the shortness of the time would permit, he commanded the whole to file off from the left, and marched down, in column, to the plain (82). A. U. C. 644.

LIV. As the army advanced in this order, all seemed quiet on the hill, the Numidians never once attempting to quit their station. Metellus, however, apprehended, on account of the heat of the season, and the scarcity of springs near the place, that the army would be distressed for want of water; Rutilius, therefore, his Lieutenant (83), was sent forward to the river, with the light Cohorts, and a detachment of the cavalry, with orders to reconnoitre the ground, and secure a situation, for forming an encampment. The enemy, it was probable, would not fail to retard the main body on their march, by frequently taking it in flank, or by galling it in the rear; and, convinced of their inability to cope with the discipline of the Legions, they would attempt to wear them out, by means of thirst and fatigue. The Consul continued to advance at a gentle pace, as the nature of his situation, and that of the ground required, and preserving the same disposition he had made, on descending

Obstinate engagement near the Muthul.

A. U. C. 644. from the mountains. The centre was commanded by Marius: The general himself headed the cavalry of the left wing; which, as the line had broken from that flank into column, became, of course, the leading division on the march.

Jugurtha, who lay in close ambush, no sooner saw that the rear of the Consul had cleared his left, than, detaching from his main body two thousand foot, he ordered them to take possession of that part of the heights, just quitted by the Romans; by which means, if they gave ground, their retreat might be cut off, from a situation for rallying to advantage. This previous movement being made, and the signal given for action, he suddenly rushed down, and fell on the enemy.

The Numidians charged to the front, and cut off the rear-files of our army; some, rapidly wheeling about, skirmished, at once, with both the flanks. The attack was executed with astonishing spirit and intrepidity, and our ranks thrown into disorder on every side. Even those who, on facing about, gave them the warmest reception, were harassed and fatigued by so desultory a mode of encounter; finding themselves wounded from a distance, and without an opportunity to return the blow, or to close with the assailants. According to instructions, which they had received from Jugurtha, the horse well knew how to elude the efforts of the Roman cavalry; for, when a troop of the latter attempted to charge, far from continuing at close order, or in a body, they suddenly broke, and dispersed in an instant, in all directions. As they could not, by that means, prevent a pursuit, they watched their opportunity, and, being superior in point of numbers, attacked us, in their turn, both in flank and rear. If, in this flying sort of fight, the indefatigable Numidian

chose the hill rather than the plain, his nimble horse was in his own element: He easily scrambled up the ascent, and disappeared among the bushes; while the Roman trooper, unused to a surface so rugged and intricate, was unable to follow him. A.U.C. 644.

LV. THE whole field presented a distressing spectacle, full of doubt, and perplexity, and wild disorder. Separated from their comrades, some of the men fled, and some pursued. No ranks were preserved, no colours followed: Where each man was attacked, there he made a stand, and fought to protect his own person: Swords and javelins, horses and men, friends and foes were blended together, in one promiscuous confusion. In this scene of distraction, all order was at an end, and to act in concert utterly impossible. The word of command was no longer heard: Chance ruled supreme, and guided the tumult.

The day was already far spent, and the issue of the battle still hung in suspense. Amidst the heat and fatigue, with which all were oppressed, Metellus observed, that the Numidians began to abate somewhat of their ardour, and seized the moment to rally his troops. Having drawn them together, he gradually restored the ranks; and brought up four Legionary Cohorts, against Jugurtha's infantry, of which a great number, spent with fatigue, had fallen back to breathe, and were now seen sitting at their ease upon the hill. Metellus called aloud to the troops, and in the most earnest manner conjured them "to summon all their firmness, in this emergency; nor suffer "the victory to be wrested out of their hands by barbarians, "who, at the very moment, were flying before them. If they "failed to conquer, he reminded them, where was the en-

A. U. C. 644. "trenchment or strong-hold, to which they could retire? One "resource alone they possessed, and that was in their arms and "valour." Nor did Jugurtha, meanwhile, remain inactive. He appeared on horseback, rushing through the field, animating his men, and renewing the battle. At the head of a select band, he performed wonders. He sustained the ranks with undaunted vigour, closely pressing the Romans, where they seemed to waver, and keeping in employment, by a well-directed, but distant fight, such of their divisions as stood firm, and maintained the combat.

Extraordinary efforts of both commanders.—Defeat of Bomilcar by Rutilius.

LVI. Thus was seen, between the two commanders, a noble contest for glory; both officers of consummate ability, but very differently situated, and as unequally supported. In the disciplined valour of his troops, the superiority of Metellus was clear and decided; but he had to struggle with a situation as difficult as unexpected. Jugurtha, on the other hand, possessed every advantage of ground; yet it was the genius of the leader that shone forth, without the support of a man, who could be called a soldier.

The Romans were now convinced, that they had nothing to hope, but from some vigorous effort. It was already near the close of day, and the Numidians had hitherto found means to baffle every attempt to bring them to a regular engagement. The word being given to mount the hill, they carried it sword in hand, and completely dislodged the enemy; who, unable to stand their ground, were totally put to rout, and fled with precipitation. The killed were but few in number. The swiftness of the Numidians, and the nature of a country, with which our men were unacquainted, saved the fugitives.

In another quarter, meanwhile, Bomilcar, under whose orders, before the commencement of the affair, Jugurtha, as already stated, had placed the elephants, and a detachment of the infantry, waited, with patience, until Rutilius had passed him, and then descended leisurely to the foot of the hill. Rutilius made the best of his way to the river, while the wily Numidian marshalled his troops, as the occasion demanded, without hindrance or molestation; taking measures, at the same time, to watch the motions, and to learn the designs of the enemy. As soon as intelligence was brought in, by the scouts, that the Lieutenant had pitched his camp, and seemed to consider himself in a state of security, perceiving that the noise of the battle with Jugurtha echoed far and wide, and was encreasing every moment, he became apprehensive, lest, if it reached the ears of Rutilius, he should march back his troops, with intent to reinforce the Consul. This junction Bomilcar resolved, at all hazards, to prevent. The close array, in which, distrustful of the steadiness of his Numidians, he had at first drawn them up, was now changed for a more open line; as such a disposition, by covering a larger surface, would the better obstruct the march of Rutilius. This arrangement made, he without delay pushed forward to his encampment. A.U.C. 644.

LVII. The Romans were not at once aware of the enemy's approach. On a sudden, they perceived a vast cloud of dust, which they at first conjectured to be the sudden effect of the wind, sweeping over an arid, and sandy surface; for the place was on all sides encircled with copse-wood, which prevented the prospect. A closer attention, however, discovered the uniform figure of the cloud, which, moving with regularity, as the

A. U. C. 644. Numidians marched forward, drew nearer and nearer every instant. In a short time, no doubt remained of the real cause of the phenomenon; and orders being issued to fly to arms, they formed in front of the lines. As soon as Bomilcar came up, a tremendous shout was raised on both sides, and they rushed, with fury, to the onset.

The Numidians relied solely on their elephants. As long as those continued unhurt, they fought with intrepidity: But the unwieldy animals were soon entangled in the branches of the trees, and, being cut off from the ranks, were easily surrounded. On this, the enemy betook themselves to flight. The greater number threw away their arms. By favour of the night, which had already come on, and aided, in some degree, by the vicinity of the hill, they contrived to escape, with scarcely the loss of a man. Four elephants were taken, and the rest, to the number of forty, lay dead on the field.

The troops, although flushed with success, were yet exhausted with their various exertions; a toilsome march, the labour of encampment, and, last of all, the late unexpected encounter. For the extraordinary delay of Metellus it appeared impossible to account; and, in order to clear up their doubts, they set out to meet him on the march: But, as the Numidian genius, ever on the watch, admitted of no relaxation of vigour, nor carelessness of security, they proceeded in battle-array, and with the utmost circumspection. When the heads of the columns were advanced within a short distance of each other, the darkness of the night had well nigh produced a fatal accident. The noise of an unknown and approaching multitude spread a mutual alarm. A fresh attack from the enemy was the general belief; nor could the truth readily have been

ascertained, had not some horsemen from both sides, fortunately sent forward to reconnoitre, known each other in the dark, and proclaimed the errour. On this, mutual congratulation quickly succeeded to apprehension. The common men, in a transport of joy, recognized one another. They called, by name, to their comrades, each recounting his gallant exploits, and listening to the like recital from others. Vanity had its free career; and all indulged in extolling, to the skies, their own fancied merits.—Thus it is with human affairs. When victory is obtained, every coward may partake in the triumph: By disaster and defeat, valour itself is abashed, and oftentimes tarnishes in the eyes of mankind. A. U. C. 644.

LVIII. METELLUS remained, for four days, encamped on the spot. His first care was to administer relief to the wounded, and to confer the usual military rewards on such, as by their gallant conduct had merited that distinction. In an assembly of the troops, summoned for the occasion, he extolled their valour, in the highest terms, warmly expressing his own thanks for such extraordinary efforts. "The difficulties," he said, "which they had now to encounter, were little, and "would seem light in the comparison, if met by them with the "same intrepid spirit. Enough," he declared, "had been done "for glory: It remained only to seize the spoils of conquest." Unsubdued spirit of the Numidian king.—Progress of Metellus, in reducing the country.

Jugurtha, in the mean time, did not escape the notice of the Roman general. By means of deserters, and others acquainted with the country, he endeavoured to learn the present residence of the prince, and the schemes he had in view; whether he were still in force, or at the head only of a few followers; and, above all, the temper, with which he seemed to bear the

A. U. C. 644. late defeat. The king, he found, had betaken himself to his forests, and places inaccessible by their natural strength, and that he was there drawing together an army, which even exceeded, in point of numbers, his former force: But it was a feeble and hasty levy; a multitude of raw recruits, that, how excellent soever as husbandmen or shepherds, were wholly unfit for action. As to the troops, which he had so lately brought into the field, not a man now remained. Among the Numidians, when the fortune of the day turns against their armies, the royal body-guard, which is a corps of cavalry, alone makes it a duty to cover their prince, and attach themselves to his person: The rest immediately disperse, each man shifting independently for himself (84). Such are the manners of the nation; and what custom has sanctioned, the soldier follows, of course, without reproach.

Metellus, thus admonished of the unsubdued spirit of the Numidian king, clearly saw that the war was to be renewed; but in what manner it was to be carried on, that, from henceforward, must depend on the will and pleasure of Jugurtha. At best, it was an unequal struggle with adversaries, who by discomfiture itself suffered incomparably less, than it cost the Romans to obtain a victory. For this reason, Metellus determined to avoid all regular actions, and even partial encounters; and, since neither honour nor advantage was to be gained in the field, wholly to change his plan of operations. Accordingly, he marched his army into the richest districts of Numidia, carrying devastation wherever he went. The open country was soon over-run. The towns or forts, left without garrisons, or but slightly fortified, were next taken, and reduced to ashes; and the youth, found capable of bearing arms, being put to

the sword, the whole were delivered up, to be plundered by the troops. A. U. C. 644.

This new mode of warfare had its effect. A general panic overspread the country. Hostages, in token of submission, appeared from all quarters; forage in abundance, provisions, and other useful articles were delivered to the army, while garrisons were quietly received, wherever the Consul thought fit to place them. Jugurtha, to whom the loss of a battle had hitherto given comparatively little concern, looked on these proceedings with terrour and anxiety. He, whose best resource had lain in shunning an engagement, was thus reduced to come forward to the attack; and, although unable to defend his own territories, was forced to carry the war into those possessed by the enemy. Still Jugurtha's genius made the most of every thing. Directing his main body to keep together in the same quarter, he himself undertook, with the flower of the cavalry, to pursue the footsteps of Metellus. By nocturnal marches, and unfrequented routes, he suddenly made his appearance, when least expected: He fell on parties of our men, unarmed, and straggling without the lines, who were, for the most part, cut to pieces. A prodigious number were taken prisoners; and few or none escaped, without being wounded, in these petty encounters. In regard to succours from the camp, they were of little service; for, before they could come up, the Numidians, as they were instructed, had in good time made off, to the nearest mountains.

LIX. Meanwhile, at Rome, the news of the conduct and success of Metellus were received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Men willingly applauded a general, His fame and popularity at Rome.—Public thanksgiving

A. U. C. 644. voted by the Senate.—Inexhaustible resources and stratagems of Jugurtha.

whose firmness had restored the antient discipline; and, although in circumstances singularly untoward, had yet prevailed, by his own resolute vigour. The enemy's country was already in his hands, and Jugurtha himself, flushed as he was with a triumph over the supineness of Aulus, was put to the rout, and fairly driven to his native deserts. In this conjuncture, it was judged fit, by the Senate, to vote a solemn thanksgiving to the Gods, on account of the late signal successes (85). The city, which so lately had been sunk in terrour, and filled with solicitude concerning the event of the war, now exhibited nothing but universal rejoicings; and all united in celebrating the fame of Metellus, with the most lavish applause.

Such flattering circumstances produced no remissness on the part of the Consul, who strained every nerve to put the last hand to his enterprise; anxious, in an extraordinary degree, to push forward his operations, yet equally cautious to give no room for a surprisal from the enemy: He prudently remembered, that, where glory precedes, envy is as sure to follow in the rear. In a word, success seemed to invigorate, not relax his vigilance. The late unexpected attacks from Jugurtha, taught him a useful lesson; and he was convinced, that, without imminent hazard, the men could not hereafter be trusted, to spread abroad in quest of plunder. When corn was wanted, or a foraging party to be sent out, the general was attentive to cover it: Strong detachments from the Cohorts, supported by the whole of the cavalry, performed the service; and fire and sword, rather the licence of pillage, completed the ruin of the country.

His method was, to form the army into two brigades, of which he himself was at the head of the one, and Marius, his Lieutenant, conducted the other. The two commanders took separate positions, at no great distance from each other; and, in that situation, they regularly pitched their camp. If occasion required, they could easily join, to make a powerful impression: But, in general, it was found, that, by acting apart, the freebooters were more effectually kept in check, while it spread terrour and devastation to a wider circuit. A. U. C. 644.

Jugurtha, all the while, never ceased to hover on their rear, pursuing his course along the mountains, and anxiously watching for every occasion to harass them to advantage. As often as intelligence could be gained, concerning the route of the Romans, he gave orders for destroying the forage, and poisoning the fountains, of the last of which there was a great scarcity. Sometimes he showed himself to Metellus, and sometimes to Marius. During the march, he would seize his opportunity, and rush down on the rear of the columns; then, suddenly wheeling about, retreat towards the hills. By dexterously shifting his attack from one quarter to another, the Romans were kept in a state of perpetual alarm. The affair was with an enemy, who neither fairly engaged, nor suffered them to breathe for a single instant; but who succeeded, for the most part, in obstructing the execution of their designs (86).

LX. The Roman general, when he found, that such stratagems inconceivably harassed his men, and yet ended in nothing, resolved to lay siege to Zama (87), a city of considerable magnitude, and in those parts accounted the great stronghold

Siege of Zama.—Jugurtha contrives to throw reinforcements into the

A. U. C. 644. place.—He attacks Marius at Sicca.

of the kingdom. He imagined, as, indeed, seemed most probable, that, by this means, Jugurtha would be drawn from his fastnesses; that he would march in force to the relief of the place, and that, in consequence, a decisive action would ensue. In this conjecture, however, he was disappointed. The king having procured, from the deserters, intelligence of the design, dexterously anticipated Metellus; and, pushing forward by rapid marches, arrived at Zama. By every method, he endeavoured to call forth the vigour of the inhabitants, and animate them to a resolute defence; strengthening the garrison, by the addition of the deserters, the troops of all others the most steady in his service, as, in point of fidelity, they were completely to be trusted (88). Moreover, he assured the inhabitants, that he himself would, erelong, come to their relief, at the head of an army. After taking these measures for the security of the town, he made the best of his way to the most solitary and sequestered regions of the country.

In this retreat he had not long continued, when news were brought of the Roman army being on its march, and that Marius, with only a few Cohorts, was dispatched to procure a supply of forage from Sicca (89); the place which, soon after the defeat, had given the first example of defection, and opened its gates to the enemy. Jugurtha formed the design of cutting off their retreat. At the head of a chosen body of horse, he pushed forward to Sicca, under covert of night, and fell upon the Romans, just as they were returning through the gates. Calling aloud to the townsmen, he exhorted them to attack the Cohorts in the rear, since fortune had put into their hands so glorious an opportunity. "The safety of their prince," he declared, "as well as the regaining of their liberties, de-

"pended, that day, on their courage." In this critical moment, Marius ordered his men to charge with vigour, and by a rapid movement got clear of the town; otherwise, there is little doubt but that the whole, or, at least, the greater part of the Siccensians, had again gone over to their former master. Such is the inconstant and faithless temper of the Numidians (90). As to Jugurtha's horse, the example of the king had inspired them with a transient enthusiasm; but, unable to sustain the impression of a well-embodied enemy, they fought only till they had lost a few of their number, and then saved themselves by flight. A.U.C. 644.

LXI. Marius arrived before Zama. That city was built upon a plain. It was fortified by nature, rather than by art; well provided with magazines, and stores of every sort, and full of arms and men. Metellus, after making the best arrangements, that the nature of his circumstances and situation would admit, completely invested the place: He assigned, to his Lieutenants, their respective posts; and resolved, if possible, to carry the works by assault. On the signal being given, the Romans set up a loud shout, and rushed on to the attack. The Numidians, on the walls, showed an intrepid countenance, and received them without confusion or terrour. On our part, the assault was conducted with various effort; some annoying the besieged with slings and stones, and some attacking and retiring, while others supplied their place. At one time, they advanced scaling-ladders to the walls; at another, they attempted to sap the foundations. All burned with impatience to shorten the contest, and engage hand to hand with their opponents. The townsmen, on the other side, Obstinacy of the siege. Skilful diversion made by Jugurtha, and surprise of the Roman camp.

A.U.C. 644. manifested extraordinary spirit. On those, that were nearest the walls, they rolled down stones of enormous size; while a volley of darts, pointed stakes, and flaming brands composed of pitch and sulphur, was furiously poured down upon the assailants. Nor did those of our men, who, less resolute than the rest, declined the nearer conflict, experience, on that account, much more security. Showers of missile weapons, discharged by the engines, or thrown with the hand, wounded the greater number. The dastardly and the brave, as it often happens, though they shared alike in the perils, unequally divided the glory of the day.

LXII. During this contest at Zama, Jugurtha took his opportunity, and suddenly showed himself, with a considerable force, before the Roman camp. The detachment, left on duty there, thinking of nothing less than a hostile attack, were unable to repulse the enemy, or prevent them from forcing the gate. Confusion and dismay succeeded to their first surprise; every man, according to his temper or resolution, endeavouring to shift for himself. Some seized their arms; others fled; many were wounded, or put to the sword. A small, but firm band, in number not more than forty, mindful of the Roman name, made a resolute stand; and, forming themselves into a body, gained an eminence of inconsiderable size, determined to maintain it to the last. In vain was every effort made by the assailants to dislodge them. The darts, which were poured upon them from a distance, they returned, with intrepidity, on their adversaries; and, in the struggle, as it was the few against the many, almost every weapon took effect. When the Numidians, emboldened by their numbers, attempted to approach

to closer action, then were displayed the greatest prodigies of valour. Dealing their blows with inconceivable fury, they slaughtered, routed, or put to flight, all who ventured within their reach. A.U.C.644.

In this juncture, as Metellus warmly pressed the siege, his ear was assailed with hostile shouts from the rear, and followed by a confused, and mingled tumult. On turning his horse, he observed, that those, who gave ground, were making towards himself; a sure indication, that they must belong to the Roman army. He, therefore, gave immediate orders to the cavalry to proceed, at full speed, to the camp; and Marius soon after, with the auxiliary Cohorts, was directed to follow. With tears in his eyes, he conjured the Lieutenant, by their friendship, by their mutual regard for the public welfare, to take instant vengeance on the enemy; and, by wiping off the disgrace, to restore the glory of their late successes.

Marius executed his orders with promptitude and effect. Jugurtha and his Numidians were now embarrassed in our entrenchments. Some threw themselves over the palisades: The rest, as they were driven back, crowded tumultuously together, in the narrow passes and defiles of the camp, and obstructed one another. At length, after much loss and disorder, they contrived to escape, to their mountains and fastnesses. This diversion, however, was not without its effect; for Metellus, at the close of day, finding his attempt upon the town for the present disconcerted, desisted from the enterprise, and ordered his army back to their entrenchments.

LXIII. On the next day, before the attack was renewed on Zama, Metellus adopted measures for the security of the camp.

A.U.C. 644. To that quarter, from whence the king's visit was expected, all the cavalry were ordered out, and regularly drawn up: The gates of the camp, and the adjoining parts of the entrenchments, were given in charge to the Tribunes; and, these precautions taken, the general himself set forward to Zama, and commenced, as on the preceding day, a vigorous attack upon the town.

The troops on guard were not held long in suspence. Jugurtha, who with his men lay concealed at no great distance, suddenly rushed from his ambush, and threw our front divisions into disorder: Others, from the rear, instantly supporting them, they rallied and resumed their posts; so that the affair must almost immediately have terminated in the discomfiture of the Numidians, had they not performed a manœuvre, which did infinite execution. Instead of charging, as usual, and then wheeling about, before they renewed their impression, they advanced with light-armed infantry mixed with the horsemen, and who were to take part in the onset. The trooper, relying on the aid of his companion, pushed right forward after the charge, and, closing with our men, fairly broke them. After we were thus thrown into confusion, and almost exhausted with the conflict, they left it to their infantry to complete the business (91).

LXIV. The conflict at Zama, during the time of this affair, was maintained with obstinate resolution. The Lieutenants and Tribunes, all alert at their posts, were eager to distinguish themselves; and, although they acted in concert, each trusted to the vigour of his own efforts. An emulation no less generous pervaded the garrison, who, on their part, resolutely

repulsed the assailants, vigilant in every quarter to maintain the place. Careless of themselves, attention on either side seemed absorbed, in the superior ambition of galling the enemy. On all hands, confused and dissonant sounds were heard; cries of animation, shouts of joy, and groans of despair: Arms fiercely clashed: Darts fell thick on every side. The furious, wild, and mingled uproar rent the air. A. U. C. 644.

At intervals, when the ardour of the assailants suffered any abatement, the attack on the cavalry, in front of the encampment, intensely occupied the observation of the garrison. With the fortune of the day, as it seemed to incline towards Jugurtha, or the Romans, their countenances were seen to vary, and hope and fear alternately took their turn. As if they could have been seen, or heard from the field of battle, some essayed to direct, and some to encourage their countrymen: Some waved their hands, others suddenly moved their bodies; as if, in reality, they were darting the javelin, or quickly stepping aside, to avoid the blow.

When Marius, who commanded in the quarter, which opened a view of the camp, observed this circumstance, he ordered his division to slacken the attack, like men worn out, and disheartened with opposition, and suffer the Numidians at their ease to view the battle: Then, when their whole souls seemed lost in the prospect, at once the word was given, to storm the works. The men rushed forward with impetuosity, and had well nigh mounted to the top of the rampart; when the Numidians, recovering from their dream, snatched stones, and flaming brands, and every sort of weapon, that came in their way, and furiously poured them down upon the Romans. At first, our troops made a shift to maintain their footing;

A.U.C. 644. But one or two of the scaling-ladders giving way, the men, who stood upon them, were dashed to the ground, and the rest glad in any manner to effect their retreat; the greater number covered with wounds, and few or none without paying dearly for so daring an effort. Night, at length, came on, and separated the combatants.

Metellus raises the siege of Zama.—He marches into winter-quarters.—Gains over, to his interest, Jugurtha's confidant Bomilcar.

LXV. AFFAIRS being in this posture, Metellus began to see, that his efforts were ineffectual. His designs on the town, as well as on Jugurtha, had proved abortive. To bring the latter to an engagement seemed out of the question, unless when taken by surprise, or when posted on ground, which gave him a manifest superiority. As the summer was now spent, he judged it expedient to raise the siege of Zama. Such of the reduced places as, from their natural strength, or that of their fortifications, appeared to be tenable, were strongly garrisoned; and the rest of the army was marched into winter-quarters, in those parts of the Province, that bordered on the Numidian frontier.

The operations of the field, which had proved so fruitless, being now closed, the Consul resolved to try what could be effected by negociation. It was not his design, after the example of his predecessors, to consume the time in indolence or luxury, but, by employing the treachery of Jugurtha's dependants, to turn Numidian artifice against itself, as the best arms, with which it could be combated. For this purpose, he addressed himself to Bomilcar; the same, who formerly attended Jugurtha to Rome, and, being there bailed on a commitment for the murder of Massiva, had privately escaped from justice. Bomilcar, besides, was the friend, who, of all

others, enjoyed the greatest share of the king's confidence, and, for that reason, the fittest instrument for a stroke of perfidy. To this man Metellus made his approaches with magnificent promises, through dint of which he was prevailed upon to come to a private interview, at the head-quarters of the Romans. At the meeting, the Consul pledged his honour to Bomilcar, that "if he could contrive to have Jugurtha de- "livered, either dead or alive, into his hands, an indemnity, "from the Senate, for past offences, besides the enjoyment of "his private fortune, should be the certain recompence of "such important services." On this, the agreement was struck without delay. The Numidian, besides the perfidious genius of his country, justly apprehended, that, were the king induced to conclude a peace with the Romans, he himself, in all likelihood, would be marked out as a victim, and his blood be the sacrifice, that would seal the treaty. A. U. C. 644.

LXVI. ACCORDINGLY, Bomilcar seized the first moment to carry his design into execution. Having found Jugurtha sunk in despondency, and bitterly deploring his fortunes and prospects, he conjured him, with tears in his eyes, "at length to listen to "the voice of prudence, and consult, ere it was too late, his "own safety, the safety of his children, together with the in- "terest of the Numidian nation, which had been so zealous "in his service. He besought him to reflect on the loss of "every battle he had fought; the desolation of the coun- "try; the slaughter or captivity of thousands of his subjects; "and, in short, the resources of the kingdom reduced to the "lowest ebb. Of the valour of his troops, he said, a sufficient "trial had surely been made, as well as an appeal to the

Jugurtha offers to surrender at discretion.—His sudden doubts and fears.—Renewal of the war.

A. U. C. 644. "decision of fortune. It was for the prince, therefore, to "consider, that, while he deliberated, the Numidians might "resolve, and, in good time, take measures for their own se- "curity."

These, and other suggestions of the like sort, made a deep impression on Jugurtha's mind, and convinced him, that to surrender was by far the wisest course he could pursue. Deputies were dispatched to the Roman general, to declare, that the king their master was now willing to submit to whatsoever conditions he thought fit to dictate: Freely resigning his kingdom into his hands, he would, without reserve, throw himself upon the honour of the Consul.

On this intelligence, Metellus summoned a council. All the officers of Senatorian rank (92), besides such others as he thought proper to name, were called from their cantonments, to assist at the deliberation. The whole was conducted in the style of antient usage; and the deputies, in consequence, had it in command to require of Jugurtha, forthwith to deliver two-hundred-thousand pounds of silver, as an earnest of his sincerity; besides all his elephants, and a certain complement of horses and arms (93). This order was complied with, without hesitation; and was soon followed by another, demanding, that the deserters should be loaded with irons, and immediately given up. The greater number, accordingly, were secured, and sent in to the head-quarters of the Consul. A few, on the first symptoms of a surrender, had taken the alarm, and sought refuge with Bocchus, king of Mauritania.

Nothing now remained but the personal submission of the king himself; and, for that purpose, he was summoned to Tisidium (94), there to wait Metellus's orders: But deprived,

as he was, of men, of arms, and of money, the restless spirit of Jugurtha yet began to waver. All his deeds of atrocity came fresh into his mind, and he trembled at the prospect of a just retribution. Many days were consumed in delay and irresolution. On the one hand, a crowd of disasters admonished him, that the continuance of the war was the worst of all calamities. On the other, the descent to slavery from a throne seemed an awful transition, and he shrunk from it with horrour. Although needlessly stripped of resources so considerable, his native fierceness at last returned; and he resolved with energy to renew the war.—At Rome, also, during this juncture, the Senate, having met to deliberate concerning the Provinces, in the new nomination, again voted Numidia to Metellus. A. U. C. 644.

LXVII. About this period, Marius happened to be at Utica, where he offered sacrifices to the Gods. The Augur, after examining the victims, announced to him, that "events "great and wonderful appeared to be in store for the suppli- "cant. Whatsoever were the designs he then meditated, they "were approved by the Gods. In a word, he might push his "fortune to the utmost, regardless of difficulty, and confident "of success (95)." A. U. C. 645. Aspiring views of Marius.—Genius and character of the man.

It so happened, that an ardent desire to obtain the Consulship had, for some time, taken possession of Marius's mind; and, if we except the advantage of high birth, he possessed qualifications, such as might entitle him to aspire to that office. Diligent, and endued with integrity, of the military art a consummate master, he had a spirit, which was intrepid in battle; while his manners, in private life, displayed a model of temperance. Completely master of his passions, he looked, with

A. U. C. 645. indifference, upon wealth and pleasure; but he was covetous of renown, and possessed an insatiable thirst of glory. Marius was born and educated, at the municipal town of Arpinum, in which place he passed his early youth. From the time that he was capable of bearing arms, he entered, with ardour, on the military life; but he took no delight in Grecian eloquence, and he was uninfected with the luxurious manners of the capital. Early trained in the discipline of the camp, uncorrupted dispositions by degrees expanded into habits of virtue, and soon formed him to an illustrious character. The military Tribuneship was the first office, that he solicited from the people; and, although his person was yet unknown, the name of Marius, which was popular throughout the army, procured, at once, the unanimous suffrage of the Tribes. From this time forward, gradually rising in the ascent of public honours, his merit was on all hands acknowledged: But it was a merit, which still towered above his station, and seemed to deserve more distinguished dignities.—Such was Marius once; ere ambition corrupted his heart, and fatally urged him to the wildest excesses.

In that period, even a man like Marius had not, as yet, ventured to offer himself for the supreme magistracy. Except the Consulship, every other office in the commonwealth was open to the attainment of all its citizens; but that the nobles thought fit to appropriate to themselves, in uniform and exclusive succession. The brightest renown, the most transcendent talents, unsupported by birth, were deemed unworthy of a station, so elevated beyond their hopes, and which shrunk from the contamination of Plebeian approach.

LXVIII. MARIUS, when he revolved the prognostic of the Augur, and his own ambitious designs, found that they bore upon the same point; and he embraced the resolution of applying to Metellus, for leave of absence to pass over into Italy, and stand candidate for the Consulship. The character of Metellus, although abundantly graced with valour, magnanimity, and other estimable qualities, was yet shaded by the great vice of the nobility, the pride of a disdainful spirit. Struck, at first, with the extraordinary nature of the request, he was astonished at the views of the man: But, thinking that he might be corrigible by salutary admonition, he cautioned him, as a friend, "to desist from so wild an enterprise, nor suffer "his hopes to soar beyond his sphere. To all men, he ob- "served, the same objects could not be the aim of reasonable "ambition. As for Marius himself, he had ample cause to be "contented with his fortune; and it became him to reflect, "before he solicited from the Roman People what, by the "policy of the constitution, they would very properly refuse." Perceiving that by these, and such other remonstrances, Marius was not to be diverted from his purpose, he finally promised, that he would comply with his request, as soon as it was consistent with the public service. On a renewal, not long after, of the same importunities, Metellus is said to have told him, "That it was needless so excessively to hurry his "departure. It would be time enough for him to think of "standing for the Consulship, when his son and he should be "rival candidates (96)." The general's son, to whom he here alluded, was a youth, at that time about the age of twenty; who served, without any command, under the orders of his father.

A. U. C. 645. Rise of his animosity towards Metellus.—His intrigues to supplant the Consul.

A. U. C. 645. This stroke of contemptuous raillery, which had the effect of inflaming Marius against his superior officer, served also more keenly to excite his eagerness to mount to the elevation, on which he had fixed his wishes. From henceforward, he gave himself up to ambition and resentment, the most pernicious of counsellors. He stuck at nothing, either in word or deed, so it but tended to forward his views, or encrease his importance. In the winter-cantonments, where his command lay, he paid his court to the troops, by relaxing their former discipline. To the merchants, who resorted in great numbers to Utica, he talked of himself with vanity and self-importance, and openly arraigned the whole conduct of the war. "Were "but half the present army," he said, "at his disposal, they "should soon see Jugurtha bound in chains, and prostrate at "his feet. As for the Consul, he was a proud, and superficial "character. Wholly intoxicated with the love of command, "he was in no haste to terminate a contest, which served to "gratify his favourite passion." By the merchants this sort of discourse was received with complacency; as the continuance of the war had already checked their trade, and threatened the ruin of their fortunes.—They who have their desires impatiently directed towards any object, think no means too expeditious, that can be proposed for its accomplishment.

LXIX. THERE was, besides, in our army a certain Numidian, by name Gauda, the son of Mastanabal (97), and grandson to Masinissa, who, by Micipsa's will, had been appointed next heir to the crown, after his own immediate successors; a man depressed with bodily disease, and, from that cause, impaired in his understanding. Having, it seems, applied to

Metellus, for the privilege usually granted to kings, namely, a seat, on public occasions, next the Consular chair (98), and likewise a troop of Roman horse, as a guard to his person, the general in direct terms refused both applications; the first, as it was an honour, never granted, unless to sovereign princes, actually acknowledged as such, by the republic; and the other, because the service of body-guard to a Barbarian, would be construed into a stain on the Roman character. To this person Marius addressed himself, as a fit tool for his purpose. He soothed the wounded pride, he stimulated the revenge, of the Numidian; and voluntarily made a tender of his own assistance, in procuring redress for the affront offered to his dignity. Where the mind was enfeebled with distemper, it was easy to flatter with success. The magnificent appellations of an illustrious personage, a rightful monarch, the grandson of Masinissa, were pleasing to Gauda's ear; together with an assurance of the immediate possession of the Numidian throne, on the death, or capture of Jugurtha. According to Marius, there was but one thing needful, speedily to bring about these interesting events; his own appointment to the Consulship, and the management of the war. By such intrigues the soldiers, the merchants of Utica, and the Roman Knights (99), who farmed the revenue in Africa, became all, in some sort, parties in his cause. Of these some were gained over by address; many sighed for the return of peace; but all agreed, in letters to their friends at Rome, in reprobating the measures of Metellus (100), and the operations of the war, and in demanding Marius, as the general that should conduct it. A. U. C. 645.

Thus, was soon displayed in his favour a very honourable, and independent interest, formed by men various in station,

A. U. C. 645. and respectable from their numbers, and seemingly without the solicitation of the candidate. At Rome, at the same time, every public circumstance conspired to favour the hopes of Marius. The People, by the Mamilian law, which had lately been carried through, obtained a signal victory over the Nobility; and they were preparing to use it, by the elevation of Plebeians to distinction and honours.

The Vaccensians treacherously surprise, and massacre the Roman garrison.—Plan of Metellus to recover the town.

LXX. MEANWHILE Jugurtha, who had dropped all idea of a surrender, now bent his thoughts to the prosecution of the war. In pushing forward the necessary preparations, no effort of dispatch or diligence was omitted, by that indefatigable spirit. He set on foot new levies for the army. He strove to recover the different cities, that had gone over to the Romans, sometimes holding forth the hopes of reward, and sometimes the dread of punishment; and he assiduously repaired the fortifications of other places, which still acknowledged his authority. Magazines of arms, and other warlike stores, which had been given up, in the view of an accommodation, were now re-established, either by manufacture, or by purchase. Incessantly practising on the slaves, and scattering bribes even in the garrisons of the enemy, he secretly endeavoured to seduce them from their allegiance. In a word, all felt agitation from a restless genius, that appeared to operate in every quarter, and with every instrument, with the same facility.

Among those places, where the Consul, on Jugurtha's first overtures for peace, had thought fit to place a garrison, was the town of Vacca: But the inhabitants, who submitted for the time, acted not from sentiment, and in their hearts never were sincerely alienated from the Numidian king. The leading

men, through Jugurtha's importunities, now entered into a confederacy to betray the town; and they could reckon on the support of the lower classes of the people. In all countries, and especially in Numidia, a fickleness of genius distinguishes the multitude. They delight in sedition, in sudden tumult, in civil distraction; and, from an absolute aversion to tranquillity and ease, they are ready to favour every revolution of the government. A.U.C. 643.

The chiefs of the plot, having concerted their measures, fixed upon the third day after, for carrying the design into effect. A festival, which was then to be celebrated all over Africa, they thought a fair opportunity; and the revelry and merriment, usual on that occasion, would lull the garrison into security, and prevent all suspicion of a hostile attack. At the time appointed, the Roman officers, Centurions, military Tribunes, together with Titus Turpilius Silanus, the governor of the place, as if in honour of the day, were invited to their houses, and all, except the governor, basely murdered, in the midst of the banquet. Flushed with this exploit, the Barbarians sallied forth, and fell upon the men, who, freed from the control of duty, were rambling about the streets, unarmed and unsuspecting. The populace eagerly joined in the attack; some being previously instructed by the nobles, and others urged on by their own savage ferocity. The most were ignorant either who had planned the massacre, or their motives for planning it; but the tumult itself, and the notion of a revolution, were sufficient motives to engage them in the fray.

LXXI. The Roman soldiers were seized with consternation. In the first moments of doubt and disorder, their natural

A. U. C. 645. thought was to hurry to the citadel, where the colours and shields of the garrison were deposited; but that place they found in possession of the enemy, who had cut off their retreat, by shutting the gates, before the commencement of the massacre. To complete their distress, women and children, stationed on the house-tops, vied with one another, in throwing showers of stones, and whatever else they could procure, on the heads of the soldiers. To ward off blows so unforeseen and irresistible, exceeded their power; and strength and courage were forced to yield to the weakest adversaries. Whichever way they turned, danger stared them in the face. The brave and the cowardly, the worthy and the worthless, fell unresisting, in the same carnage. Amidst this scene of dismay and danger, aggravated to the utmost by the fury of the Numidians, it is remarkable, that, though all egress from the place was closely debarred, of all the Italians Turpilius, the governor, alone contrived to escape in safety. Whether it was, that he owed his life to accident, or to the compassion of his host, or whether, perhaps, he had secretly made terms for himself, cannot now be known: But history must record, as vile and contemptible, the spirit of the man, who, to preserve an inglorious existence, sacrificed his honour, and who could hesitate to perish, amidst the general calamity.

When the tragical fate of the garrison of Vacca reached the ears of Metellus, it made a deep impression on his mind. On the first accounts, he withdrew for a while, to give vent to his feelings. Grief and anger, however, soon roused him to exertion; and he diligently meditated some sudden, and signal act of vengeance. For that purpose, he assembled as great a force as possible of light-armed Numidian cavalry; and having

with that body reinforced the Legion, which had been, during the winter, at head-quarters with himself, he ordered the whole to be under arms at sunset. Without delay they began their march. The next day, about the third hour, the troops reached a plain, inclosed on all sides by gently rising hills, and made halt at the place: But, worn out as they were with fatigue, and with the extraordinary length of the march (1), they refused to advance beyond the spot. Metellus exerted all his influence. Vacca, he assured them, was no more than a mile distant: After patiently surmounting the difficulties that were past, it became them not to sink under what was now so inconsiderable. Let them call to mind, he said, that they had to avenge their brave, but unfortunate fellow citizens, so inhumanly butchered! He took care to add, in a soothing strain, that the plunder of the place should reward their labours. Seeing the resolution and spirits of the men revive, he drew up the cavalry in front, with instructions to move forward, with open files, for the purpose of covering as much ground as possible: The infantry he formed at close order, in the rear, commanding them carefully to conceal their standards from the view. A. U. C. 645.

LXXII. THE Vaccensians, as soon as they discerned an army approaching, rightly concluded, that it was Metellus who was at hand, and flew, with expedition, to bar the gates of the town. Observing, however, that the troops, as they advanced, abstained from pillage, and that Numidian horse evidently composed the van, the persuasion that it must be Jugurtha soon prevailed, and they came out, transported with joy, to receive him. Both horse and foot, on the signal being given, sud- Success of the enterprise, and punishment of the Roman governor.

A.U.C. 645. denly rushed forward. One division fell upon the crowd, that was pouring out from the town, and cut them to pieces: Another, rapidly pushing on, made to the gates: A third detachment took possession of the works. All symptoms of fatigue instantly vanished, amidst the glorious prospect of revenge and plunder. Thus were the people of Vacca, during only two days, suffered to triumph in their perfidy; and thus a place, great, opulent, and flourishing, was given up to pillage, and to the edge of the sword.

Turpilius, the late governor, who, as has been related above, escaped singly from the massacre, was arraigned by order of Metellus, to answer for his conduct. On his trial, the defence set up appearing lame and unsatisfactory, he was capitally convicted; and, being only a citizen of Latium (2), he was first scourged, and then put to death (3).

Conspiracy of Bomilcar and Nabdalsa to betray the king.

LXXIII. About this time, the Numidian king began to withdraw his confidence from Bomilcar; the same who had instigated him to the proposal of a surrender, of which nothing but his own fears had hindered the execution. To Bomilcar, also, the state of the king's sentiments was no longer a secret. Anxious, therefore, for a revolution, he resolved on the destruction of his master, and, day and night, bent his thoughts to that important object. After various plans were adopted and rejected, he at length engaged Nabdalsa, as an associate in the enterprise. Nabdalsa was a Numidian of noble birth, who, on account of his extraordinary wealth, possessed great popularity and influence among his countrymen. By Jugurtha this man was usually intrusted with the command of a separate army: In every enterprise, he was a useful com-

mander, where the prince himself, worn out with fatigue, or occupied with objects of greater moment, was obliged to act by a delegated authority; and hence the figure and opulence of the favourite. In arranging their measures, a day was fixed for the execution of the plot: All other circumstances were to be regulated, as time and place should afterwards direct. Nabdalsa then set out, to put himself at the head of the army. His division was stationed at no great distance from the Roman cantonments; where his orders were, to act as a corps of observation, and take immediate vengeance on those detachments of the enemy, that came out to ravage the neighbouring country. A. U. C. 645.

Nabdalsa, when he had time to reflect on the atrocity of the deed, shrunk from it with terrour; and he failed to appear at the time appointed. Meanwhile Bomilcar, burning with impatience to perpetrate their purpose, trembled at the scruples, which might have seized his accomplice. It was to be apprehended, that his firmness had given way; and thus, fluctuating between hope and fear, he might forget his engagements, and fly for safety to a discovery. To end the suspense, trusty messengers being procured by Bomilcar, he dispatched them with a letter, in which he "bitterly complained of the indolence and irresolution of his associate. "He called the Gods to witness, who had heard his vows; "and who, if disregarded, would turn the offers of Metellus "to his sure destruction. In regard to Jugurtha," he observed, "his ruin was at hand. Whether he fell by the hands "of the Roman general, or they themselves had the energy "to strike the blow, was the only question. In a word, it was

A.U.C.645. "for Nabdalsa to chuse between the horrours of the rack, or "the recompense of a manly resolution."

Miscarriage of the plot.—Unceasing apprehensions and misery of Jugurtha.

LXXIV. At the time that this letter reached Nabdalsa, he had retired to his couch, after the fatigues of the field, to enjoy an interval of repose. On perusing the letter, a crowd of anxious thoughts rushed into his mind; until distraction, as was natural, giving way to weariness, he sunk into slumber. In Nabdalsa's service there was a certain Numidian, the manager of all his affairs, and justly high in his esteem and confidence; but he was wholly a stranger to the late confederacy. The Numidian no sooner heard, that dispatches were arrived for his master, than supposing, as usual, that recourse would be had to his counsel, or his service, he hastened to the tent, where Nabdalsa lay asleep. On entering, he eagerly snatched up the letter, which had been left upon the pillow; and, having run it over, a scene of treachery was laid open to his view. Without a moment's delay, the traitor took his resolution, and set out, with intent to lay the whole before Jugurtha. In a short time after, Nabdalsa awoke; but the letter was no where to be found. The deserters, who mounted guard over his person, reporting the recent visit, and sudden retreat of the confidant, his first thought was to pursue him; but that having proved ineffectual, he determined himself to go directly to the king, and try to make his peace with him, in the best manner he was able. He began by assuring the prince, that, how much soever appearances might be unfavourable, he himself was on the point of making the discovery in question, but had just been anticipated, by the perfidy of a domestic. Then, bursting into tears, he conjured him, "by their friendship, by the faithfulness

" of his former services, to banish from his mind all groundless A. U. C. 645.
" suspicion, nor deem him capable of so foul a deed."

LXXV. To these professions the king replied with a calm composure, although nothing could be more different from his real sentiments. Having ordered Bomilcar, and many others, who, as it appeared, were concerned in the conspiracy, for execution, he dissembled his resentment, lest further severity should alienate the public mind, or excite some dangerous insurrection.

From this period, Jugurtha's peace was gone for ever. Night and day, he was haunted with the terrours of suspicion. All, who approached him, were regarded with mistrust: Every place, every hour, every person could inspire it. Friends and foes, countrymen and strangers, were alike objects of apprehension. Wherever he went, although he proceeded with caution, yet he trembled at every sound. Without any fixed, or certain residence, he would pass the night, sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another, often ill befitting the dignity of a king. At times, he would suddenly start up from his sleep, and, grasping his sword, wildly prepare for resistance. Thus did fear, like a ghastly spectre, never cease to haunt his imagination, and drove him almost to madness.

LXXVI. The discovery of the conspiracy, and the fate of Bomilcar, could not long remain a secret. As soon as Metellus, by means of the deserters, was apprized of its ill success, he vigorously applied himself to carry on the war, as if, in effect, it were to be commenced anew. The importunities of Marius for leave of absence still continued. Duty and inclination, it was plain, drew different ways with the man,

Marius sets out for Rome.—Prodigious effect of his intrigues.—He obtains the Consulship, and the command of the African army.

A.U.C.645. while he entertained a sullen aversion to his commanding officer. The Consul, considering him, on these accounts, as little useful, suffered him, at last, to depart for Italy.

At Rome, meanwhile, the accounts, which were received, concerning both Metellus and Marius, by letters from the army, gave great satisfaction to the people. The general's distinguished rank, which had heretofore contributed to throw a lustre on his character, now served to inspire envy; while the obscure extraction of the other enhanced his merit, and powerfully recommended him to the public favour. The truth was, the real excellencies or defects of either, were little taken into the account: It was the rage of party, that produced the bias. Besides this, seditious magistrates exerted all their influence, to stir up the vulgar; in their unceasing harangues, charging Metellus with crimes nothing less than capital, while his rival, by their account, was a perfect model of every virtue. By such intrigues, the popular mind was so completely inflamed, that all the artificers, and even the husbandmen in the neighbourhood of Rome, whose livelihood depended on their manual labour, deserted their employments; all eager to attend on Marius, and utterly careless of their own concerns, when put in competition with the honour of their favourite. The nobility were terrified at these proceedings; and saw, with amazement, the dignity of Consul suddenly conferred on an upstart of yesterday, after being exclusively enjoyed, by their own order, during so long, and uninterrupted a course of succession. In a full assembly of the People, when Manilius Mancinus, one of the Tribunes, moved to know their pleasure, concerning a general, to act against Jugurtha, Marius was at once named, with unanimous approbation (4). A decree of

the Senate, which had, just before, assigned the province of Numidia to Metellus, was consequently superseded, and fell to the ground, without effect. A. U. C. 645.

LXXVII. To return to Jugurtha. The loss of his friends was a misfortune severely felt by that prince, and filled him with doubt and distraction. Of these the greater part had been cut off by himself; while the rest, taking warning by their fate, had sought a retreat with the Romans, or with Bocchus, king of Mauritania. Without ministers and generals, it was vain to think of a continuance of the war. The faithless character of his late adherents naturally inspired him with solicitude; and it was dangerous to confide in greater virtue, or firmer attachment, in their successors. In this frame of mind, every conjuncture appeared untoward, every man designing, and every counsel insincere. He was sure daily to alter his route, and to make a change of his officers. At one time, he would boldly advance towards the enemy; at another, he would retreat to the desert: Often, flight only and concealment seemed to be his security; then, in a fit of resolution, he was ready to make trial of the success of his arms. Whether he should trust less to the fidelity, or the courage of his Numidians, it was impossible to determine. In a word, whichever way he turned, there was nothing but disappointment, that damped his hopes, and obstacles, that obstructed his progress.

Second campaign of Metellus.—Jugurtha's desperate circumstances.—Sudden encounter with the Roman troops.

Amidst this scene of fluctuation and delay, Metellus suddenly showed himself in force, before any notice could be received of his approach. Jugurtha drew up, and prepared his men, in the best manner, that the exigency would admit. The battle then commenced, without delay. In that quarter,

A.U.C. 645. where the king commanded in person, the Numidian troops for some time made a stand; but the rest of their line was broken, on the first onset. Confusion and total discomfiture followed. During the action, some of the enemy's arms and colours were taken by the Romans; but few or no prisoners fell into their hands. In all our encounters with the Numidians, it was observable, that they relied more, for safety, on the nimbleness of their heels, than on the temper of their swords.

Flight of the king to Thala.—Strength and situation of that place.—The Consul's expedition against it.

LXXVIII. THE misfortune of this overthrow, more than all the rest, threw a cloud on Jugurtha's prospects. In his flight from the field, with the deserters, and a part of the cavalry, he made towards the deserts, and from thence to Thala (5), a place of great magnitude and opulence, where the bulk of his treasure was lodged, and where the royal children were kept and educated. No sooner was Metellus informed of his retreat, than he resolved to make an attempt on this stronghold. The parched and sandy deserts, which, he learned, extended the whole way from Thala, to the nearest river, and occupied a space of no less than fifty miles in breadth, were unable to shake his resolution. The possession of the place, and the prospect of thereby ending the war, determined him to bid defiance to every difficulty, and even to endeavour to triumph over nature herself.

For this purpose, he directed, that all the beasts of burden should be eased of the baggage, retaining only an allowance of ten days provisions for the troops, and adding a number of leather flasks, and other vessels, for conveying water. Whatever labouring cattle the country could afford, he caused to

be collected, loading them with vessels of any sort, that were at hand, for the most part composed of wood, and got together from the Numidian cottages. Besides this, he ordered the inhabitants of the adjacent districts, which, on the king's defeat, had submitted to the Romans, to provide as much water as they could carry, and rendezvous, with the load, at a certain place, and on a day appointed. This done, the general himself directed his route to the river; which, as has been already said, was the only watering-place on this side of Thala. The beasts of burden were here plentifully laden from the stream; and, thus provided, he entered on the desert. A. U. C. 645.

Having arrived at the place, previously fixed upon, as the rendezvous of the Numidians, the army halted; and, no sooner were their tents pitched, and their intrenchments completed, than a deluge of rain is said to have poured from the clouds, such as plentifully supplied, and even exceeded the wants of the camp. The quantity of provisions was no less abundant. The Numidian peasants, in that important service, had laboured with the zeal of recent subjects, and even gone beyond their instructions. As for the men, they were more struck with the miracle, than gratified with the water: It helped to raise their spirits, and fortify their courage; as they naturally concluded, that they were objects of especial care, to the immortal Gods.

On the following day, the troops reached Thala; but wholly contrary to the expectation of Jugurtha, who had little idea of the practicability of the expedition. The inhabitants of the town, no less than the prince, were struck with the success, and magnitude of this enterprise; and began to perceive, that they had vainly trusted to the impassability of the waste, or

A. U. C. 645. to any defence without their ramparts. Nevertheless, they prepared for a vigorous defence. Measures, on our part, were taken for the attack, with equal alacrity.

Siege and capture of Thala.—Despair and fate of the deserters.—Deputation from Leptis, to the Roman general.

LXXIX. The Numidian king, by this time, believed, that to Metellus nothing was impossible. The sword or the shield, the barriers of the earth, or the fury of the elements, were in vain opposed to him, whose courage and perseverance even nature herself was unable to withstand. Taking along with him his children, and a great part of his treasure, he escaped from the town, under covert of night. Wandering now from place to place, he seldom ventured to remain in any, beyond the limits of a single day, or perhaps a night. The urgency of his affairs served as a colour for this conduct; but it was unceasing suspicion, that tortured his imagination: He dreaded treachery and deceit, vices engendered in leisure, and that seldom wink at opportunity; and he hoped, that safety would be found, in celerity of movement, and a perpetual succession of new objects.

Metellus, in the meanwhile, seeing that the garrison of Thala were resolved to hold out a siege, and that the natural strength of the place was encreased by redoubts and bulwarks, sat down before it. He drew his lines of circumvallation, and secured the whole, with a fosse and palisade. The situations being selected, for making an impression, orders were given, to bring forward moving penthouses to the walls; under cover of which mounds of earth might be thrown up; erecting, on the latter, the necessary turrets, for the purpose of protecting both the works, and the workmen. On the other hand, the garrison strove to counteract these various operations; every

where alert and indefatigable, they were equally active in annoying the assailants. On either side. skill and intrepidity were carried to the utmost. A.U.C. 645.

At length, victory declared for the Romans. After a siege of forty days, the place yielded to a perseverance, which might well have been exhausted, by the fatigues, and the conflicts of so laborious a service. The entire plunder was destroyed by the deserters. That profligate set of men, seeing the impression made by the battering engines, and their own situation wholly desperate, they conveyed, to the royal palace, all the gold and silver, and other valuable property they could collect. There they shut themselves up, and gave a loose to carousing and revelry. When intoxication and fury were at their height, fire was set to the building; which, together with its inmates, and every thing it contained, was consumed by the flames. In this desperate manner, they voluntarily inflicted on themselves that vengeance, which they had just cause to apprehend, at the hands of the conquerors.

At the same time that Thala yielded to the Roman arms, deputies arrived, from the town of Leptis (6). The object of this mission was, to request the protection of a garrison from Metellus, and that he would send thither a governor, to command in the place. A certain person, it seems, by name Hamilcar, of noble birth, but of a genius restless and turbulent, had planned the overthrow of the government; a bold usurper, against whom neither the control of the laws, nor the authority of the magistrates was of any avail. In a word, as the deputies represented, the necessity was urgent: Delay would, at once, prove the ruin of their state, and deprive the commonwealth of a faithful ally. At the first breaking out of

A. U. C. 645. the Jugurthine war, it is unquestionable, that the people of Leptis had addressed themselves to Bestia, at that time Consul, and, afterwards, to Rome, in order to solicit her friendship and alliance; and, that being obtained, they had since deserved the distinction, by a course of fidelity, and attachment to the republic. Whether Bestia, or Albinus, or Metellus required their services, they were always ready with a prompt compliance. The general, therefore, made little difficulty in yielding to their request. Four Ligurian Cohorts were dispatched to Leptis, under the command of Caius Annius; and he had orders to act as governor of the place.

Account of Leptis.—Its situation between the Syrtes.

LXXX. LEPTIS, according to the best accounts, was built by a colony of Sidonians; who, forced into exile, by dissentions in their country, sailed over to Africa. The position of the place is on the coast, between the two Syrtes, certain bays of the sea, of which that appellation sufficiently indicates the character. Those gulfs or bays are situated nearly in the eastmost part of the African coast, being in description pretty similar, although of unequal magnitude. Next to the shore, there is an uncommon depth of water, a circumstance that varies, according to the nature of the bottom; and, in some places, during tempestuous weather, there are continued shallows. For, when the winds blow with fury, and the sea rolls with a prodigious swell, mud and sand, and even stones of vast size, are forced along, by the rapidity of the current. Hence, the bed of the waters is constantly changing, at the mercy of the tempest; and hence these gulfs have the name of Syrtes, from the frequent dragging, or shifting of their channel (7).

The manners of Leptis, as well as its laws, are mostly Sidonian, and attest its Phœnician origin. Nothing, but the language, has undergone any considerable change, it having received, by intermarriages with the natives, some admixture of the African dialect. The distance of the place from the seat of the Numidian government, tended to preserve in purity the institutions of a people, who were entirely cut off, from the more cultivated districts, by the intervention of a vast, and uninhabited desert. A. U. C. 645.

LXXXI. Since, by a digression, concerning the mission from Leptis, I have been brought to speak of this part of Africa, the ever memorable, and glorious achievement of two Carthaginians, seems not unworthy of being recorded, as the scene of action here presents itself to the view. During that period of the Carthaginian empire, when its dominion extended over the greatest part of Africa, Cyrene was also a state of great power and opulence. Between the two commonwealths lay a tract of country, sandy, and of uniform aspect. No river nor mountain, serving as a boundary to either people, was seen to diversify the dreary surface; nor had a series of obstinate, and bloody wars been able to fix the frontier of either country. After long struggles, and after the defeat and destruction of fleets and armies, had sufficiently tried and exhausted their strength, they naturally became apprehensive, lest some common enemy should at last take the field, and make an easy prey of the victors, as well as the vanquished. They, therefore, agreed to compromise the quarrel. It was stipulated, that deputies from either city, taking their departure on a stated day, should make the best of their way through Story of the Philæni.

A.U.C. 645. the desert; and the point, at which they met, should be declared the common boundary to both nations. The representatives, appointed on the part of Carthage, were two brothers, named Philæni; who, having departed, proceeded on their route, with extraordinary celerity. Deputies from Cyrene also set out; but their progress was less rapid than that of their rivals; nor can it now be known, whether the circumstance was accidental, or whether they loitered by the way. It is certain, that they, who traverse these wastes, like the mariner on the ocean, are frequently at the mercy of the hurricane. The surface being level, and utterly destitute of vegetation, the wind sweeps over it, with incredible fury. Whirling the sand aloft in clouds, they involve the luckless traveller; who, deprived of sight, and in hazard of suffocation, is glad to relax his speed, and wait, with patience, the cessation of the tempest (8).

After some time, the deputies met upon their route: But the Cyrenians perceived themselves to be considerably the later; and they dreaded the vengeance of their countrymen, who would impute, to supineness, the miscarriage of the enterprise. In this temper, they began to wrangle with the Carthaginians: They accused them of having come away, before the time stipulated by the treaty: In a word, they were willing to submit to any terms, rather than depart vanquished from the contest. A scene of heat and altercation followed. At last, when the Carthaginians, to end the dispute, declared themselves willing to acquiesce in any other test, if but fair and reasonable, the deputies from Cyrene proposed the following alternative. "Let their rivals," they cried, "be "buried alive upon the spot, which they required as the

"boundary of their republic. If they hesitated, behold," they said, "the men, who would devote themselves for Cyrene, and, "on like terms, advance to that place, at which they should "forthwith fulfil the condition!" The generous Philæni closed with the offer. Regardless of themselves, they laid down their lives, since the heroic act could benefit their country. Agreeably to the conditions, they were buried alive upon the spot. There the Carthaginians dedicated altars to the two brothers; which, together with other honours, paid to them at Carthage, ennobled their name, and long continued to preserve their memory (9).—We will now resume the thread of our narrative. A. U. C. 645.

LXXXII. JUGURTHA, after the capture of Thala, thinking no stronghold a security against the genius and enterprise of Metellus, took to the trackless deserts, that lie behind Numidia. Attended only by a few followers, he entered the country of the Gætuli, a savage and uncultivated race, and, till the present period, unacquainted with the Roman name. Of that people he drew together a considerable body. He gradually instructed them to preserve their ranks, to follow the colours, to obey the word of command, and to discharge, with precision, other military duties. Not content with this, he gained over to his interest, by splendid presents, and promises still more magnificent, the confidants and favourites of King Bocchus (10); through whose influence that prince was persuaded to undertake a war against the Romans. In his own mind, Bocchus felt no indisposition to such a measure. About the time, when hostilities first broke out between the republic and Jugurtha, an embassy was sent by him to Rome, for the special purpose of courting our friendship and alliance; a de- Jugurtha trains the Gætuli to arms.—He enters into an alliance with Bocchus, king of Mauritania.

A. U. C. 645. sirable event, with a new war upon our hands, and which policy might have dictated to improve to the utmost. But the design was obstructed, by the intrigues of a few leading men; who, dead to every feeling but that of avarice, habitually set to sale their influence in the state; ready to carry through the best, or the basest measures, as they contributed to the indulgence of this sordid passion. It is true, some time before, a connection had taken place between Bocchus and Jugurtha, the latter having espoused the daughter of the Mauritanian king (11). But of ties of this sort the Moors and Numidians make little account. A plurality of wives being congenial to their manners, ten and sometimes more, according to their wealth, are possessed by individuals, and by princes, of course, in a still greater proportion. Hence, among these nations, the commerce of the sexes is degraded. Distracted by variety, there is little affection in the breast of the husband: And for the women, as no one can hope to become the companion of her lord, so all are alike neglected and despised.

Jugurtha's artful management.—The confederate kings march against Cirta.

LXXXIII. BETWEEN the two kings it was agreed to unite their forces. At a place, convenient for either party, they accordingly met; and, an oath of fidelity being mutually taken, Jugurtha spared no pains, to work on the passions, and inflame the mind of his new associate. "The character of the Romans," he told him, "was well known: Shamelessly unjust, and avaricious without bounds, they were the common enemies of mankind. With himself, and Bocchus, as with other nations, there existed, in such a people, the same ground of war, restless ambition, and the thirst of empire; hence, for their

"rooted hatred of independent sovereigns it was not difficult to account. Did Bocchus doubt the fact? Let him survey their policy, and he would find, that, at the present moment, it was himself; formerly, it was the Carthaginians, or Perseus, king of Macedon, who chanced to be the object: Wheresoever there was a nation, formidable by power, or famed for opulence, they might there count on Roman hostility." These, and such like discourses, produced the desired effect. It was resolved, by both princes, to direct their course to Cirta, where Metellus, as in a place of security, had lodged his baggage, together with all the plunder and prisoners, taken during the war. The possession of the town, if that object could be accomplished, Jugurtha thought, would sufficiently reward their labour; and, at all events, as Metellus most probably would march to its relief, he could, by the allied forces, be brought to an engagement. But the crafty Numidian had a better reason, for urging such courageous measures. He was anxious to widen the breach, between the Romans and the Mauritanian king; and he dreaded, lest the latter, cooled by inactivity, might waver in his purpose, and, in the end, decline all interference in the quarrel. A. U. C. 643.

LXXXIV. When the Roman general received accounts of the confederacy, which had been formed between the princes, he saw the necessity of circumspection. The affair was not now, as heretofore, with Jugurtha alone, a vanquished enemy, whom he was always forward in seeking to engage. He pitched and fortified his camp, in the neighbourhood of Cirta, resolving to keep within his intrenchments, and patiently wait their approach. The Mauri, besides, were new adversaries. Negociation between the Consul, and the Mauritanian king.

A. U. C. 645. To gain a knowledge of their character required leisure and observation. After this, it would be time enough to bring on an action, as circumstances might arise, to turn it to advantage.

Letters, meanwhile, arrived from Rome, informing the general, that the province of Numidia had been decreed to Marius, whose elevation to the Consulship had, some time before, reached his ears. The last event, however, was a stroke, which the fortitude of Metellus was not prepared to support. His vexation exceeded all bounds of decency. He burst into tears: He launched out into invective: Nor could the many virtues, that distinguished the man, prevent him from being betrayed into an irritation, which was effeminate, and wholly unworthy of his character. By some, these excesses were ascribed to pride; by others, to a disposition, which, generous in itself, was too keenly alive to the stings of insult; while many were of opinion, that he, who had so fairly earned his honours, might well complain, when the laurels of victory were to be thus snatched from his brow. For myself, I have good ground to believe, that the elevation of Marius inflicted upon him tortures far more excruciating, than any injury, that might be offered to himself. In his command of the province he was undeservedly superseded; but the shock would have been received with less sensibility, had any other than Marius been the new general (12).

LXXXV. Metellus, thus overwhelmed with chagrin and vexation, laid aside all thoughts of further enterprise. Deeming it folly to cultivate, with hazard to himself, a soil, of which another was to reap the produce, he embraced the

design of dispatching ambassadors to Bocchus. He admonished the king "to beware, how, without provocation, he "stood forth the enemy of the Roman People. Peace, amity, "and an honourable alliance, surely preferable to war, were," he told him, "within his reach; and himself alone would be "to blame, if he neglected the opportunity. Though confident in his strength, it would be prudent to reflect, whether "certain benefit should be relinquished for contingency, and "the turns of a precarious fortune. In regard to war, princes "and nations had ever found it easy to draw the sword; to "replace it in the scabbard was the mighty difficulty. He, "who possessed the power to commence, was not always the "same, that could terminate a contest: For, while the veriest "coward might plunge into a war, the blessings of peace must "depend on the will and pleasure of the conqueror. In a word," he added, "Bocchus would do well to consult his own advan- "tage, and that of his people, nor embark his fortunes, high "and flourishing as they were, with those of a man, so utterly "desperate, and ruined as Jugurtha." To these remonstrances the answer of the king was in a strain mild and courteous. "Peace," he said, "was the object of his wishes. Yet he was "touched with sympathy for Jugurtha's condition, and fallen "fortunes. Were he also included in the treaty, it would "pave the way to a general pacification." On this, the deputies from the Roman general were sent back, with a suitable reply to Bocchus, who partly rejected, and partly acquiesced in, the terms of the proposition. From that period, the business was drawn into negociation. Messengers repeatedly passing, and repassing between the parties, helped to spin out the time; and, by this means, Metellus obtained his purpose, which A. U. C. 645.

A. U. C. 645. was to protract the war, without being forced into the recommencement of hostilities.

A. U. C. 646. Consulship of Marius.—He prepares for his Numidian expedition.—His hatred to the Nobles, and extraordinary popularity.

LXXXVI. MARIUS, as we have already related, had obtained the Consulship, to the great joy and triumph of the multitude; and, soon after, by a popular ordinance, he was appointed to command in Numidia. To the faction of the Nobility he had ever been hostile; and animosity was now embittered, by the greatest fierceness and insolence. Flushed with success, he pointed his attack, sometimes against individuals, and sometimes against the whole order, openly boasting, "that they had, at last, received a fatal blow; while himself "had borne away the Consulship, as spoil from a vanquished "enemy." And in this strain he continued, loudly extolling his own merits, and aggravating the mortification of his adversaries (13).

His main object, however, was to provide for the war. New levies, for completing the Legions, were forthwith demanded, and auxiliaries sent for, from the states and princes, in alliance with the commonwealth. Throughout Latium every man, distinguished for intrepidity, was diligently sought out; the greater part, from habits of service, being well known to himself, so that there was little need to depend on the information of others. Even the veterans, already discharged from duty, felt the fascination of his influence, and crowded to his standard. Nor did the Senate venture to oppose these proceedings. Although they hated Marius, they willingly voted the augmentation of the troops; in the hope, that, as the calls to military service were generally received with aversion by the people, their favourite, in that case, would either ruin his

popularity, or fail in the prosecution of the war. But this design was completely frustrated. Among the lower classes, the ardour for serving under Marius grew vehement and universal. Numbers enlisted under his banners. Few there were, who did not already anticipate their victories, confidently looking forward to the period of their return, and to the spoil, that was to enrich them. With these, and such like illusions, did enthusiasm flatter the passions of the multitude. A. U. C. 646.

Nor had the eloquence of Marius been wanting to inspire these sentiments. After the necessary decrees had passed for the equipment, and the eve of commencing his levies was at hand, he summoned the people to an assembly. Seizing the opportunity of launching out, as usual, against the nobles, as well as of encouraging the people to enrol themselves, he addressed the assembly, to the following effect (14).

LXXXVII. "I AM well aware, Romans, how ill the public "lives of most men correspond with their professions in the "outset; those of the candidate for office, with the conduct "of him, who is actually in possession of the honours of the "state. The former comes upon you with a deportment mo- "dest, unassuming, indefatigable: But, his point once gain- "ed, those virtues quickly disappear, in the arrogance and "inactivity of the magistrate. In my mind, however, a con- "duct widely different were proper to be pursued. In as much "as the administration of the whole government is an object "more weighty and momentous, than the office of Consul, or "of Prætor, insomuch does it become every man, rather to "dedicate his talents to the welfare of the one, than to gratify "his ambition, by the mere attainment of the other. His speech to the People.

A. U. C. 646. "For myself, I deeply feel the importance of the duties, "which, by your partial suffrage, I am now called upon to "perform. To equip a formidable armament, yet, at the "same time, to spare the public coffer; to press into the ser- "vice a set of men, whom, of all others, one would the least "wilfully offend; in a word, to provide for every possible "exigency, both at home and abroad; and all this, while tra- "duced by envy, while thwarted by opposition, and railed at "by faction, is, in truth, Romans, a harder task, than might, "at first sight, appear to him, who had never made the expe- "riment. In public stations, if errours be committed, there is, "with others, no want of sufficient palliation: High birth, "the achievements of an illustrious ancestry; the support and "influence of natural relatives, of powerful connections, and "submissive dependants;—those furnish the means of at all "times obtaining it with the world. But for me, my resources "lie solely in myself. It is by firmness and integrity of cha- "racter that I must supply them; for no other dependence is "of any solid value.

"On this occasion, Romans, I am not ignorant, that the "eyes of all are turned upon my conduct. My situation is "every way critical. Although the disinterested and virtuous, "fairly estimating my public services, are ready with their "support; yet the nobles lie in wait, for some colourable pre- "text to blacken my character. No vigilance of mine shall, "therefore, be wanting, that neither you be amused by coun- "terfeit appearances, nor myself fall a victim to a dark, and "vindictive policy. My life, hitherto, has been a series of "fatigues and dangers; and that rugged path, which inclina- "tion at first pointed out, and which habit has rendered

"familiar, it is not now my intention to quit, although I have A.U.C.646.
"at length found, in your favour, the bright recompense of
"all my labours. He, who, in climbing the ascent to power,
"has worn, for a time, the mask of virtue, will with difficulty
"retain the semblance, and practise moderation. But with
"me, there is no need to act a part: My first ambition has
"ever been the praise of rectitude; and when virtue once
"takes root in the heart, her sanctions become truly a second
"nature.

"It is, then, by your command, that I am about to conduct
"the war against Jugurtha; an appointment, which to the
"nobility is highly displeasing.—I pray you, my friends, re-
"consider your choice: Depute some more able general. In
"the crowd of Patricians, such a one will easily be found
"equal to that, or to any other enterprise; a hero of high, and
"antient blood, and fierce amidst the images of his ancestors.
"This gallant officer, it is possible, may never have been on
"service: He may tremble, perhaps, in the beginning; and
"the want of experience may confound his operations. But
"the remedy is easy: Let some bold Plebeian be placed at
"his elbow, a faithful monitor, to instruct him in his duty.—
"Thus it usually happens. You issue your ordinance, for the
"appointment of the general; and the general, in his turn,
"looks out for some officer of tried ability, to teach his lesson
"to the commander in chief!

LXXXVIII. "Were it needful, Romans, I could point out
"the men, who, after actually entering on the Consular office,
"for the first time began to study the history of their ancestors,
"and to learn the tactics of Greece. Ridiculous men! who are

A. U. C. 646. " not able to see, that although, in the order of time, the elec-
" tion to offices must precede their exercise, yet, in the order of
" things, the proper qualifications should precede the election.
" New man, as I am, Romans, and the first of my family,
" I will challenge a comparison with these lofty Patricians.
" And first, as to knowledge. What they have only heard, or
" perhaps read, I myself have seen, or I have shared in the
" glory of achieving: What they must be content to glean
" from books, I have learned in the camp, and in the field.
" Hence, judge yourselves, and pronounce on the difference
" between practice and speculation. In the next place, they
" despise the obscurity of my birth; and I retort, on the other
" hand, on their sluggish indolence; that is, an adventitious
" circumstance, the mere act of chance, is laid by them to
" my charge, while they can be convicted of the most mon-
" strous crimes. Nature, in my mind, is equal and impartial
" to all men, who can differ only through their own efforts:
" The most truly noble are the most truly virtuous (15). Could
" we only put the question to the fathers of Albinus, or of
" Bestia, which they should rather chuse for their descendants,
" such men as the latter, for example, or myself; can there be
" a doubt, that they would declare for the worthiest? If, then,
" the airs of superiority, assumed towards me, be justly me-
" rited, let those nobles, for the same reason, display them
" towards their own ancestors, whose nobility, like mine, once
" had its origin in personal merit. If envy be at bottom, and
" that the honours I have obtained glitter in the eyes of my
" enemies; I shall only say, let them emulate my integrity;
" let them equal my hardships; let them share my dangers;
" and then fairly wear them.

"The truth is, overweening pride has undone the entire race. A. U. C. 646.
"Survey their lives, and you would conclude, that they spurn-
"ed the distinctions, which you have to bestow: Survey their
"conduct, on the eve of an election, and you would imagine,
"that they demanded them, as the recompense of their merit.
"Deluded men! who vainly hope to unite the possession of
"things in their nature so heterogeneous, the enjoyment of
"sensuality and sloth, and the rewards of diligence and vir-
"tue!—Does it happen that they address the Senate? Do
"they condescend to speak before the People? the deeds of
"their ancestors is almost the only theme; vainly imagining,
"that they magnify themselves, when they eloquently set
"forth those glorious achievements. But the reverse inevit-
"ably takes place. The world judges by contrast; and it
"will regard the present race, as the more completely con-
"temptible, by being called upon to compare them, with the
"bright examples of a former day. As to high descent, how-
"ever, let us not dissemble the fact. AN ILLUSTRIOUS AN-
"CESTRY CASTS A RAY OF SPLENDOUR ROUND THE VIRTUES
"OF THE POSSESSOR; ALTHOUGH, AT THE SAME TIME, IT
"MAGNIFIES THE FOULNESS OF EVERY STAIN, WITH WHICH
"HE IS POLLUTED (16).

"As for me, Romans, I confess myself in want of such re-
"flected lustre; but, what is much more noble, I can recount
"my own achievements. Now, mark the inconsistency and
"absurdity of my adversaries. That, to which they themselves
"unblushingly lay claim, for another's efforts, they venture to
"refuse me, on the score of my own. I have no images, they
"say, to produce; and my nobility, if such it can be called,

A. U. C. 646. "must be dated from myself. Monstrous doctrine! As if "it were more honourable, to shade and sully, like them, the "memory of our progenitors, than to lay the foundation of a "name, which was unnoticed before (17)!

LXXXIX. "ROMANS, I well know, were they to reply to "what I have advanced, that a want of eloquence, and the "graces of style, are not among the deficiencies of this arro- "gant class of men. There, I acknowledge, they are in their "element; and, perhaps, it may be imprudent thus openly "to attack them. But, distinguished, as I have been, by "your favour, I could ill brook a violence of invective, di- "rected, on every occasion, not only against myself, but against "the Roman People; and I apprehended, that an unwilling- "ness to obtrude myself on the public, might malevolently be "construed into a consciousness of guilt. The worst that "words can do, shall never greatly disturb my quiet. If dic- "tated by truth, they must applaud me; and, should false- "hood prevail, and guide the blow, my character is proof "against the shafts of malice. But, since the wisdom of your "counsels has been openly called in question, first, in having "elevated me to the highest dignities, and next, in having "intrusted me with the most momentous affairs; again I be- "seech you to reconsider your decrees, and repeal them, if "rash and inconsiderate. As an earnest of my future con- "duct, it is true, I can make no boast of the images of my "ancestors, none of the pomp and pride of Consulships and "triumphs: Yet, if need be, I can bring forth the spear, the "banner, the collar of merit, and other military distinctions, "which are bestowed on valour; besides a body seamed

" with honourable wounds. These are *my* images! this *my* A. U. C. 646.
" title to nobility! not dully acquired, like theirs, by inheri-
" tance, but amidst the hardships and dangers of the field.

" Rude I am in speech: I value myself, not, in truth, on
" the colours of eloquence; for virtue, in itself intrinsically
" excellent, ever disdains to borrow from art. Rhetoric I
" leave to the study of those, who, to gloss and varnish their
" evil deeds, have need of her meretricious ornaments (18).
" Nor have I any tincture of the literature of Greece. Possi-
" bly I may underrate that boasted acquirement; but I draw
" my notions of its value, from the flimsy morals of its teachers.
" Yet, Romans, there are other arts, in which I also may pre-
" tend to proficiency; arts, indeed worthy of a soldier, and of
" some value to my country. I know to charge the foe; to
" maintain a post; and I possess a bosom, which is a stranger
" to fear, unless it be the fear of dishonour and infamy (19)!
" It is by those means, that I have learned to lie on the bare
" earth; to despise alike the winter's cold, and the summer's
" heat; and amidst want, and hunger, and fatigue, to preserve
" the vigour of an undaunted spirit.—This is the sort of know-
" ledge, which it shall be my care to impart to your armies;
" never rigorous to them, while indulgent to myself; nor un-
" justly swelling my own fame, at the expense of their labours.
" Such, and such only is the mode of commanding, which is
" useful to the state, and befitting the members of a free com-
" munity. That man I hold to be a tyrant, far rather than a
" general, who proudly rejects it; who, relaxed himself in
" luxurious indulgences, reserves nothing, as the portion of the
" soldier, but stripes, and duty, and all the rigours of a vexa-
" tious discipline.

A. U. C. 646. "It was by arts like these, that our forefathers earned im-
"mortal fame to themselves, as well as to the commonwealth.
"We alone of the present day aspire to imitate the glorious
"example; and, in return, what do we experience, but marks
"of scorn and insolence? Our nobles, every way unlike, and
"unworthy of their ancestors, swelling with the importance of
"services not their own, regard them as a debt, long since due
"by the community, and which the complete monopoly of
"every public honour is insufficient to discharge. Arrogant
"and mistaken men! how miserable your illusion! Your fore-
"fathers, it is true, have transmitted to you their wealth, their
"resemblances in wax or marble, and the vast renown, which
"adheres to their memory. To bequeath to you their virtue
"was beyond their power; for that expired with themselves;
"and is, indeed, the only possession, which no affection can
"bestow, nor no inheritance can perpetuate (20).

XC. "HAVING sufficiently railed at my want of learning,
"their next object of attack is the simplicity of my manners.
"I am low-bred and uncultivated, they say, because I am
"without the skill to manage an entertainment: I have no
"buffoon to amuse the company, nor a cook, who costs me
"more, than the steward on my estate (21). To all which
"allegations I willingly plead guilty, Romans; and it is some
"consolation, while I do so, to reflect, that I have acted in
"conformity to precepts, instilled into me by my father, and
"other antient worthies, whose example I would hold up, as
"my rule of life. By their instructions, I own, I was taught
"to distinguish between the female, and the manly character.
"to believe that delicacy, and soft indulgences are admissible

"in the one sex, labour and diligence the best praise of the A.U.C. 646.
"other; that the truly virtuous man should covet glory, not
"the pageantry of wealth; the renown of martial deeds, not
"the luxury of banquets, nor the possession of costly furni-
"ture.—Yet, since it must be so, let these effeminate men
"continue the enjoyments, in which all their desires, all their
"happiness are centered. Let them give a loose to the plea-
"sures of the table, to excess in wine, to the gratification of
"every depraved, and sensual appetite; and let the same
"darling pursuits, in which their youth has been consumed,
"be the delight and solace of their age; leaving to us, who
"envy them not, the fatigues and dangers of the field; for, in
"comparison with these, the most sumptuous entertainment
"is without zest or relish.—But think you they will agree
"to a partition so equitable? Far from it. They must be
"men of business, as well as pleasure; and, in this monstrous,
"and inconsistent character, polluted with vice, and debased
"by sensuality, they impudently seize on the rewards of vir-
"tue, as their legitimate possession! Thus, it deplorably
"happens, that sloth and luxury, those worst of vices, draw
"down upon their votaries no awful vengeance, no salutary
"mark of the public detestation; while to the commonwealth
"they bring certain, though unmerited ruin.

"Thus, having endeavoured, Romans, as far as my own
"character, not the demerits of my adversaries might require,
"to repel the personalities, levelled against myself, I shall add
"a few words, concerning the present crisis of public affairs.—
"And first, as to the business of Numidia: Many circum-
"stances tend to inspire us with a confidence of success. The
"formidable bulwarks, behind which Jugurtha had entrenched

A. U. C. 646. "himself, namely, the avarice, the incapacity, and the arro-
"gance of our commanders, you have now levelled with the
"ground. In the next place, a respectable force is stationed
"in Africa. That army, it is true, is sufficiently acquainted
"with the country: But it has been less fortunate than
"brave; it has been thinned by the rashness, and nearly
"ruined by the avarice of the men, who were placed at its
"head. Wherefore, I call upon every one of you, who are of
"years and vigour fit for service, nobly to second my exer-
"tions, and to stand forth in the cause of your country.
"Suffer not, I beseech you, the disasters, or the presumption
"of former leaders to draw an evil omen as to the issue, or to
"cloud the prospects of the future. A general is now to com-
"mand you, whose desire is to be ranked on the same level
"with yourselves; on the march, in the heat of battle, in the
"midst of dangers, alike the director of your efforts, and the
"companion of your toils. In a word, my friends, by the fa-
"vour of the Gods, victory, the spoils of war, and a full harvest
"of glory, will erelong reward our labours.

"But admit, for a moment, that those prospects were less
"assured, less flattering and immediate; what heroic spirits,
"but would feel for their country, and be ready in its service
"to lay down their lives?—Without energy and vigour, no
"man was ever able to transmit his name to future ages. The
"fondest parent, in his anxiety for his children, desires not
"for them a length of days, beyond the condition of huma-
"nity; but with reason he puts up his vows for integrity of
"life, and the fair applause of the virtuous and the good (22).—
"Romans, I should never tire of discoursing on such a topic;
"but words have no power to render cowards valiant: And,

"as for the brave and generous, enough, I trust, has been A.U.C.646.
"said, to rouse all the spirit and alacrity, which the occasion
"should call forth."

XCI. MARIUS, having finished this oration, and seeing that it operated in animating the zeal of the people, lost no time in entering on the expedition. Arms, provisions, the military chest, and other warlike stores, were speedily shipped on board the transports, under the command of his Lieutenant, Aulus Manlius, with orders to put to sea, and proceed to Africa. Meanwhile, the general himself opened the levies. The style of conducting them by Classes, according to antient usage, was not adopted. Volunteers, from any class, being suffered to turn out, they consisted, for the most part, of the lowest of the people, and such as from indigence were exempted from paying taxes to the state (23). This conduct of the Consul laid him open to censure. By some it was attributed to a scarcity of better men: While others considered the measure as necessary to the interest of Marius, who by the acclamations of the rabble had risen to celebrity, and owed his honours to the same interest. He, who aims at the acquisition of power, will ever find the neediest the fittest instruments for his purpose. Possessing nothing, that they can call their own, they are wholly absolved from the care of property: And of any measure they will seldom fail to perceive the justice or honour, if you can once convince them of the profit.

He completes his Levies, and sets sail for Africa.—Sudden departure of Metellus, from that continent.

Accordingly, the levies, in effective men, somewhat exceeded the number, that had been voted by the Senate. The embarkation took place without delay, and in a few days they landed at Utica; where Publius Rutilius, Lieutenant to Metellus, resign-

A.U.C.646. ed the command of the army, to the new Consul. In regard to Metellus himself, he hurried out of Africa; lest by Marius's arrival he should witness a sight, of which the bare intelligence had filled him with such unspeakable mortification.

Opening of the campaign in Numidia.

XCII. THE Consul, having from the new levies completed the Legions, and auxiliary Cohorts, led his army into the most populous, and fertile districts of Numidia; and of these the plunder was given up to the troops, without reserve. The attack of forts, and towns of little strength, or such as were slenderly garrisoned, was the next exploit; bringing on a great variety of encounters with the enemy; skirmishes for the most part, and not deserving the name of a battle. By this petty warfare, the men gradually acquired some rudiments of discipline. They mingled in the combat, without terrour. They saw, that, in battle, courage must ever be the safest policy, whereas cowardice is followed by captivity or death; that by arms and valour while we acquire riches and renown, by the same methods we protect our liberties, our country, and our kindred. In this manner, the raw recruit, and the experienced veteran, were soon assimilated; nor did the former yield to the latter, in steadiness and courage.

The confederate kings, when they heard of the arrival of Marius, retired in different directions, drawing off their troops to their fastnesses, beyond the reach of the Consul. By Jugurtha, who advised the measure, it was hoped, that the vigilance of the Romans, like that of other men, was not insuperable. With no enemy in their view, they would gradually relax into the carelessness of security: Straggling parties erelong would be dispersed over the country; and that then was the time to attack them to advantage.

XCIII. MEANWHILE Metellus, who had arrived at Rome, was, contrary to his expectation, received with transports of joy, by all ranks of men. The clamour of the day had now subsided; and his character and services were held in merited esteem, by both the nobility and the people (24). A. U.C. 646. Flattering reception of Metellus at Rome.—Operations of Marius, against the confederates.

Of Marius, whose popularity had procured for him the conduct of the war, it must be acknowledged, that he deserved the praise of consummate diligence and ability. Viewing with discernment his own situation, and that of his adversaries, he marked the relative advantages, and disadvantages of each. By means of his scouts, the motions of the two kings were seldom unknown to him. He eluded their snares; he prevented their machinations: Among his own troops, it was a system of perpetual alertness; among those of the enemy, no moment was secure against an unforeseen attack. The predatory excursions of Jugurtha and the Gætuli, against the allies, he restrained with vigour, frequently putting to the rout those daring freebooters, in the very act of making off with their plunder; and, on one occasion, in the neighbourhood of Cirta, the prince himself, being closely pursued, was reduced to the necessity of throwing away his arms, and trusting to the speed of his horse for safety.

These successes were honourable in themselves, and they tended to establish the reputation of Marius; yet it was evident, that, by such means, the great object of ending the war was in no wise advanced. Adopting, therefore, a different system, he resolved to lay siege to every place, which, either from its populousness, or its importance as a post, seemed valuable to the enemy, or dangerous to himself. Jugurtha, in such a case, would have the choice only left, of tamely aban-

A. U. C. 646. doning all the strongholds of his kingdom, or at once risking an engagement. How to deal with Bocchus was more perplexing. Messengers, one after another, from that prince, conveyed the most pacific assurances, declaring, that from him the Romans had nothing to fear, and that, above all things, he was ambitious of their alliance and friendship. Whether, under colour of these professions, Bocchus designed to strike some dangerous, and unexpected blow; or whether he yielded to the fickleness of his temper, which usually fluctuated between peace and war, it is impossible to determine.

Bold expedition against Capsa.—Description of the place.

XCIV. THE Consul continued steady in the plan of operations, which he had laid down for himself, and accordingly marched against the towns and fortresses of the Numidians, taking some by force, and by threats and promises getting others into his hands. He began, at first, with inconsiderable places only, in the belief, that Jugurtha would erelong come to their relief, and by that means, perhaps, be brought to an engagement: But, finding that he kept aloof, and, moreover, having intelligence of his being in a distant part of the country, and altogether occupied with other objects, it seemed full time to strike a decisive blow, by the execution of more arduous, and more important enterprises.

There lay, in the midst of those vast deserts, which stretch to the south, a strong and populous town, named Capsa (25), founded, as it is said, by the Libyan Hercules. Under Jugurtha, the inhabitants enjoyed a mild and gentle government; and, distinguished as they were by favours, and possessing immunities from that prince, they were supposed to be warmly attached to his interest. The strength of the

works, as well as of the garrison, but still more, the rugged nature of the country, in which it was situated, seemed to render the place secure against any hostile attack. Excepting an inconsiderable space, adjoining to the ramparts, the surrounding country was waste and uncultivated: It was destitute of springs of water, and infested with serpents, whose fury, like that of other noxious animals, is, for the most part, exasperated by famine; and these, though mischievous at all times, are uncommonly fierce, when under the influence of excessive thirst. A. U. C. 646.

To Marius it appeared a capital object to get possession of Capsa. Its importance as a military post, made it every way desirable: But what inflamed him the most, was the difficulty of the undertaking, and the glory acquired by Metellus, in the expedition against Thala; a place not dissimilar in point of strength and situation; but with this essential advantage on the side of his predecessor, that at Thala several springs of water were to be found, not far distant from the town, whereas Capsa had only a single fountain, which rose within the walls; nor was there any other supply of water, except from the heavens, for the entire use of the place. The Capsensians, like other rude inhabitants of Africa, situated in the interiour of the country, experienced the less inconvenience from this seeming evil, that their chief sustenance consisted of milk, and the flesh of wild animals; nor were they acquainted even with the use of salt, or other artificial stimulant to the palate. Food, among this simple people, was regarded only as a security against thirst or hunger, not as an instrument of intemperance, or an incitement to luxury.

A.U.C. 646. Successful stratagem of the Consul, to surprise and destroy it.

XCV. The Consul, having diligently enquired into every circumstance, took such precautions as prudence seemed to require, and his situation demanded, for the execution of the enterprise. It is probable, in an attempt, where human foresight was inadequate to provide against every danger, that he trusted to the Gods, ultimately to crown his efforts with success. Want of provisions even threatened him with destruction: For the Numidians, whose genius lies rather in the pursuits of the shepherd, than in the labours of the husbandman, had, by the king's command, carried the whole produce of the year into places of security; and, as it was towards the close of autumn, and the ground parched with heat, there was no crop in the fields. All the cattle, which, for some days before, he had been able to seize, he gave in charge to the auxiliary cavalry; and directed his Lieutenant, Aulus Manlius, at the head of the light Cohorts, to proceed to the town of Laris (26), where the military chest was ordered to be lodged, and a magazine of provisions established for the troops. He gave out, that it was his intention to lay waste, and plunder the interjacent country, and that, within a few days, he should repair to the last mentioned place. Having thus given a specious colour to his real design, he directed his march to the river Tana (27).

XCVI. The Consul began by equally distributing, for the subsistence of the Centuries of infantry, and troops of horse, the cattle he had brought along with him, directing, that bottles should be made of their hides. By this seasonable aid, the scarcity of corn was considerably alleviated; and,

without being obliged to disclose his scheme, the necessary preparation was made, to carry it into execution. A. U. C. 646.

On the sixth day, when the troops reached the river, a great number of bottles was found to be prepared; and there, having pitched their camp, and slightly fortified it, they received orders to take some refreshment, and hold themselves in readiness to be under arms by sun-set. In the evening, they began their march. All the baggage was left behind; and the men, as well as the beasts of burden, were loaded with water. During the whole night, they continued their route, and halted during the day. The following evening, they observed the same method, and arrived, on the third morning, long before day-break, at a certain place, diversified with rising grounds, and not more than two miles distant from Capsa. Here they finally halted, in order to pass the remainder of the night, and to keep as secret as possible all idea of their approach.

As soon as the day began to dawn, and the Numidians, who had no suspicion of the designs of the enemy, to issue in great numbers from the town, he ordered the whole cavalry, supported by the most active of the light Cohorts, to set out, at full speed, to Capsa, and gain possession of the gates. He himself, at the head of the main body, rapidly followed; and, intent only on the object of his enterprise, strictly prohibited the men from plundering. The townsmen were struck with sudden consternation. The unexpectedness of the attack; the urgency of the danger; so great a number of their countrymen at the mercy of the enemy; all contributed to increase their perplexity, and to overwhelm their resolution. In this dilemma, they surrendered at discretion.

A.U.C. 646. The town itself was reduced to ashes. All the Numidians, found in it, of a manly age, were put to the sword, and the rest of the inhabitants sold to slavery; after which, the place was given up to the pillage of the troops. It is true, the laws of war could afford no sanction to so rigorous a proceeding; neither did it proceed from motives of avarice, or from an unprincipled cruelty in the Consul: But the possession of the place was of prodigious value to Jugurtha, while to our armies it was scarcely accessible. Besides, the genius of the Capsensians was naturally fickle and perfidious; and he knew, that it was equally impossible to conciliate them by kindness, and to restrain, or overawe them, by means of terrour

Conquest of the rest of Numidia.—Marius lays siege to a fort near the Mulucha.—Its singular strength and situation.

XCVII. By so important an enterprise, so successfully achieved, and without the loss of a man, Marius acquired to his fame no inconsiderable accession. If before it stood high in the general estimation, it was now magnified to a still greater height. Even his faults passed for virtues; and the acts of rashness, which he sometimes committed, were regarded as proofs of superior genius. The troops under his command, who were treated with indulgence, and enriched with plunder, extolled their general to the skies, while the Numidians dreaded him, as something more than mortal. In a word, by both enemies and allies he was considered as a supernatural character, or, at least, as a person peculiarly selected by the Gods, for the accomplishment of their purposes.

A.U.C. 647. Encouraged by success so brilliant and flattering, the Consul soon made himself master of the other fortified places, of which but a few were able long to hold out against him. The

greater number he found deserted, and those he burned to the ground: The inhabitants, with one accord, dreading the miserable fate of the Capsensians, had fled from their habitations, on his approach. Thus, his ravages extended far and wide, and the country was filled with massacre and lamentation. At length, having reduced, with little loss, almost every place of importance, he planned another undertaking, somewhat different from the attack on Capsa, but not less unusual in its nature, or less difficult in its accomplishment. A. U. C. 617.

Not far from the river Mulucha, which separated the kingdom of Numidia from that of Bocchus, there was a rocky hill, rising out of the plain, to a prodigious height. On the summit, which for the purpose was sufficiently spacious, a small fort was built (28); but it had no access, except at one place, and that was by means of a narrow path, scooped out of the rock. The sides of the hill were by nature precipitous, and almost perpendicular, and formed, in every part, with such regularity, as if, in fact, the whole had been the work of art. This stronghold Marius was extremely solicitous to reduce, as the Numidian king had here lodged his treasures; and, although no pains were spared to effect his purpose, yet it was by means of accident, rather than of good conduct, that success attended the attempt.

From various circumstances, the place might be considered as almost impregnable. It was strongly garrisoned; it was abundantly supplied with arms and provisions; and there was a fountain of water within the walls. On account of the steepness of the rock, the erecting of mounds of earth, and the approach of turrets, or other warlike engines, were attempts equally hopeless; while the path, that led to the entrance, was narrow, and

A. U. C. 647. flanked by tremendous precipices. When, with infinite hazard, some moving penthouses were brought forward, for the protection of the assailants, the garrison either set fire to them, or, by rolling down prodigious stones, crushed them to pieces. The men could, in no shape, act with vigour against the works. By reason of the unevenness of the ground, they could neither maintain their footing, nor were they secured by the penthouses, from continual danger, in pushing forward their operations. Thus, the most adventurous were soon killed or wounded; and all felt discouraged, by the impracticability of the undertaking.

Boldness and enterprise of a Ligurian soldier.

XCVIII. MARIUS, when he saw his utter want of success, and the time and labour, which had been thrown away, in attempting the reduction of the place, was stung with chagrin and disappointment. He began to doubt, whether it were not better at once to raise the siege, or patiently to wait some favourable turn of fortune, which, on former occasions, had so frequently befriended him. While these reflections day and night occupied his mind, it happened that a Ligurian (29), a common soldier, belonging to the auxiliary Cohorts, who had gone from the lines to fetch water, observed some periwinkles creeping among the rocks. Proceeding to gather, first one and then another, he became intent on the occupation, and was thereby gradually led up, almost to the summit of the precipice. Every thing, he perceived, was quiet in that quarter; and, impelled by a curiosity, natural to all men, to see and explore places unknown, he persevered in the ascent.

It chanced that an oak-tree of considerable magnitude here grew out among the rocks, projecting its trunk near the root,

and, after taking a turn, shooting directly upwards, as trees, A.U.C. 647.
in such situations, are apt to do. By help of this, the Ligurian supported himself; then boldly climbing up, sometimes on the prominent parts of the rock, and sometimes on the branches of the tree, he at last descried the platform of the castle. As for the Numidians, he found, that they were all on the other side of the fortifications, diligently employed in repulsing the assailants. Having attentively considered the situation of the place, and the practicability of a design, which suggested itself to his imagination, he returned the way he came; not carelessly, as before, but deliberately looking round him; examining with attention every step, and trying the soundness of the footing, by which he had ascended.

On his return to the camp, he hastened to Marius. He related to him, with accuracy, the particulars of his expedition. He advised the general, by all means, to attempt the fort, on that side of the rock, by which he himself had ascended; making offer, at the same time, to act as a guide to his companions, and to be the foremost in encountering the dangers of the enterprise. On this, Marius dispatched some confidential persons, who were about him, in company with the Ligurian, to examine the spot; and although their reports, as to the facility, or the difficulty of the attempt, were as various as the tempers, with which it was regarded, yet they infused, upon the whole, into the Consul's mind, some hopes of success. Resolving, without delay, to put it to the test, he selected, from among the trumpeters and cornet-blowers of the line, five persons, who were of a description the most active and enterprising, together with four Centurions to support them; and, putting the whole under the command of the Ligurian, he ordered them to be in readiness to set out, on the following day.

A. U. C. 647. Success of the attempt, and storm of the fort.

XCIX. At the time appointed, the party left the camp; having previously taken such measures, as were needful for the expedition. The Centurions, according to the instructions of their leader, had changed their arms and dress. They had made bare their head and feet, both that they might thereby have the freer prospect, and might climb, with more facility, up the precipice. Their swords and bucklers were slung across their shoulders; the last mentioned of which being of the Numidian fashion, and covered with hides, as well for the sake of lightness, as that all noise might be avoided, if they struck against the rocks.

Thus accoutered, the Ligurian led the way. Wherever a rock, or the old root of a tree appeared proper for the purpose, the Ligurian fixed cords to them, in order to assist the men, in climbing up. Sometimes, stretching out his hand, he would lend his aid to the timorous, who seemed disheartened by the unusual nature of the way: Sometimes, where the ascent was most rugged, he would send them up, one by one, unincumbered before him, and then follow after himself, with their arms. Wherever it appeared dangerous to climb, he went the foremost. He often ascended and descended, in order to instruct his companions, stepping out of the way, to allow them to pass, and labouring to excite them to perseverance, by his example. In this manner, after much labour and fatigue, they all reached the fort, which they found, on that side, wholly deserted, and the Numidians, as usual, employed in the opposite quarter, against the enemy.

Marius, as soon as he was informed of the progress of the Ligurian and his companions, although he had kept the garrison during the whole day warmly employed, now redoubled

his efforts, and prepared for a general assault. At the head of the storming party, he advanced himself from under the penthouses. He formed the military shell, and rushed forward, sword in hand, to carry the works; while the slingers and archers poured their vollies from a distance, and the engines incessantly kept playing on the besieged. The Numidians, who had, more than once, broken down, and burned the moving penthouses of the enemy, now became confident in the strength of their fortifications. Instead of remaining within the walls, as they had done in the beginning, they used boldly to come down to the top of the rock, where they mounted guard night and day, in defiance of the Romans. Proudly looking down, they railed at their efforts. They upbraided Marius with the madness of his attempt; and, in the height of their exultation, threatened to make our men the slaves of Jugurtha. A. U. C. 647.

In the heat and earnestness of this attack, while glory and victory inspired ardour on the one side, and the last struggle for liberty and life gave resolution on the other, a sudden clangour of trumpets was heard in the rear. The women and children, who had come out to see the fight, first fled in dismay. The troops nearest the wall followed their example; till the whole, armed and unarmed, fairly gave way. At this critical moment, our men rushed forward, and carried every thing before them. They cut down, or dispersed whoever came in their way, resistlessly advancing over the bodies of the slain, and vying one with another, who should be foremost to mount to the top of the works. All desire for plunder disappeared, in the superior ambition of securing the victory. —Thus, did accidental success justify the rash attempt of

A.U.C. 647. Marius, and his imprudence itself proved, in the end, a fresh source of glory (30).

Sylla arrives in the camp in Africa.—His genius and character.

C. During the siege of this fort, Lucius Sylla, who was Quæstor to Marius, arrived in the camp, at the head of a strong body of cavalry, ordered to be raised in Latium, and among the allies; on which service he had been left at Rome. —Since, in the course of my narrative, I have been led to make mention of this extraordinary man, it may not here be improper, shortly to delineate his manners and character. No other occasion, it is probable, will present itself, for treating the subject (31); and Sisenna, who, of all the writers, that have composed the history of the period in question, has performed his task with the greatest ability, does not seem to me to have spoken, with sufficient freedom, concerning the man.

Sylla was descended of the great Cornelian family, but of a branch of that house, which had well nigh sunk into obscurity, from the indolence of his ancestors. His mind, beyond question, was of a superior cast; and it was cultivated, by a perfect knowledge of Greek and Roman learning (32). Fond of pleasure, but still fonder of glory, he was, in the intervals of leisure, addicted to luxury: But pleasure, with him, was not suffered to encroach on weightier concerns, nor to usurp an undue ascendant. On one occasion, it must be acknowledged, that his conduct towards his wife formed an unjustifiable exception, when even decency gave way to superstition and luxury (33). Yet he possessed, withal, an eloquence, an address, a frankness of friendship, and a depth of dissimulation, that gained upon mankind; whilst a generosity of temper,

and, above all, a liberality of his money, contributed to fix them in his interest. A. U. C. 647.

Sylla has sometimes been considered, as the most fortunate of men (34). But, however that may be, it is certain, that his good fortune was, at no time, superior to his efforts to deserve it. By some it has been made a question, whether he was really more fortunate, amidst all his successes, or more eminent for prudence, and vigour of ability.—Such was this great man, before the disastrous period of the civil wars. In regard to his subsequent conduct, and the excesses it displayed, it is with shame, no less than regret, that we call them to our recollection (35).

CI. When Sylla arrived in the camp in Africa, he was wholly unacquainted with the military art; yet his genius and diligence compensated for that defect, and soon rendered him one of the most able officers of his time. To the common soldiers he was, in a peculiar manner, conciliating in his address. To no man, of whatever rank, did he refuse a favour; but it was always with unwillingness that he received one; and he laboured to repay it, with haste and anxiety. To many his services were unsolicited, as his purse was, at all times, open. It seemed his great object, by every method to conciliate mankind, and to attach them to him by obligations, for which he neither demanded, nor expected a return. Add to this, that a charming facility of manners led him to converse either with lightness, or with gravity, even with persons of the lowest rank. On guard, on the march, at the work of the intrenchments, ever active to perform his duty, he never culpably detracted, as is usual with the ambitious, from the fair fame

A. U. C. 647. of his general, or other officer of superior rank. He constantly took care, as there were very few that could equal, that none should surpass him, either in the cabinet, or the field. By so meritorious a conduct, he erelong gained the favour of Marius, and rose to a wonderful degree of popularity among the men.

Unexpected attack, made by the confederate Kings. —Confusion and uncertainty of the battle.

CII. JUGURTHA, on the loss of the town of Capsa, and other places of great strength and utility, together with treasure to a vast amount, dispatched messengers to Bocchus, beseeching him to lose no time in marching his troops into Numidia, for that now was the season, for striking a decisive blow. The Mauritanian king, he found, still wavered in his purpose, and continued irresolutely to balance the various motives to peace or war. He, therefore, had recourse to the influence of his favourites, who were gained over, as before, by presents, to his interest. To Bocchus himself he held out the alluring prospect of a third part of all Numidia as his possession; provided that, by their union, they could drive the Romans out of Africa, or that Jugurtha's dominions were left to him entire, at the termination of the war. This offer was too advantageous to be rejected by Bocchus, who closed with the proposal; and, having joined Jugurtha, with a powerful army, they both marched in quest of the enemy.

When the confederates came up with Marius, he was drawing off his troops, towards their winter-cantonments. The day was far spent; and, as there wanted little more than an hour of sun-set, the Barbarians considered that as the season, for attacking to advantage. If they prevailed, from their perfect knowledge of the country, they could improve the juncture,

by cutting off the Romans in the dark: If they were worsted, A.U.C. 647.
night would usefully serve to cover their retreat. Whatsoever was the issue of a battle, the want of light would operate in their favour, as it would encrease the confusion, and add to the distress of their opponents.

From all quarters, the Consul received intelligence of the enemy's approach. But, before the troops were able to collect the baggage, and form into line; before any orders could be issued, or signal given for action, the Maurish and Gætulian horse rushed forward to the onset. Without any uniformity of disposition, they came up in irregular troops or masses, as chance had collected them together; and, in that manner, they fell furiously on our men. Thrown into confusion by so unexpected an assault, but yet not forgetful of their usual valour, the Romans prepared to receive them, in the best manner they were able. Some seized their arms: Some defended their companions, while seizing theirs; and others mounted their horses, and rode at full speed against the enemy. The affair resembled rather a great, and tumultuous encounter with banditti, than a combat between regular, and well-embodied troops. Among the Barbarians, no ranks were preserved, nor colours followed. Their horse and foot, confounded together, persevered in the attack. Closing with our ranks, they cut down some, and wounded others of the men; then, wheeling about with rapidity, they took such in the rear, as were gallantly engaged in front, against their countrymen. Neither arms nor valour could stand us in stead against a foe, who far exceeded us in numbers, and in every quarter covered the field.

A.U.C. 647. At last, our veterans, and the late recruits, who had been mixed with them, and by that means become perfect masters of their duty, began to form themselves into bodies. They seized every opportunity, presented by accident, or by the nature of the ground, of assembling together; and their ranks being in some measure restored, they succeeded in making head against the assailants.

Marius's firmness, and skilful retreat.

CIII. The spirit of Marius, notwithstanding, was not sunk; neither did his courage forsake him, in this trying emergency. At the head of his own body-guard of horse, chosen from the line, more for their valour, than for their personal connection with himself, he darted through the field; at one time, bringing succour to his own men in distress; at another, charging into the thickest of the Barbarians. In this mingled tumult, the word of command could no where be heard: But he fought as a gallant soldier, since his efforts, as a general, were of no manner of utility.

By this time, night approached, and the Barbarians, as yet, relaxed nothing of their impetuosity. According to the instructions of their leaders, thinking that darkness was the means, by which they were to secure the victory, they rather fought with greater ardour. Marius adopted the best course, that his circumstances would permit, and looked round for a situation, where he might effect a retreat. The place, which he pitched upon, was two neighbouring eminences, situated close to each other. The one, though not of sufficient size to admit of an encampment, produced a copious spring of water: The other was of more ample circuit, and well adapted to the purpose; and being, likewise, on more sides than

one, steep and craggy, intrenchments could be thrown up, with the greater facility. Having directed Sylla, with the cavalry, to take post on the lesser hill, near the fountain, he drew together the rest of the troops, who contended with their adversaries, in a desultory manner, over the field, and, putting himself at their head, at a quick pace gained the other eminence. On this movement, the two kings, who did not incline to encounter him in so strong a position, called off their men, and desisted from the combat. Resolving, however, at all events to cut off his retreat, they invested both the heights, with their disorderly multitudes, and in that extended circuit pitched their camp. A.U.C. 647.

The Barbarians, according to their custom, spent the greatest part of the night in revelry and merriment. Frantic with joy, they lighted fires throughout their lines, and wildly danced round them, rending the air with savage yells, and confused, and dissonant acclamations. Their leaders themselves partook in the illusion of the multitude; swelling with arrogance, because they had maintained their ground, and had not, for once, turned their backs upon their adversaries.

CIV. While they thus exulted in full security, whatever they did was clearly seen from the heights, where the Romans were posted, and inspired at once satisfaction and confidence. From their unskilfulness, Marius drew a favourable omen, and resolved to turn it to his advantage. He ordered a profound silence to be observed throughout the camp, and, even at the relieving of the guards, the ordinary practice of sounding the trumpet to be discontinued. When the day began to dawn, and the Barbarians, oppressed with fatigue and sleep, Nocturnal attack, and storm of the Barbarian camp.

A. U. C. 647. had, for some time only, stretched themselves to repose; on a sudden, the trumpets of the guards on duty, joined by those of the cavalry, and of all the Cohorts of the line, at once sounded the charge. The whole army set up a loud shout, and poured down, from their intrenchments, to storm the camp. The Mauri and Gætulians, starting from slumber, and seized with consternation at a tumult so wild and horrible, were, at first, deprived of all recollection. They could neither find their arms, nor betake themselves to flight, far less adopt any effectual measures for resistance. Wholly overpowered with the uproar, the confusion, and the tremendousness of the assault, seeing no prospect of succour, and pressed, on all sides, by the fury of the enemy, the whole were routed, and put to flight. Most of their arms and standards were taken. The men, whom they lost, in all the former engagements, were nothing to the number, that now lay dead upon the field. The entire unexpectedness of the attack, together with the united effect of sleep and consternation, had precluded their saving themselves, as usual, by flight.

The Consul marches towards the coast.—His singular vigilance, and the admirable discipline, maintained.

CV. MARIUS now prosecuted, without interruption, his design of marching the troops into winter-cantonments, resolving, on account of a better supply of provisions, to quarter them along the coast. Neither elevated by success, nor careless from security, he constantly marched in complete order of battle, and as if in the face of an enemy. Sylla, at the head of the cavalry, was posted on the right; on the left, Aulus Manlius, with the slingers and archers, supported by the Ligurian Cohorts; the light companies, commanded by the Tribunes, closed the front and rear. The deserters, whom

he least regarded, and knew to be best acquainted with the country, acted as scouts, and watched the motions of the confederates. The Consul, meanwhile, as if the only officer on duty, with his own eyes inspected the whole. He was present in every quarter: He applauded or reprimanded, according to their merits, the conduct of individuals; and being constantly alert, and armed for battle, he obliged others to adopt a similar precaution. A.U.C. 647.

Nor was there less diligence or foresight displayed, in fortifying the camp. At all the gates, guards were regularly mounted, by the Cohorts of the line; sentinels were every where planted upon the works; and the duty of the advanced and rear-guards, without the intrenchments, assigned to the auxiliary cavalry. Besides this, the general regularly went the rounds, during the night; not from any idea that discipline was relaxed, or that his orders were neglected; but he well knew, that fatigue and hardship would be borne, by the soldiers, with the greater chearfulness, when they saw the commander in chief take an equal share.

In the whole course of the war, it was the practice of Marius, to maintain discipline, rather by an appeal to the honour, and emulation of the troops, than by any severity of punishment. This line of conduct some imputed to his thirst of popularity with the common men: Others were of opinion, that he only persevered in those habits of fatigue, wherein from his youth up he had delighted, but which would have been shunned with assiduity, and accounted as hardship, by the rest of the world. Be this as it may, the fame that attended his arms, and the services he rendered to his country,

A. U. C. 647. were not less brilliant, than if they had been brought about, by the most rigorous discipline.

Battle of Cirta.—Total defeat of the confederate forces

CVI. On the fourth day after the battle, as the army advanced in this order, and were not far from the town of Cirta, the scouts, who had been sent out to reconnoitre, were suddenly seen falling back towards the main body; a certain indication, that the enemy were at hand. As the scouts were driven in, in every direction, and all at once made the same signals, it was impossible to determine, from what quarter to look for an attack. The Consul resolved, without making any alteration on the disposition of the troops, to halt on the spot; as the order of battle, which he had preserved on the march, prepared him on all sides for repelling an enemy. By this means, a manœuvre of Jugurtha's was totally disconcerted. He had divided his forces into four separate bodies; and as they rapidly advanced from as many points at once, he fully expected, that some one of them, at least, would have made good its impression, and been able to fall upon the rear of the Romans.

The first division that came up, was against the quarter, where Sylla commanded. Without waiting for an attack, that officer, having encouraged his men, rushed forward at full speed, to oppose the Mauri, charging them by troops, and at as close order as possible. Those not employed in the charge, he directed firmly to keep their ground, and only to defend themselves from the darts, thrown from a distance; but whoever attempted to close with them, they were instantly to cut down, without hesitation.

CVII. While the contest was thus maintained by the horse, A. U. C. 647.
Bocchus, at the head of a strong body of infantry, fell upon the rear of the Romans. His son Volux had, with those troops, just joined the army; and, being retarded on his march, he had not been present in the former action. Marius, at this moment, was warmly engaged in the van, against Jugurtha, who, with the weight of his troops, bore down on that quarter. But, no sooner did the wily Numidian learn, that Bocchus was come up, than privately withdrawing, with a few attendants, he gained the part of the field, where that prince led on the infantry. He called aloud to our men, in Latin (which he had learned to speak at Numantia), to desist from a combat, which it was now fruitless to maintain. Marius, their general, he said, was no more; as he had just before slain him, with his own hand. With these words, he brandished his sword full in their view, besmeared with the blood of a Legionary soldier, whom Jugurtha had engaged, beyond question with great gallantry, and left dead upon the field. Struck with horrour at intelligence so disastrous, rather than putting trust in the credit of the relater, the troops stood aghast; while the Barbarians, taking advantage of their dismay, pressed forward, with redoubled vigour. So serious was the impression, made upon our men, that they actually fell back, and were nearly put to the rout; had not Sylla, who had defeated the division, with which he was engaged, fortunately come up at that critical moment, and, charging the Mauri in flank, turned the fortune of the day.

On this, Bocchus gave ground, and soon betook himself to flight. Jugurtha made a gallant attempt to maintain his advantage, and seize the laurels, which stratagem had so nearly

A.U.C.647. put within his reach (36): But, seeing himself surrounded by our horse on the right, and, on the left, scarce a man remaining to support him, by a desperate effort, he cut his way through the enemy, and, amidst a shower of darts, effected his escape. By this time, Marius himself came up. Having also succeeded in repulsing the confederate horse, he now flew to reinforce that division of the army, which was said to be giving way, and by his presence helped to complete the victory.

Bocchus has recourse to negociation. —His conference with Sylla and Manlius.

CVIII. THE field displayed a shocking spectacle of carnage and destruction: Some flying, and some pursuing; some taken prisoners, and some cut down by the conquerors; horses and men laid prostrate, in one scene of promiscuous confusion; many covered with wounds, and striving to escape, yet falling to the ground, in the fruitless endeavour. Along the plain, as far as the eye could reach, nothing was to be seen, but swords, and javelins, and bucklers, amidst the carcases of the slain; and the earth dyed with human gore (37).

The Consul, after obtaining a victory so complete, according to his original design, reached Cirta. On the fifth day subsequent to the engagement, ambassadors arrived from Bocchus, charged with a request, from the king their master, to Marius, that he would forthwith dispatch two confidential persons, with full powers to treat with Bocchus, touching certain points, of moment to himself, as well as to the Roman People. The Consul, without delay, pitched on Sylla and Manlius, as fit persons for the purpose, and they accordingly took their departure, on this embassy.

On arriving at the court of the Mauritanian king, although he himself had solicited the visit, they yet judged it proper to take the lead, in opening the conference. If he seemed backward to treat, they might overcome his scruples, and usefully work upon his mind: If he were really inclined to peace, they might render it more alluring, by painting forth its advantages, in the most pleasing colours. Manlius, in point of age, claimed the precedency over his associate, yet he readily yielded to Sylla the palm of eloquence; and, on being admitted to the prince's presence, the latter concisely addressed him, in the following strain. A. U. C. 647.

CIX. "It is with unfeigned satisfaction, King Bocchus, "that we learn, that the Gods have, at length, turned your "heart, and inclined you to peace, rather than to the hor- "rours of war; unwilling to unite the fate of so good, and "gracious a prince, with that of Jugurtha, the most profligate "of mankind. Nor, while we unsheath the sword against "such a miscreant, shall we any longer be subjected to the "cruel necessity of evincing hostility to you, whose only fault "is too generous a benevolence, and too easy a credulity. "Even in the infancy of the power of Rome, it was her con- "stant maxim, rather to conciliate friends, than to add to the "number of dependants; rather to rule over the willing, than "to constrain the disobedient. Sylla' address to the Mauritanian king.

"Where is there an alliance, more truly advantageous to "you, than that of the Roman People? Your kingdom is far "removed from them; and, for that reason, you might culti- "vate the kindness, without being disturbed by the petty jea- "lousy of neighbours. Their subjects are sufficiently numerous, "and they could have no motive to invade your kingdom.

A.U.C.647. "As to friends and allies, what nation, or, indeed, what indi-
"vidual ever had enow?

"Happy had it been for yourself, we must be permitted to
"say, had you earlier manifested this pacific temper: Then
"might you have received far greater benefit from our alli-
"ance, than the evils, which from our enmity you certainly
"have experienced. But Fortune, that sovereign arbitress of
"the affairs of men, decreed it otherwise. And, although she
"has hitherto destined you to know the extent of our power,
"as well as the importance of our favour, seize, we beseech
"you, the glorious opportunity, which she presents, and cherish,
"with diligence, the sentiments, that have begun to take root in
"your heart. Many and various are the methods, by which
"you may yet both redeem the past, and improve the future.
"At all events, bear in mind, that the Roman People never
"suffer themselves to be surpassed in acts of kindness, and a
"generous attachment. Of their prowess in war, we forbear
"to speak, as that is sufficiently known to you, by your own
"experience."

Bocchus doubts and wavers.—He, at length, sends ambassadors to Rome.

CX. To this address, Bocchus's reply was mild and courteous, at the same time that he was willing to make a brief apology for his misconduct. "It was with no design," he said, "of hostility or violence, that he had had recourse to "arms; but from the unavoidable necessity of self-defence, "and the protection of his dominions. To continue an indif-"ferent spectator of the progress of Marius, who laid waste a "portion of Numidia, that belonged to him by right of con-"quest, was utterly impossible, as he had driven Jugurtha out "of that territory, by force of arms (38): Besides, he had sent

" ambassadors to Rome, to solicit her friendship, and his ap- A. U. C. 647.
" plication had been rejected, and treated with indifference.
" On the past, notwithstanding, it was not his purpose to
" dwell; and, if permitted by Marius, he would again send
" deputies to the Senate, on the same pacific errand."

When this offer was laid before the Consul, he readily assented to the proposition. But, before the deputies had time to depart for Rome, the Mauritanian king began to waver, and to listen to the insidious counsels of his favourites. Jugurtha, who had been informed of the visit of Sylla and Manlius, naturally apprehending that it portended no good to his cause, again applied himself to corrupt the confidants of Bocchus, and he succeeded, as before, in drawing them over to his interest.

Marius, meanwhile, fixed his army in their winter-cantonments. At the head of the light Cohorts, and a detachment of the cavalry, he then marched on an expedition into the desert, with intent to reduce a castle, belonging to Jugurtha, where all the deserters had been assembled, and stationed as a garrison, to defend the place. During this siege, Bocchus fortunately began to think better of the negociation. Admonished, either by the issue of the two unsuccessful battles which he had fought, or, perhaps, by some advisers, whom Jugurtha had neglected to corrupt, he at length put into commission five deputies, persons, in whose talents and fidelity he could most confide, for the purpose of fulfilling his engagement. Investing them with full powers to accommodate every difference, and, at all events, to negociate a peace, he dispatched them to Marius; and, should the Consul approve of their mission, he was forthwith to forward them to Rome.

A. U. C. 647. Kindness of Sylla to the Maurish deputies.

CXI. The plenipotentiaries lost no time in setting out for the winter-quarters of the Romans. But, on their journey, they were beset by a band of Gætulian robbers, and completely plundered, and stripped of all they had. In this miserable condition, and trembling for their lives, they took refuge at the cantonment of Sylla, whom Marius, on his departure for the desert, had left with the rank of Prætor, to command in his stead. Far from reproaching the Barbarians, as he well might, for the fickleness and inconstancy of their conduct, he received them with respect. He relieved their distress; he generously supplied their wants; and, by the munificence of his presents, soon persuaded them, that all they had heard, concerning the avarice of the Romans, was groundless calumny; and that they might count upon himself, as their firm friend in every difficulty. The arts of intrigue and corruption, although diffused among us, were then wholly unknown to many nations of the globe; and the Mauri, at that period, like other uncultivated tribes, simply believed, that all show of generosity was nothing less than a proof of benevolence. He, who gave, they thought, gave freely from the heart, and without the incitement of any interested motive.

To the Quæstor, as to a friend and confidant, they made no difficulty in laying open their instructions, requesting, at the same time, his assistance, and counsel how they should act. In their conferences with Sylla, they took an opportunity to magnify the power, the honour, and the resources of their sovereign, adding whatsoever else might appear interesting to the Romans, or tend to advance them in the favour of their benefactor. Sylla, without hesitation, promised all they demanded. He instructed them as to the terms, in which they

should address both Marius and the Senate, and hospitably entertained them about forty days. A. U. C. 647.

CXII. About this time, Marius returned to Cirta, but without effecting the object of his expedition. On learning the arrival of the deputies, he sent for them to his head-quarters, together with Sylla. He summoned thither, also, Lucius Bellienus, the Prætor (39), from Utica, together with every other person of Senatorian rank, in order to take into consideration the proposals of Bocchus. A council being held, the deputies were permitted to proceed to Rome, and, at their request, a cessation of arms, pending the negociation, was further granted them. Resolutions to this effect were carried, by a majority of the council, together with Sylla; but a few others were inclined to harsher measures. Unmindful of the nature of human affairs, they forgot, that they are ever fluctuating and inconstant, often becoming adverse at the very moment, when they flatter us with the prospect of success. A. U. C. 648. Marius summons a council.—Arrival of the deputies at Rome. Answer to their application by the Senate.

The Maurish deputies, after thus succeeding in their application, dispatched three of their number to Rome, accompanied by Cnæus Octavius Rufus (40), who, with the rank of Quæstor, had brought over a supply for the military chest, to Africa; and the two others returned to the Mauritanian king. The intelligence, which they brought, of the success of their mission, gave satisfaction to Bocchus, and especially he was delighted with the kindness and courtesy of Sylla.

On the arrival of the deputies, they made their request for the friendship and alliance of the republic. Having apologized to the Senate for the conduct of the king their master, who, they said, was misled by the insidious arts of Jugurtha, they received

A. U. C. 648. for answer; "That the Senate and Roman People, though "sensible of friendship, were yet not unmindful of injuries. "That, since Bocchus repented of his errour, they freely forgave "him; and that a league of alliance should not be refused, "when he had first deserved it, by the steadiness of his con- "duct, and his future services."

Sylla, at the instance of Bocchus, goes into Mauritania.—His meeting with Volux.

CXIII. When this intelligence was conveyed to Bocchus, he dispatched letters to the Consul, to request, that Sylla might be sent to him, as he earnestly wished for his assistance, in order to deliberate concerning their mutual interests. Sylla, in consequence, set out, with an escort of both horse and foot. The latter were composed of Balearian slingers(41), and some archers, together with a Cohort of Pelignians(42), armed like the light infantry, in order that they might make the less delay upon the march; and, thus accoutered, they were equally able, as with heavier arms, to resist the light weapons of the Numidians.

On the fifth day, as they proceeded on their march, in the open plain, Volux, the son of Bocchus, suddenly showed himself, at the head of only a thousand horse; but, as they marched at open files, and without order or regularity, they assumed the appearance of a far greater force, and caused, to Sylla and his party, no inconsiderable degree of alarm. That it really was an enemy, was the general belief. Impressed with that idea, the troops instantly made ready their swords or javelins, and prepared for action. On account of the seeming numbers of the enemy, they were not without apprehension; but hope and confidence, on the whole, preponderated, as the contest was to be with adversaries, with whom they had often con-

tended, and had as frequently defeated in the field. Meanwhile, some horsemen, sent forward to reconnoitre, discovered the truth; and they soon brought intelligence, that it was friends that were at hand. A. U. C. 648.

CXIV. VOLUX immediately rode up, and, addressing himself to the Quæstor, informed him, that he had been sent forward, by his father Bocchus, both to show him on the way, and to act as a guard to protect his person. The whole of that day, and the next, they proceeded in company, without any accident or alarm taking place; when, on the following evening, after they had pitched their camp, Volux came in haste to Sylla, and told him with trepidation, and confusion in his countenance, that he had just learned, from his scouts, that Jugurtha was not far off. At the same time, he besought the Quæstor, prudently to consult his own safety, and escape with him privately, during the night. Sylla caught fire at so pusillanimous a proposal. In a tone of firmness, he declared, "That he feared not the Numidian, who had been already so "often vanquished. Confiding, as he did, in the valour of his "troops, he should boldly face the enemy: And, even though "certain destruction stared him in the face, it should never "be said, that he basely fled before the foe, or abandoned "the troops, who were placed under his command, and then "perished at last, perhaps the victim of disease, but certainly "the object of contempt and ignominy."

Unexpected appearance of Jugurtha. The prince unjustly accused of treachery.

On further deliberating, with the prince, what course they should pursue, to march, during the night, seemed the most advisable measure; and they resolved, without delay, to carry it into execution. For this purpose, the soldiers were imme-

A.U.C.648. diately directed to take some refreshment; to kindle fires in every part of the camp; and then, after the first watch (49), to strike their tents, and move off the ground, with as little disturbance as possible. These orders were executed, with promptitude and accuracy. But, after a toilsome march, during the whole of the night, by which all were exhausted, when, at sun-rise, Sylla had just traced the lines of encampment, intelligence was brought in, by the Mauritanian horse, that Jugurtha still kept his position ahead of them, and had actually encamped, about two miles from the spot. Consternation among our men now became universal. That they were betrayed by Volux, and drawn into an ambush, was the general cry; while some went the length of declaring, that perfidy so black and horrible called aloud for vengeance, and that he should instantly be sacrificed to their just resentment.

The Quæstor's firmness and presence of mind.—He arrives at the court of Bocchus.

CXV. SYLLA, although convinced, not less than his party, of the treachery of Volux, yet resolved to protect the prince's person. He began by exhorting the troops to show greater firmness, nor suffer themselves to be at once overcome, by a sudden turn of fortune. There was no want, he said, of examples, wherein a handful of men had successfully made head against a powerful force. They should call to mind, that, in battle, safety is ever in proportion to valour, and insecurity to caution; and that the man would be destitute alike of honour and reflection, who, with arms in his hands, could seek refuge in flight, and, in a moment of terrour, turn his back, which is blind and defenceless, towards the weapons of the enemy. Then invoking the mighty Jupiter, to witness the perfidy of Bocchus, he ordered Volux, on the spot, to quit the camp

Since he had evinced himself a traitor, let him not continue any longer as a secret enemy. A.U.C. 648.

The prince was overcome with vexation and despair. With tears in his eyes, he conjured Sylla to moderate his resentment, nor deem him capable of so foul a deed. However appearances might be against him, he protested, that the whole was solely owing to the subtile vigilance of Jugurtha, who, by his scouts, must have gained intelligence of their march. As to the Numidian king, however, he was certainly not in force: His whole hopes and prospects depended on his father Bocchus; and it was improbable in the extreme, that he should now proceed to open violence, while the prince was present, as a witness of the fact. For that reason, it would be most advisable for them to muster their resolution, and at once take their route, through the midst of his camp. As for himself, Volux added, he would either order his men to lead the way, or to halt upon the spot, and then proceed alone, in company with Sylla.

In this dilemma, Sylla thought it prudent to embrace the offer, and the whole accordingly set out. Jugurtha was taken unawares, and had not made up his mind, as to the line of conduct he should pursue; so that, while he deliberated, they continued to push forward, and passed on, without molestation. In a few days, meeting with no other accident, they safely reached the place of their destination.

CXVI. At the court of Bocchus, there was a certain Numidian, by name Aspar, a subtile agent of Jugurtha's, lately sent thither, on the rumour of Sylla's journey, and treated with great familiarity and distinction by the Mauritanian king. This man

He opens the negociation with the King.

A. U. C. 648. Jugurtha had appointed his envoy to Bocchus; and, in that capacity, he had it in charge, to keep a watchful eye over all his proceedings, and, if possible, in some manner to penetrate his designs. There was also there another Numidian, named Dabar, the son of Massugrada, and grandson to Masinissa: But Massugrada was of extraction inferior by the mother's side, as he himself had been born of a concubine. Dabar, however, was distinguished by an amiable disposition, and many pleasing accomplishments, and, on that account, he stood high in favour with Bocchus.

Soon after the arrival of the Romans, as the king well knew, that Dabar had always been a firm friend to their interest, he sent him to Sylla, to pave the way for a negociation. He instructed him, in direct terms to assure the latter, that he was ready to do whatsoever he should be commanded by the Roman People; and that the Quæstor had now only to fix a day, a place, and an hour, for their interview, at which all matters should be adjusted, between Sylla and himself. In regard to the ambassador of Jugurtha, his presence need give no alarm. He was to be admitted to the negociation, with the sole view of facilitating it; as it was utterly impossible, by any other method, to lull the vigilance of the Numidian to sleep, or to defeat the dark contrivances of his master.

From every fact, however, that we can learn, it appears, that Bocchus, with all his affected candour, yet acted with the characteristic perfidy of his country, and intended, for the present, to amuse both parties; greatly doubting, in his own mind, whether it were better to give up Jugurtha to the Romans, or to give up Sylla to Jugurtha. That he was hostile to us

in his heart, there can be no sort of doubt: But fear operated in our favour, and was the only consideration, that could turn the scale. A. U. C. 648.

CXVII. In answer to the message by Dabar, Sylla replied, that, in Aspar's presence, he should say very little; reserving the principal business for the king's private ear, or, at least, for an occasion, when few witnesses were present. At the same time, he communicated, through Dabar, the style of reply, which he requested of Bocchus to make, when he publicly met him, in the expected conference. When the meeting took place, Sylla addressed Bocchus in a short speech, in which he stated, that he came from the Roman Consul, in order to treat concerning his disposition to peace or war, and that he prayed to have the king's determination, on that important topic. To this Bocchus answered, as was privately agreed upon, that he had not, as yet, been able to come to a decision: That ten days were requisite, to make up his mind, on a question of such magnitude: But if Sylla and Aspar would come back at the expiration of that period, they should then be informed of his final resolution. On this, both departed to their respective encampments (44.)

Formal, but ineffectual conference—Private interview with Bocchus, during the night.

Bocchus was not unmindful of his engagement with the Roman Quæstor. When the night was far advanced, he sent for Sylla, to a private conference. No one was present, except a confidential interpreter on either side, together with Dabar, who acted as mediator between the parties, and of whose fidelity and honour both were sufficiently assured: On which, the king thus began (45).

A. U. C. 648. His speech to Sylla.

CXVIII. "NEVER did I imagine, Sylla, that it would come
"to pass, that I, the greatest prince on this continent, and of
"all, with whom we are acquainted, the most rich and power-
"ful, should have obligations to acknowledge to a private in-
"dividual. Many there are, previously to my knowledge of
"you, to whom, at their solicitation, I have lent my aid, and
"many, to whom that aid has spontaneously been granted;
"myself mighty and independent, and not standing in need
"of a return. If the case is now altered, instead of lament-
"ing, I rejoice in the event; and, since the efforts of your
"friendship have, at length, stood me in stead, rest assured, that
"I know its value, and shall prize it as it deserves. Put to the
"proof the sincerity of my attachment. I have arms, I have
"money, I have men in abundance: Use them according to
"your pleasure; and never, whilst you live, regard your
"courtesy, and your kindness as repaid. As for me, they can,
"at no period, be effaced from my memory; nor shall any de-
"sire of yours, that I can gratify, be ever expressed in vain.
"Munificence, in my mind, stands among the prince's proud-
"est attributes; and I deem it more disgraceful for him, to be
"outdone in generosity, than to be vanquished in arms.

"In regard to the concerns of your commonwealth, which you
"are come hither to negociate, my sentiments are briefly these.
"I never made war upon the Roman People, nor did I har-
"bour towards them a sentiment of hostility. I took up arms,
"merely for the protection of my dominions, against an ene-
"my who invaded them: But I now wave that privilege,
"since it is their pleasure, that I lay them down. Persist, as
"you think fit, in your contest with Jugurtha. Beyond the
"river Mulucha I never shall advance; for that was the

"boundary, on the side of Numidia, between my territories, A. U. C. 648.
"and those of Micipsa, the late king; neither shall I suffer
"Jugurtha to set foot, beyond that well-known limit.—If you
"have any thing further to ask, that either I can grant, or
"you can demand, consistently with honour, I have only to
"add, that you shall not ask in vain."

CXIX. To this address, Sylla replied, in as far as related to himself, in a concise, and becoming style: On the business of peace, and the object of the negociation, he enlarged with great eloquence and ability. After an ample discussion, he gave the king to understand, that the proposition he had made, however equitable to both parties, could not be considered in the light of a favour, by the Senate and People of Rome, who, having evinced themselves superior in arms, might fairly claim it as their right. What they would expect from him, must be of a nature wholly different; some signal, and voluntary act, of advantage solely to Rome, without in any wise involving his own interest. For this purpose, he said, the king himself possessed ample means. Jugurtha was in his power: Let him only deliver up that prince to the Romans, and their alliance, their cordial friendship, together with the part of Numidia, to which he alleged he had a claim, should be the certain recompense of so important a service.

Sylla requires, that Jugurtha be delivered up to him.—Doubts and scruples of Bocchus.

To this Bocchus gave a direct, and repeated refusal. He urged the ties of affinity, of blood, of solemn and existing treaties, as obstacles, which it was impracticable to surmount. Besides, he dreaded, that, by an act of treachery so flagrant, he might rouse the indignation, and alienate the affections of his own subjects, who hated the Romans, and with whom Ju-

A. U. C. 648. gurtha was a favourite character. Sylla pressed his request, with warmth and pertinacity: When Bocchus, finding it impossible to withstand his entreaties, reluctantly consented to all that was required of him.

A scheme then was concerted, for carrying on the semblance of negociation. By framing a plan of peace, so as to include Jugurtha, he would the more readily be caught in the snare; as the ill success of the war induced him to look forward, with the greatest solicitude, to this object. These measures being arranged, the king and Sylla took their leave of each other.

Jugurtha's countermachination, to circumvent the Quæstor.

CXX. On the next day, Bocchus summoned Jugurtha's minister to attend him. He informed Aspar, that, in consequence of an overture, through Dabar, from Sylla, he now understood, that, on proper terms, a general pacification might be effected; and that, on such a subject, he would do well to procure the sentiments of his master. Struck with intelligence, so pleasing and unexpected, Aspar made the best of his way to Jugurtha's camp; where, being fully instructed as to the king's sentiments and wishes, he returned with great expedition, after the eighth day.

The Numidian king, he represented to Bocchus, had anxiously at heart the termination of the war, and there was nothing he would not sacrifice, to an event so desirable. But the fact was, that on Marius no reliance could be placed. Peace, more than once, had been concluded with the Roman commanders; but, being without sincerity on their part, it had always ended in nothing. If Bocchus, he said, was willing to consult his own interest, as well as that of Jugurtha, and wish-

ed for a peace both permanent and advantageous, he would lend his aid to bring about a general conference. Under colour of negociating, which would require the presence of all parties, Sylla might then be delivered into his hands. Were they once possessed of a person of his consequence and talents, there was little doubt, that a pacification would speedily be granted, by order of the Senate and Roman People. The Romans, he knew, would, on almost any terms, ransom an officer of importance, who, in the public service, and through no fault of his own, had chanced to fall into the hands of the enemy. A. U. C. 648.

CXXI. To this proposal, Bocchus, after much seeming deliberation, at length assented; but whether sincerely, or with a view to render Jugurtha the dupe of his own artifice, it is not easy to determine. The passions of princes are usually so violent, and their resolves so capricious and contradictory, that we cannot wonder, if they are sometimes wholly irreconcileable with one another. However this may be, it is certain, that it was soon after agreed, that a conference should be held, and a time and place was appointed for the meeting. In the interval, the Maurish king did not fail to act his part. Sometimes he sent for Sylla, and sometimes for Aspar. He continued in a gracious tone to confer with either, flattering them separately with the same assurance of preference, and the same prospect of success. Thus, caressed and pleased, the hope and confidence of both were kept alive, until the moment when it became necessary to strike the blow.

Bocchus's agitation, and inward struggles.—He decides in favour of the Romans.—Jugurtha seized, and carried prisoner to Marius.

During the night, that preceded the conference, Bocchus is said to have betrayed strong symptoms of agitation and anxiety. He hastily called together his ministers, as if to impart

A.U.C.648. to them some important purpose; but, soon altering his mind, he as hastily dismissed them. Then, falling into deep reflection, he many times changed colour; while the expression of his countenance, no less than the convulsions of his whole frame, spoke far more forcibly than words could utter, the different passions, that laboured in his breast. At length, he resolved; and, sending for Sylla, agreeably to his advice, he gave final orders for preparing an ambush for the Numidian king (46).

When the day dawned, and intelligence was brought of Jugurtha's approach, Bocchus went forth, as if respectfully to meet him. Attended by Sylla, and a few friends, he advanced, as far as a rising ground, which lay full in view of the place, where the troops were secretly posted. Jugurtha, according to appointment, came wholly unarmed, with a great number of his friends and dependants in his suite; when, on a signal being given, the troops rushed forward, and, surrounding the place, immediately seized him. All his attendants were cut to pieces, and himself delivered over, in chains, to Sylla, who set out with his prisoner, for the camp of Marius.

Marius returns to Rome.—He obtains the Consulship for the second time, and triumphs for his Numidian victories.

CXXII. About this period, in Gaul, ill success and discomfiture had attended our arms. Quintus Cæpio, and Marcus Silanus, who commanded in that province, had been defeated by the Cimbri, the terrour of whose name began to fill all Italy with consternation (47). From that period, down to the present times, it is certain, that, while other nations yielded to our valour, our contests with the Gauls furnished no subject for glory; as, instead of being subdued, they were with difficulty restrained within their own frontier.

When intelligence reached Rome of the successful issue of the war against Jugurtha, and that that prince was coming over from Africa in chains, Marius, though absent, was elected Consul, for the second time, and soon had the province of Gaul assigned him. On the first of January, the day on which he entered into office, he triumphed with extraordinary splendour; and thus, the hopes and the resources of his country were centered in the efforts of a single man (48). A. U. C. 648.

END OF THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

NOTES

ON

THE HISTORY

OF THE

JUGURTHINE WAR,

OR THE

CONQUEST OF NUMIDIA.

NOTES

ON THE

JUGURTHINE WAR.

THE Introduction, or Proœmium to the Jugurthine War, like most of the Proœmia of the ancient writers, has no immediate connection with the subject of the work, which it is intended to introduce. Sallust here discourses on his favourite topic, the superiority of mental over bodily endowments, the beauty and excellence of virtue and genius; and he paints, in strong colours, the contrast between a listless indolence, and a useful, and honourable activity. He next proceeds to speak of the task of the Historian, as a fit exercise for the highest denomination of talents. He enlarges on his dignity and importance, as the great moral instructor; on his peculiar province of recording lessons for the guidance of life; and from thence the transition is not difficult, to the present history.

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(1). SENECA, in one of his Epistles, expresses nearly the same sentiments, in regard to the pre-eminence of intellect, and has nearly copied the words of Sallust. *Rex noster est animus. Hoc incolumi, cætera manent in officio, parent, et obtemperant. Cùm ille paulùm vacillavit,* Page 323.

Page 324. *simul nutant. Cùm verò cessit voluptati, artes quoque ejus, actusque marcent, et omnis ex languido fluxoque conatus est.* Epist. CXIV. In a fragment of the Third Book of Cicero's treatise *De Republicâ*, we find a corresponding passage, where the principle is illustrated with that copious eloquence, which peculiarly characterizes the great orator's compositions. *Ut animus corpori dicitur imperare, dicitur etiam libidini: Sed corpori, ut rex civibus suis, aut parens liberis, libidini autem, ut servis dominus; quòd eam coërcet et frangit: Sic regum, sic imperatorum, sic magistratuum, sic patrum, sic populorum imperia, civibus sociisque præsunt, ut corporibus animus, domini autem servos ita fatigant, ut optima pars ejusdem animi, id est, sapientia, vitiosas, imbecillisque partes, ut libidines, iracundias, et perturbationes cæteras.* The whole, however, seems to be taken from the school of Aristotle, to whom, as well as to Plato, our author is visibly indebted for more than one sentiment, in the present Introduction. Ἔστι δ' ἐν ζώῳ θεωρῆσαι καὶ δεσποτικὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ πολιτικὴν, καὶ βασιλικὴν. ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος ἄρχει δεσποτικὴν ἀρχήν· ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς ὀρέξεως πολιτικὴν, καὶ βασιλικὴν, ἐν οἷς φανερόν ἐστιν, ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν καὶ συμφέρον τὸ ἄρχεσθαι τῷ σώματι ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ τῷ παθητικῷ μορίῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ, καὶ μορίῳ τὸν λόγον ἔχοντος. De Politic. L. III. 3.

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(2.) WITHOUT being advocates for the doctrine of the Stoics, in all its latitude, we may consider this passage as calculated to maintain the real dignity, and best energies of our nature. Juvenal, at the close of that noble composition, his Tenth Satire, has a sentiment analogous to it; and it appears to advantage in the beautiful translation of Mr Gifford, who has here, as on various other occasions, surpassed the force and spirit of the original.

> This thou to give thyself may'st well suffice:—
> The only path to peace through virtue lies.
> O Fortune, Fortune! all thy boasted powers
> Would sink to nothing, were but Prudence ours:

But man, fond man, exalts thee to the sphere,
And clothes thee in the attributes he fears. Page 325.

Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare. Semita certè
Tranquillæ per virtutem patet unica vitæ.
Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia: Sed te
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam, cœloque locamus.

As Sallust used so often to borrow from Cato the Censor, he might, with great effect, when he was thus discoursing on the human powers, and their exercise, have adopted that writer's comparison of them to a sword. The thought is so just, so pithy, and withal so characteristic of the Censor, that we cannot help regretting, that so scanty a portion of such compositions, has descended to posterity. *Vita humana* (says he) *propè utì ferrum est. Si exerceas, conteritur; si non exerceas, tamen rubigo interficit. Item homines exercendo videmus conteri. Si nihil exerceas, inertia atque torpedo plùs detrimenti facit, quàm exercititio.* Aul. Gell. L. XI. 2.

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(3.) The classical reader will, in this place, call to mind the elder Pliny's fine description of the sun, as the great vivifying principle of material nature, in the same manner as the mind is of the human frame; which description, though far more diffuse, than that of the mind by our author, bears, in some respects, a considerable resemblance to it.—In the midst of the planets, says Pliny, and superior to the rest in power and magnitude, the sun pursues his course, regulating, by his mighty influence, not only the seasons and the earth, but the planets also, and the heavens themselves. This great luminary, which confers life, or rather intellect on the universe, and is nature's chief, and most potent instrument, well merits to be venerated as a deity, when we consider the extent, and importance of his functions. By his means, all things are supplied with light, and rescued from darkness, and the other planets are sometimes obscured from, and sometimes revealed to

Page 326. the sight. At his command, day and night alternately succeed each other; the seasons revolve at their accustomed periods, and the year is renovated with fresh honours. It is by his exhilarating aspect, that clouds depart from the sky, and joy smooths even the face of human anxiety. According to Homer, the prince of learning, he alone is glorious, refulgent, unrivalled, and equally hears and sees all things*. *Eorum medius Sol fertur, amplissimâ magnitudine ac potestate; nec temporum modò terrarumque, sed syderum etiam ipsorum, coelique rector. Hunc mundi esse totius animum, ac planiùs mentem; hunc principale naturæ regimen, ac numen credere decet, opera ejus æstimantes. Hic lucem rebus ministrat, aufertque tenebras; hic reliqua sydera occultat; hic vices temporum, annumque semper renascentem ex usu naturæ temperat; hic coeli tristitiam discutit, atque etiam humani nubila animi serenat. Præclarus, eximius, omnia intuens, omnia etiam exaudiens, ut principi literarum Homero placuisse, in uno video.* Hist. Nat. L. II. 6.

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(4). In these reflections, our author plainly displays his own political principles. He seems to have had in his view two well-known persons, Sylla and Pompey, for neither of whom he entertained any affection, as we have seen in the two Political Discourses, addressed to Cæsar. Sylla's object, in seizing the government, primarily was, to take vengeance on his enemies, and to elevate himself, and the Patrician party, to wealth and power. But he certainly intended also, and he carried his design into effect, to restore the antient laws, and to

* This is taken from a translation of the Second Book of Pliny's Natural History, which the author once made, for the purpose of trying if he could turn, into readable English, that curious Encyclopedia of the antients: But he was deterred, by the extreme difficulty, and magnitude of the undertaking, as well as by the little encouragement, given in Britain, to attempts of such a kind. The French, who ought not to excel us in this department of literature, have respectable versions of several of the classics, and one, in particular, of the elder Pliny, extending, I believe, to eight quarto volumes.

heal the dangerous disorders, which demagogues, in the madness of Page 320. their zeal, had brought upon the commonwealth. The laws, accordingly, which he framed, were salutary and wise, however their execution might be tyrannical: And had it not been for his personal animosities, and intolerable despotism, the usurpation of Sylla might be considered as beneficial, rather than pernicious to the Roman constitution, as it unquestionably contributed to prolong its existence. In regard to Pompey, he was without the talents, and, consequently, he failed to obtain the power of his prototype. His credit was at first acquired by a pleasing exteriour, and specious manners, and he supported it by the brilliancy of military successes. But, as it was at length seen, that vanity and presumption composed the true character of the man, Sallust intends to glance, with contempt, at the meanness of those, who pampered his pride, while they sacrificed their own indepenence, by submitting to his authority. What is said by the historian, in this place, only cursorily and incidentally, he more fully illustrates, in the two Epistles to Cæsar, on the Administration of the Government; to which the reader is referred, for an excellent view of the political animosities of this period. The principle, however, which he holds forth, in regard to the public conduct of a good, and virtuous citizen, is evidently taken from the following passage of Plato's Epistle to the relations of Dio: Πατέρα δὲ ἢ μητέρα ἐχ ὅσιον ἡγεῖμαι προσιάζεσθαι. μὴ νόσῳ, παραφροσύνης ἐχομένες. ἐὰν δὲ τινὰ καθεστώτα ζῶσι βίον ἑαυτοῖς ἀρέσκοντα, ἐμοι δὲ μὴ μήτε ἀπεχθάνεσθαι, μάτην νεθετοῦντα· βίαν δὲ πατρίδι πολιτείας μεταξολῆς μὴ προσφέρειν, ὅταν ἄνευ φυγῶν, καὶ σφαγῆς ἀνδρῶν, μὴ δυνατὸν ἡ γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀριστὴν. The same sentiment we find enforced in the Crito, and in the Fifth Book Περὶ νομοθεσίας; and Cicero has imitated it, in his familiar epistles, L. 1. 9. and also in a fragment of the treatise *De Republicâ*, preserved by Nonius.

(5.) In the speech of Cassius, a Senator in the time of Nero, when it was debated, whether, according to an antient law, all the slaves be-

Page 328. longing to a master should be put to death, if the master was assassinated by any one of them, Tacitus seems to have had this passage of Sallust in his eye. *Non quia dubitarem* (says Cassius), *super omnibus negotiis meliùs atque rectiùs olim provisum, et, quæ converterentur, in deterius mutari; sed ne, nimio amore antiqui moris, studium meum extollere viderer.* Annal. L. XIV. 43.

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(6.) NUMIDIA, according to Sallust, seems pretty nearly to correspond with the modern kingdom of Algiers; for none of the descriptions of this country, given by the antient geographers, convey an accurate idea of it. It was bounded, on the north, by the river Tusca, (now the Zaine, according to Dr Shaw, or the *Fluvius Rubricatus*, according to D'Anville and others), which nearly separated it from the Roman Province, that is, *Africa Propria*, formerly the territory of Carthage. On the west, it was bounded by the river Mulucha, or Malva, (hod. Mullooïah), which parted it from Mauritania Tingitana, or the kingdom of Bocchus; and, on the south, by the Gætuli, the Nacmusii, and other barbarous nations. Thus we see, that, in the first place, it comprised a part of the Africa of Pomponius Mela and Ptolemy; likewise, Numidia, properly so called, or the Numidia of the Massyli. In the second place, it comprised the other Numidia, viz. the Numidia of Mela, or the country of the Massæsyli. This district, when the Romans afterwards became fully possessed of it, was called *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, by the Emperor Claudius; and in the middle ages, that part of it, which lay near the city of Sitapha, or Sitiphi, obtained the name of *Sitifensis*, as we learn from Isidore, Æthicus, and other writers of that period. See Plin. L. V. 3. 4.—Pomp. Mel. L. I. 6. 7.—Ptolem. Afric. Sit. III.—Agathem. Lib. II. 5.—Dion. Cass. L. LX. p. 771. Edit. Stephan.—Solin. Polyhist. XXVI.—Æthic. Cosmog. p. 132. Edit. Stephan.—Strab. Lib. II. p. 193. XVII. pp. 827.

828.—Liv. L. XXIV. 48. XXIX. 32. XXX. 11.—Isidor. De Li- Page 328.
byâ.—Cellar. XXV. p. 118. et seq. Edit. Patrick.

Taking Numidia, then, in Jugurtha's time, to be nearly the same as the modern kingdom of Algiers, or Barbary, and to extend from the Mullooïah on the west, to the Zaine on the east side, it comprehended a tract of about 500 miles in length; for Twunt on the western Algerine frontier, about fifty miles east of the former river, lies in 0° 16′ west longitude from London, and Tabarka, the antient Tabraca, on the banks of the latter river, 9° 16′ east of that city. The breadth of the country cannot be so accurately ascertained: But, supposing it to have been nearly the same as that of the kingdom of Algiers (which there is every reason to believe), it was, at the narrowest part, about 40 miles broad, that being the distance from Tlem-san on the sea-coast, to Sahara, or the Desert; and, at the broadest part, above 100 miles; Jijel being in N. lat. 36° 55′, and Lowtaiah, which is situated among the mountains of Atlas, in 34° 50′. See Dr Shaw's Travels in Barbary, p. 2, where he endeavours to correct the errours of different geographers.

The inaccuracy of the antients, concerning these districts, was prodigious. Both Pliny and Martianus Capella make the breadth of the Mauritaniæ alone to be 467 miles, that is, at least 300 more than the actual breadth. Ptolemy is still more incorrect. He makes the distance between the river Malva and Tabraca to be no less than 940 miles (i. e. allowing 48½ miles to each degree of longitude); and, by the Itinerary of Antoninus, which should have been more accurate, *Portus Cæcilii*, near the western boundary of Numidia, and Tabraca, are placed nearly 1000 Roman, or 800 geographical miles from each other! See Plin. L. V. 2. & 4.—Martian. Capel. De duab. Mauritan.—Ptol. L. IV. 2. From the inaccuracies in the Itinerary, pointed out by Dr Shaw, it appears, that rather too much weight has been given by Mr Rennel, to that antient document, in his very excellent treatise on the Geographical System of Herodotus.

Page 328. Numidia was antiently peopled by a number of petty tribes, but chiefly by two nations, the Massyli on the east, and the Massæsyli on the west. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that, during the Peloponnesian war, each of the lesser tribes had its own chief, like the savage nations of Africa, at this day. In process of time, Numidia was subdued, partly by the Carthaginians, and partly by Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse: But neither of those powers being able long to retain their conquests, the country fell under the dominion of its native princes, the ancestors of Syphax and Jugurtha. Those of the former reigned over the Massæsyli, or Western Numidians, whose chief town was Siga (hod. Tackumbreet), on the shore of the Mediterranean; those of the latter, over the Massyli, or Eastern Nation. Their chief city was Zama (hod. Zamor), and afterwards Cirta (Constantina); the former of which places lay much further inland, and nearer to the desert.—See the Map (prefixed to this history), wherein the chief places in antient Africa are delineated, and which I have taken some pains to draw up, and adapt to the narrative of Sallust, from the best antient authorities; as, without such an aid, the historian's geographical descriptions, as well as his history, would often be unintelligible. In general, in ascertaining the correspondence between the former, and the present names of places, or other doubtful points relative to the geography of antient Africa, I have followed the learned Dr Shaw; both because he was one of the best scholars, that has ever treated the subject, and because he actually visited, and examined with attention, most of the places, which he undertakes to describe.

The most antient of the kings of the Massylian race, of whom authentic mention is made, was Narva, according to Polybius. He married the sister of Hannibal, and daughter of Hamilcar Barcas. His son Gala reigned over Eastern Numidia, at the time of the Second Punic War, and was father to Masinissa, who, in the sequel, became so celebrated. In the same period, Syphax was king of the Massæsyli, or Western Numidians.

I have been the more particular, in enlarging on the situation and extent of Numidia, that the accounts of the antient geographers are so extremely various, and often contradictory. What comes nearest to the description of the kingdom of Jugurtha is that given by Dion Cassius. Καῖσαρ.. τὰς Νομάδας λαβὼν, ἃς τε τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐπήγαγε . . τὰ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ ἔθνη ταῦτα, τὸ μὲν περὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα (ὁ δὴ καὶ Ἀφρικὴν καλεῖμεν) παλαιὸν, ὅτι ἐκ πολλοῦ κατείργαστο· τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν Νομαδῶν, νέον, ὅτι νεωστὶ εἰλήφθη, ἐπωνομάσθη. L. XLIII. pp. 245. 246. Edit. Stephan. Thus, we see, that the district was called *Provincia Nova*, from the time of Cæsar, and made a considerable part of Sallust's government. See Vol. I. p. 58, and Notes. Dr Adam, in his account of antient Africa, makes no mention of it; and, on the whole, he is unsatisfactory in regard to that continent. Cellarius is liable to the same imputation; and D'Anville, whom his countryman M. De Brosses has too implicitly followed, is full of inaccuracies. In order to form a competent notion of the geography of antient Africa, the student should read, with diligence, Herodotus and Strabo, and compare them with the admirable commentary of Mr Rennel, on the former author. Page 238.

(7.) Alluding to the cruel wars between Marius and Sylla, and the distractions, which followed that unhappy period.

(8.) Of all the princes, of whom we read in the Roman history, distinguished, by that arrogant people, by the name of Barbarians, Masinissa may be mentioned as the most eminent, not even excepting the well-known Mithridates, king of Pontus. It may, therefore, not be uninteresting, to give a slight sketch of his history and character.

During the Second Punic War (which broke out in the year of Rome 535), some time after the taking of the town of Saguntum by Hannibal, an event which gave rise to that contest, the two Scipios, who commanded in Spain, entered into an alliance with Syphax, king of Western Numidia, with the view of opposing, to the Carthaginians, a formi-

Page 328. dable adversary, on their own frontier. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, leagued themselves with Gala, by means of his son Masinissa, then a youth of seventeen or eighteen years of age, who was brought up at Carthage, where he was well known for his courage, and for his extraordinary endowments, both of body and mind. In order to fix him more firmly in their interest, they betrothed to him young Sophonisba, the beautiful daughter of Asdrubal, universally accounted the most accomplished woman in Africa, and put him at the head of their army. After defeating Syphax, Masinissa passed over to Spain, and joined his forces to those of Asdrubal. But, during the absence of both, Syphax was gained over by the Carthaginians: He faithlessly deserted the Roman interest; and, having made a secret alliance with the former people, received, as the recompense, the possession of Sophonisba, Masinissa's intended bride. Masinissa was enraged at an act of perfidy so black and daring: He instantly joined his arms to those of Scipio; and, breathing nothing but revenge, returned to Africa.

By this time, old king Gala was dead, as also Æsalces, the next brother to Gala, which last prince, according to the Numidian custom, had succeeded to the Massylian throne; and Mezetulus, another descendant of the royal line, had now made himself master of the kingdom. Masinissa solicited the aid of Bocchus, king of Mauritania, and prepared to recover his paternal territories.—But to give an account of the various transactions, and contests that followed, would be utterly unsuitable to our present object. The classical reader is referred to the histories of Livy and Appian. Suffice it to state, that Masinissa, after the most brilliant successes, and the most striking reverse of fortune, after being alternately possessed, and deprived of his kingdom, at length succeeded in vanquishing his enemies. The gallant exploits, which he achieved, and the extraordinary fidelity he displayed, in making common cause with the Romans, against the power of Carthage, have been celebrated by their historians; and the steadiness of

his attachment is the more worthy of commendation, that fickleness and insincerity were uniformly among the characteristics of the African nations. All the petty princes of the country were constrained to yield, one after another, to the genius and fortune of Masinissa; Vermina, the son of Syphax, Lacumaces, Mezetulus, Oreaces, and Mazintha. He overcame Asdrubal and Syphax, in a decisive action: He made the latter prisoner, and sent him in chains to Rome: And such was the tide of success, which attended his arms, that the Carthaginians themselves, instead of aiming at foreign conquest, were forced to recal Hannibal from Italy, for the defence of their own territories. Page 323.

In making himself master of Cirta, which place he took by assault, Masinissa found the beautiful Sophonisba, in the palace of his ancestors. Overjoyed at a piece of good fortune so pleasing and unexpected, he hastened to espouse her, on the following day, lest Scipio and Lælius, the Roman generals, who well knew her unconquerable hatred to their country, should throw some obstacles in the way of the match. In fact, Syphax, on falling into their hands, made no scruple to declare, that his long and obstinate resistance had been chiefly owing to the counsels, the intrigues, and the artifices of Sophonisba; who, if suffered, he said, to influence his more youthful rival, would erelong alienate his mind from the Roman cause.

The whole story is well told by Livy, L. XXX. 12. et seq.; and it will excite, in the modern reader, more than common interest, from having employed the genius of Corneille, and of our own Thomson. The Numidian prince, after a severe struggle between affection and ambition, was at length forced to sacrifice the former, to views of aggrandizement, and the prosperity of his kingdom. In compliance with a promise, exacted from him by this extraordinary, and high-minded woman, rather to suffer her to die, than fall into the hands of the Romans, he sent her, by a faithful slave, a cup mingled with poison. He earnestly admonished her, since his actions were now no longer in his own power, as the daughter of a hero, as the wife, and

Page 328. the widow of a king, to consult, as she thought most fit, her own safety. I accept, with gratitude, said the magnanimous Sophonisba, as she drank the cup, this pleasing, though fatal marriage-gift, since it is all that Masinissa has to offer to his queen. Tell him, that I die without fear; and it would be also without regret, had the transition been less cruel; had not the nuptial couch unhappily been spread for me, on the brink of the grave! *Accipio (inquit) nuptiale munus, nec ingratum; si nihil majus, vir uxori præstare potuit. Hic tamen nuncia; meliùs me morituram fuisse, si non in funere meo nupsissem!* Sophonisba's answer, as Livy gives it, is characteristic and spirited: But the conclusion is completely in the style of the Declaimers, whose taste that historian early imbibed, and whose quaint, and sententious turns, both of thought and expression, are too frequently discernible in the oratorical part of his work. An attempt is here made to improve it in the translation.

The caresses of Scipio, and the solid benefits, conferred upon him by the Romans, soon effaced, in Masinissa's mind, all remembrance of the daughter of Asdrubal, and of his early attachment. He obtained, first from Scipio, A. U. 550, and afterwards, by a decree of the Senate and People, the whole of Numidia, comprehending the dominions of Syphax, and other native princes. During the whole of the war, he contended successfully against the Carthaginians. He was present at the great battle of Zama, in the year of Rome 551, wherein Scipio finally defeated Hannibal; and, many years afterwards, he sent succours into Spain, to Lucullus, though engaged himself against the Carthaginians at the time, at the request of the younger Africanus. It was this attack, made by the Carthaginians, on the Numidian king, as a friend and ally of Rome, that gave rise to the Third Punic War, A. U. C. 604.

Masinissa, as a prince, was eminent for the pacific, as well as the warlike virtues. Previously to his time, agriculture and the arts were almost unknown in Numidia. The soil was considered as inca-

pable of improvement, and fit only for the subsistence of the shepherd and his flocks. But, by Masinissa's patriotic efforts, agriculture soon began to flourish; lands, hitherto barren, were brought into cultivation; and a great part of the country rendered no less rich and productive of all the various fruits of the earth, than any other district on the African continent. This, says Polybius, who records the circumstances, is what must ever constitute the best praise of a prince, and procure for him a glory, which may be called almost divine; superior, unquestionably, to all that can be purchased, by the most splendid victories. Page 323. Τὸ δὲ μίγιστον καὶ θειότατον τότε, τῆς γὰρ Νομαδίας ἁπάσης ἀχρήστου τὸν πρότερον χρόνον ὑπαρχούσης, καὶ νομιζομένης ἀδυνάτου τῇ φύσει πρὸς ἡμέρους καρπούς, ὑπάρχειν, πρῶτος καὶ μόνος ὑπέδειξε διότι δύναται πάντας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς ἡμέρους καρπούς, εὖ ὁποίας ἦτλον, ἑκάστῳ τῶν καρπῶν, ἐν διαστάσει μυριοπλήθεῖς ἀγροὺς κατασκευάσας παμφόρους. Except. Vales. L. XXXI. p. 1472. Edit. Gronov. After the death of Æsalces, Masinissa reigned no fewer than sixty years, and fifty-five after the union of the Numidian states, under one sovereign; having lived almost an entire century, without disease, or sickness, or any visible diminution of his strength. Cicero commemorates him, in his beautiful tract *De Senectute*, as a model of robust health, and of late bodily, as well as mental vigour. At the age of ninety and upwards, he still commanded his troops in person, and, according to the Numidian custom, as Appian tells us, could mount his horse, without saddle or furniture; Ἵππου τε χωρὶς ἀναβολέως ἐπέβαινε. Whether on horseback, or on foot, he made the most uncommon exertions. Without a covering on his head, he defied alike the effects of fatigue, and the inclemency of the weather, performing to the last, those active duties, which, as a prince, or a general, had ever distinguished him, in the prime of life. *Arbitror te audire, Masinissa quæ faciat hodie, nonaginta annos natus. Cùm ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non adscendere; cùm equo, ex equo non descendere; Nullo imbre, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto sit; summam in eo esse corporis siccitatem: Itaque exequi omnia regis officia et munera.*

Page 328. De Senect. X. Besides three sons, born to him by his queen, he had no fewer than one-and-forty other children, of whom the youngest was only four years old, at the time of his father's decease. See Polyb. Except. p. 1472. Edit. Gronov.

When Masinissa found himself on his deathbed, he sent to Manilius, then Proconsul of Africa, requesting that his Lieutenant, Scipio Æmilianus, might be suffered to visit him, as it was in the arms of the grandson of his former friend, that he wished to die. Scipio was immediately dispatched to Cirta; but the aged monarch had expired, three days before his arrival. Being intrusted to settle the succession, Scipio divided the kingdom, according to the African custom, equally between his three sons, Micipsa, the eldest, and Mastanabal and Gulussa. But the two princes, last mentioned, dying without issue, Micipsa had succeeded to the sole possession of his father's dominions, before the opening of Sallust's narrative.

(9.) THIS was Publius Cornelius Scipio, of the great Cornelian family, who is spoken of in the foregoing Note. He was the son of P. Scipio, Consul at the time that Hannibal invaded Italy, and who was defeated by that great general, near the river Ticinus. See Liv. L. XXI. 6. & 46. Young Scipio served as a Military Tribune, at the battle of Cannæ. Being sent, with Proconsular authority, into Spain, when no more than twenty-four years of age, he drove the Carthaginians from that country. In the thirteenth year of the Second Punic War, *i. e.* A. U. C. 548, he was raised to the Consulship, and had the province of Africa assigned him, where, with the aid of Masinissa, he, in the course of three years, put an end to the war, by defeating Hannibal, at the battle of Zama. See Liv. L. XXII. 53. XXVI. 18. XXVIII. 16. 38. XXX. 32. et seqq.—Appian. De Bel. Pun. &c.

Scipio was the first, who derived a surname from a country, which he had conquered, being, from this period, styled AFRICANUS. The practice afterwards became sufficiently common at Rome. As Livy remarks, it served, in his time, as a precedent with men, who had neither the merit,

nor could boast of the victories of a Scipio: But it gratified their vanity, thus to multiply the names upon their images, and to add new splendour to the titles of their family. *Primus certè hic imperator nomine victæ ab se gentis est nobilitatus; exemplo deinde hujus, nequaquam victoriâ pares, insignes imaginum titulos, claraque cognomina familiæ fecere.* L. XXX. 45. Page 329.

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(10.) MICIPSA has been mentioned above, in Note 8. He was his father's favourite son; and the old king, on his deathbed, delivered to him his ring, as a testimony of his affection. This prince had little of the vigorous character, and spirit of Masinissa. He was wise, mild, and pacific. Being a lover of learning, and of the arts, he attracted, by a generous patronage, to his court, many eminent persons of that day, whose genius he admired, and in whose conversation he peculiarly delighted. Under a sovereign of such a character, the rude manners of the Numidians began to be cultivated. The arts and manufactures of both Italy and Africa, were introduced into the country; and the court of Cirta, at the time of Jugurtha's appearance, displayed some symptoms of the splendour, which gradually was borrowed from its more polished neighbours. Micipsa's great nephew, Juba, king of Mauritania and Numidia, has been already noticed, in Catiline's Conspiracy, Sect. LXII. Note 58.; and the son of the latter, named also Juba, became still more celebrated, for his extraordinary accomplishments and learning. See Vol. I. p. 187. Micipsa maintained the same faithful attachment to the Romans, as had distinguished his father. His brother Gulussa was a skilful general, and contributed to the victories of the younger Scipio, against the Carthaginians, and to the successful termination of the Third Punic War.

(11.) JUGURTHA, it is probable, was born in the year of Rome 595, during the Consulship of M. Æmilius Lepidus, and C. Popilius Lænas,

Page 331. two years before the birth of Caius Marius, and not long before the Third Punic War broke out.

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(12.) THE troops, sent on this occasion, under Jugurtha's command, were mostly of the light sort: He had with him twelve elephants, and a considerable body of slingers and archers. The siege of Numantia, the chief city of the Celtiberians, was one of the most memorable, recorded in the Roman history. The Numantines, with only about 4000 men, nobly resisted the armies of Rome, for nearly fourteen years, during the course of which, they several times defeated the assailants; until the place was taken by Scipio Æmilianus, A. U. 620. See Flor. L. II. 18.—Oros. L. V. 6. So severe and close was the blockade by Scipio, that the inhabitants were forced to subsist on human flesh; and the victors, on entering the city, found many persons pale and emaciated, and carrying about, in their bosoms, the bones of their friends and relations, who had died for the sustenance of the survivors! Valerius Maximus records the circumstance, as an example of what men will do, when under the pressure of necessity. He then adds; *Nulla est in his necessitatis excusatio; nam quibus mori licuit, sic vivere necesse non fuit.* L. VII. 6. Polybius and Strabo make the duration of the siege to be eighteen, and even twenty years. Numantia stood near the source of the Durius; but there is now nothing more than a paltry village, or castle of Old Castile, named Garray, or, according to some, Tienza, on the spot.

At the time of the Numantine War, when Jugurtha went over to Spain he had attained the age of about five-and-twenty, and it was somewhat singular, that both Marius and Jugurtha, who were afterwards so obstinately to contend with each other, now nearly of the same age, studied the art of war, at the same period, and in the same camp, under the conqueror of Carthage. *Quo quidem tempore,* (says Velleius Paterculus), *juvenes adhuc Jugurtha ac Marius, sub eodem Afri-*

cuno militantes, in iisdem castris didicere, quæ postea in contrariis face- Page 331.
rent. L. II. 9.

(13.) This was P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus, son to the well-known Paulus Æmilius, the conqueror of Greece. P. Scipio, the son of the elder Africanus, was a mild and pacific character. His constitution was weakly, but his mind was highly cultivated by learning (Cic. de Senect. IX. XI.), and, having no children of his own, he adopted the son of Æmilius; so that the youth, according to the Roman custom, became grandson to the conqueror of Hannibal, and took the additional name of Æmilianus. During the Third Punic War, A. U. 605, at the siege of Carthage, this Scipio served only in the rank of Military Tribune, and went over to Rome, to solicit the Ædileship: When the people, being disgusted with the misconduct of the former Consuls in Africa, unexpectedly bestowed on him the chief magistracy, together with the management of the war, although he had not attained the legal age, at the time. In two years, A. U. 607, he destroyed Carthage; on which account, he acquired the surname of Africanus Minor. Being afterwards sent, to conduct the war in Spain, he likewise destroyed Numantia, as above mentioned, A. U. 620, and had the appellation of Numantinus conferred upon him, in addition to the former title. See Liv. Epit. XLVIII. XLIX.—Vell. Paterc. L. I. 12. Flor. L. II. 15.—Appian. de Bell. Pun. et Hispan.—Eutrop. L. IV. 5. 8.—Oros. L. IV. 22. 23. &c. The history of the Numantine War, was afterwards composed, by his friend Polybius. Cic. Epist. ad Fam. L. V. 12.

Scipio Æmilianus, or Scipio Africanus the younger, was one of the most illustrious characters, that ever appeared at Rome, whether as a general, a statesman, or a scholar, whether in public, or in private life. Of polite learning he was, at once, the patron and the ornament; and, in the judgment of Cicero, he might be classed among the best speakers of that day. Both at home and abroad, Polybius the historian,

Page 351. and the philosopher Panætius, were his inseparable companions; and no man, on the whole, more usefully divided his time, between leisure and business, between the arts of peace, or the pursuits of war; whether he acquired the lessons of philosophy, or encountered the dangers of the field. *Scipio tam elegans liberalium studiorum, omnisque doctrinæ et auctor et admirator fuit, ut Polybium, Panætiumque, præcellentes ingenio viros, domi militiæque secum habuerit. Neque enim quisquam hoc Scipione elegantiùs intervalla negotiorum otio dispunxit, semperque aut belli, aut pacis serviit artibus; semper inter arma ac studia versatus, aut corpus periculis, aut animum disciplinis exercuit.* Vell. Paterc. L. I. 13.

The friendship, which subsisted between this Africanus and Lælius, was not more remarkable than that, which united the grandfather of the one, with the father of the other; insomuch, that it became almost proverbial at Rome. Both were supposed to have borne a part in the composition of Terence's Comedies (See Cic. Epist. ad Attic. L. VII. 3.—Quintil. Inst. Orator. L. X. 1.—Sueton. in Vit. Terent.): Both likewise were deservedly celebrated, for rescuing from the flames, on the destruction of Carthage, many valuable works of Greek and Carthaginian authors, and importing them into Italy. There is a little anecdote, concerning the two friends, beautifully noticed by Cicero, which is at once illustrative of their mutual attachment, and the simplicity of their manners. When tired with the bustle and noise of Rome, says he, those two great men used eagerly to fly to the society of each other, and to the charming scenes of the country. There they loved to unbend their minds, and even to indulge, with a boyish transport, in those sports and pastimes, which had once delighted them, in early youth. Let me speak it with reverence, adds he, of such illustrious characters; but so Scævola, the son-in-law of Lælius, used to tell the story: At Cajeta and Laurentum they were often seen, picking up shells and pebbles on the sea-shore, delighted with throwing them on the smooth surface of the waters. *Sæpe ex socero meo audivi,*

cùm is diceret, socerum suum Lælium semper ferè cum Scipione solitum rusticari, eosque incredibiliter repuerascere esse solitos, cùm rus ex urbe, tanquam è vinculis evolavissent. Non audeo dicere de talibus viris, sed tamen ita solet narrare Scævola, conchas eos, et umbilicos, ad Cajetam, et ad Laurentum, legere consuesse, et ad omnem animi remissionem ludumque descendere. De Orat. L. II. 6. See Val. Maxim. L. VIII. 8. i. Let the reader of taste compare the two authors, just now quoted for this anecdote, and he will perceive the difference, between the genius of Cicero, and that of a rhetorician of the age of Tiberius. Page 334.

Scipio, like other successful commanders, triumphed for his victories, with great glory, but, like others also, he was treated with ingratitude, by a capricious people. Having the firmness also to oppose the schemes of the Gracchi, though their near kinsman, he incurred the popular odium, and, in the end, lost his life. A. U. C. 625, only four years after his return from Spain, he was found strangled in his bed; and the assassins were universally believed to be Papirius Carbo, the famous orator, Caius Gracchus, the brother of Tiberius, and Fulvius Flaccus, his colleague in the Tribuneship; the two last of whom afterwards met, as they well deserved, nearly a similar fate. Cic. de Orat. L. II. 40. Epist. ad Fam. L. IX. 21.—Plutarch. in Gracch. p. 839. Edit. Francof.

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(14.) TRANSLATORS, for the most part, have not given the entire sense of this passage. Dr Rose, like the rest, says; "I promised myself, that my favours would render me as dear to thee, as if I had been thy father." That, however, is not the complete meaning of the words, *Existumans, non minùs me tibi, quàm liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia, carum fore.* By *Si genuissem* is clearly intimated, that Jugurtha's father Mastanabal was dead, before the birth of either of Micipsa's sons, and that the old king's attachment to his nephew had commenced at a period, when he had, as yet, no issue of his own, to

Page 335. engage his affections. This is an historical fact, which is not elsewhere recorded; and, as it tends to throw light on the sentiments of the speaker, should, in a fair transcript, not be omitted.

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(15.) THIS whole address naturally reminds us of that of Cyrus, to his sons, in the Eighth Book of Xenophon's Cyropædia, as several of the sentiments are plainly borrowed from it. The following passages, in the speech of the Persian king, are closely imitated. Οἶθα μὲν ἔν καὶ σὺ, ὦ Καμβύση, ὅτι ἐ τόδε τὸ χρυσεῦν σκῆπτρον, τὸ τὴν βασιλέαν διασῶζόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέστατον, καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον . . ἡ δὲ κτῆσις αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἐδαμῶς σὺν τῇ βίᾳ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σὺν τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ . . τίνα δ' αἴτιον μὴ φιλεῖν ἢ τὸν ἀδελφόν· τίνα δὲ ἁπάντων κάλλιον προτιμᾷν, ἢ τὸν ἀδελφόν . . ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν πατρῴων, παῖδες, τιμᾶτε ἀλλήλους, εἴτι καὶ τῷ ἐμοὶ χαρίζεσθαι μέλει ὑμῖν. pp. 235. 236. 238. Edit. Leunclav. Tacitus, in the Fourth Book of his History, copies from this speech of his precursor Sallust, in the sentiments, which he puts into the mouth of Titus, when entreating, in favour of his brother, with his father Vespasian. *Non legiones* (says he), *non classes, perinde firma imperii munimenta, quàm numerum liberorum. Nam amicos tempore, fortunâ, cupidinibus aliquando, aut erroribus imminui, transferri, desinere: Suum cuique sanguinem indiscretum, sed maximè principibus,* &c. Sect. LII.

It was with the view of inculcating the same useful lesson, in regard to domestic attachment, that Scilurus, a certain antient king, as we learn from Stobæus, being on his deathbed, called together his eighty sons; and, putting into their hands a bundle of arrows, desired them, one after another, to try to break it. After they had all endeavoured to no purpose, the old man took the arrows singly from the bundle, and broke them before them, with the greatest facility. The device, though simple, was calculated, beyond the most powerful reasoning, to impress the mind; and the principle, which this sagacious king intended to inculcate, is the same as Micipsa's; that, by unity and concord his

children would become firm and powerful; whereas, if separated, they were weak, and, by consequence, that nothing but insecurity would attend them: *Ὅτι συνεστῶτες καὶ ὁμονοοῦντες ἰσχυροὶ διαμένουσιν· ἀσθενεῖς δ' ἔσονται διαλυθέντες.* Serm. LXV. p. 447. It is related by Spartian, in his Life of Severus, that that Emperor, when about to die, in like manner warmly recommended harmony and friendship to his unhappy sons, Geta and Caracalla; and he sent, to the elder, this admirable speech of Micipsa's (*Divinam Sallustii orationem*, as the biographer terms it): But Jugurtha and Geta were alike deaf to the admonition. Severus's last words, according to Spartian, were the following; and they are partly borrowed from those of the Numidian king: *Turbātam rempublicam ubique accepi, pacatam, etiam Britannis, relinquo, senex et pedibus æger; firmum imperium Antoninis meis relinquens, si bone erunt, imbecillum, si mali.* P. 639. Edit. Hack. Page 336.

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(16.) THE old king died at Cirta, A. U. C. 635, after having reigned thirty years. The Senate, on learning that disputes about the succession were likely to arise among his sons, thought it prudent to provide for the repose of Africa, and therefore decreed the province to Marcus Cato, son to Cato Salonius, and grandson to the Censor, who, together with Marcius Rex, was at that time Consul: But he died in the following year, soon after his arrival in Africa.

The Numidian kings of the Massylian, as well as of the Massæsylian race, seem to have had a remarkable monument, or burying-place, which Pomponius Mela (L. I. 6.) calls, *Monumentum commune regiæ gentis.* It was erected on the sea-shore, somewhat to the westward of Icosium, now Algiers, and between that place and Julia Cæsarea. Dr Shaw says, that it is called, by the Turks, Kubber Ro-meah, that is, "the sepulchre of the Christian women;" also, from the fashion of it, Maltapasy, or "the treasure of the sugar-loaf;" and is situated upon the mountainous part of the sea-coast, seven miles to the eastward of

Page 336. Tefessad. "According to the discoveries, hitherto made," he adds, "it is a solid, and compact edifice, built with the finest free-stone; the height whereof I computed to be a hundred feet, and the diameter of the basis ninety: It is of a round figure, rising with steps, quite up to the top, like the Egyptian pyramids." p. 22. From the elegance of the workmanship, and the beauty of the materials, this learned traveller judges it to be much older than the Mohammedan conquests, and to be the same royal monument noticed by Mela, as above mentioned. Sepulchres of this kind, in like maritime situations, have been spoken of by several antient authors. See Plin. Hist. Nat. L. VII. 2.—Dionys. Geograph. v. 390.—Pausan. in Attic. pp. 66. 82. Edit. Xyland.

(17.) Most editions have it, *Ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret.* But I incline to consider those MSS. as the most correct, in which the word *et* is placed immediately before *apud; Quod* et *apud Numidas honori ducitur;* and in this sense it is rendered in the translation. Had the reading first-mentioned been followed, it would have conveyed a meaning, which the historian could scarcely have intended, namely, that the opinion was peculiar to the Numidians, and wholly different at Rome. The Roman notion, concerning the place of honour, when three persons were to sit together, was pretty much the same, as seems to have been entertained by the Numidian princes, and as it exists among ourselves, at this day. The person of the highest rank first took his place; he, who was next in precedency, then sat down, on his right hand; and the person of the lowest rank, last of all, took his place on the left. Of this practice several instances might be quoted. I shall give only one, as we find it in Plutarch. When Sylla, on the expiration of his Prætorship, was at the head of the army in Asia, and had restored Ariobarzanes to the Cappadocian throne, he remained, for some time, encamped on the banks of the Euphrates. In this situation, he received an honour, hi-

therto unexperienced by any former commander among the Romans, in a solemn embassy from the Parthian nation, to court his alliance and friendship. Sylla conducted the business with great pomp and ceremony. He ordered three chairs to be placed; one for himself, another for Ariobarzanes, and the third for Orobazus, the ambassador from Parthia; and, in this manner, says Plutarch, he gave audience, "sitting in the middle, between the two (Μέσος ἀμφοῖν καθέσομενος). Orobazus, he adds, was put to death by the Parthian monarch, for so far yielding precedency to a Roman; and Sylla was blamed, by those about him, for his conduct on the occasion, as being needlessly haughty, and out of season. See Plutarch. in Syll. V. p. 78. Edit. Reisk. Page 338. 339.

(18.) MICIPSA had adopted his nephew, about eleven years after the return of the latter from Numantia, A. U. C. 632. Jugurtha was then about thirty-seven years of age. See Note 10. anteh.

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(19.) LIVY (Epit. LII.) gives an account of Hiempsal's death, or, at least, of the circumstances which preceded it, somewhat different. He says, that Jugurtha regularly made war against the young prince, and, having conquered, and taken him prisoner, ordered him to be put to death.—As to the town of Thirmida, or Thimida, where, according to our author, he was assassinated, the situation is uncertain. I have placed it, with Dr Shaw, near the shore, between the Sisara Palus, and the Lake Hipponites, at the northern extremity of which last, Hippo Zarytus, now Bizerta, was situated. See the Map.

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(20.) THE Roman province of Africa comprehended all the countries, which became subject to Rome, after the overthrow of Carthage, and the government of which they administered, by a Prætor. It stretch-

Page 340. ed from the river Tusca, on the west, along the Mediterranean, as far east as the greater Syrtis, and the Altars of the Philæni, which bordered on the Cyrenean territory. See the Map. The principal towns in the Roman Province were Carthage, Utica, Hippo Zarytus, Adrumetum, Thapsus, and Thysdrus.

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(21.) WHEN Adherbal says, that "the supreme dominion, and rightful sovereignty of Numidia," belonged to the Roman Senate *(Jus et imperium penes illos esse)*, it is not to be understood, as any renunciation of his kingdom, but merely as the style of flattering, and submissive compliment, of which Masinissa, although an independent ally, had before set the example. Soon after Paulus Æmilius conquered Macedonia, and led captive king Perseus, Masgaba, one of Masinissa's sons, was sent to Rome, to congratulate the Senate, on the success of their arms. In his father's name, he declared, *Masinissam meminisse, regnum à Populo Romano partum, auctumque, et multiplicatum habere: Usu regni contentum; scire dominium, et jus eorum, qui dederint, esse.* Liv. L. XLV. 13. But this was nothing to the servility of Prusias, king of Bithynia, who came to Rome, with his son, on the same errand, and nearly about the same period. On entering the Senate-house, he fell upon his face, and kissed the threshold. He called the Fathers "beneficent divinities," to whom he owed his preservation: And, when ambassadors from Rome chanced to visit him, he used to declare himself the "Freedman," or enfranchised slave of the Roman People, and come out to meet the ambassadors, with his head shaved, wearing the *Pileus*, or woollen cap, and other badges of that class of men. *Pileatum, capite raso, obviam ire legatis solitum, Libertumque se Populi Romani ferre; et ideo insignia ejus ordinis gerere.* Id. ibid. Sect. 44. But such unbecoming conduct, and such nauseous compliments, adds the same judicious writer, did no honour to those, to whom they were addressed; they only showed, to what a degree of

servility and meanness they could sink their author. It was not wonderful that such flatteries, however contemptible, when frequently repeated, should intoxicate these proud masters of the world, and render them, what they often were, insufferably arrogant to the conquered nations. Page 346.

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(22.) I CANNOT help thinking, that Tacitus, in the fine character, which he gives, of his father-in-law Agricola, had his eye on this passage of his master, when he says, how fortunate Agricola must be regarded, in not having lived to witness more disastrous times. But, if it was the case, I confess that he has greatly improved on the passage. That in Tacitus begins; *Tu verò foelix, Agricola, non vitæ tantùm claritate, sed opportunitate mortis*, &c. The whole delineation of Agricola's portrait is eminently beautiful, from the commencement of Sect. XLIV. to the close of the piece.

(23.) THE whole of this address is eloquent and pathetic, and might be supposed capable of moving any hearts, except those of the venal Senators, which Jugurtha's gold had steeled, beyond the reach of compassion or eloquence. It must not, however, be imagined, that any thing more, than the substance of Adherbal's speech, is given by the historian. The entire composition is the property of Sallust himself, and furnishes a striking proof of his powers in moral painting. It exhibits a picture of the mild, and amiable character of this much-injured prince, contrasted with that of Jugurtha, and shows the reader what he may expect, from the monstrous ambition of a man, who, even in the infancy of his career, felt no restraint from any tie divine or human. See some account of the principles, that guided the antient historian, in the composition of the Speech, or Oration, in Vol. I. pp. 261. 239. 380. &c.

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Page 348. (24.) For particulars concerning Æmilius Scaurus, see Vol. I. p. 197, and Catiline's Conspiracy, Sect. XLIV. Note 10.

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(25.) Lucius Opimius has been already noticed, in Essay First, Vol. I. p. 195. To enter into any thing like a detail of the disturbances, occasioned by the Gracchi, by Fulvius Flaccus, by Livius Drusus, and other popular demagogues, would be to give the entire domestic history of the republic, for several years prior to the present period. It may just be observed, as Sallust has already said, that what renders the contest with Jugurtha the more interesting, is the era at which it took place, and the favourable occasion it gave to the popular party, to take vengeance on their opponents. During the dreadful commotions, which were excited by the Gracchi, and their coadjutors, the power of the nobles had visibly declined. It was supported, only for a season, by the vigour of Opimius, under whom the younger of those two celebrated brothers was put to death: But the triumph over it was complete, in the time of Marius, who united the splendid titles of conqueror of the Cimbri, and deliverer of his country, to that of champion of the People. Marius, however, did more. He showed, to the eyes of his countrymen, the enormous height, to which party rage, and long meditated vengeance may be carried, when the passions of men are once set loose from legal restraints. He was the first, that inflicted, on the city of Rome, the horrours of military execution; and, as neither party required any thing more than a precedent for excesses, it was erelong too diligently copied, and even surpassed, when the Patricians had their day, during Sylla's domination. He, who is desirous to perceive the true causes, which aided the encrease of wealth and luxury, in effecting the ruin of this extraordinary people, has only to take a view of the continual dissentions, between the two factions that divided them, especially from the time of the Gracchi, to that of Augustus, of

which the present history forms an interesting portion. He will clearly trace the influence of that unhappy spirit, on their manners and institutions, on their political character, and even on their foreign conquests. In fact, he will read the necessary fate, together with the usual progress, of all popular governments, the miseries they occasion, and the insupportable tyranny, in which they terminate. It is needless to turn to modern times, or to recent occurrences, for this instructive lesson. If we do, we shall have only the mortification of finding, that individuals extremely seldom, and nations absolutely never, are known to profit by former experience. Page 349.

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(26.) THERE is not, among the antient writers, any piece of geographical description more curious, than the following account of Africa, from the pen of our author. Having been governor of that province, as it was ascertained and extended in the time of Cæsar, he had the best opportunities of investigating both the situation of the different countries, and the history of the nations, by whom they were inhabited. However paradoxical it might seem, to many of his cotemporaries, to trace the tribes, not only on the coast, but in the interiour of the continent, to an Asiatic origin, yet it was not, on that account, the less agreeable to history, and the less supported by facts. The great superiority of our present information, over that possessed by the antients, concerning the geographical position, and the peopling of the earth, enables us more accurately to judge of those circumstances; and it will be pleasing to see, in the course of the subsequent Notes, how the evidence of language, among the surest guides in ascertaining the origin of any people, tends to confirm the succinct account, here delivered by Sallust. Some allowance will, of course, be made for errour, and some latitude given to conjecture, in a question, which was necessarily involved in so much obscurity.

Page 349. (27.) Thus Lucan L. IX. 411.

> Tertia pars rerum Libyæ, si credere famæ
> Cuncta velis; at si ventos cœlumque sequaris,
> Pars erit Europæ.

The eastern nations, in general, as well as those, in particular, of Celtic original, never failed to signify, by the names, which they gave to places or tribes, some striking quality, expressive of their character. Europe, according to the learned Bochart, signifies, in the oriental languages, "the country of the whites;" Asia, "the midland region." (See Phaleg. L. IV. 33. 36.); and of all the etymologies of Africa, perhaps the most probable is, that it denoted "the country of sand." The continent last-mentioned was sometimes called Libya, by the ancients, and particularly by Herodotus. See L. II. 32. IV. 41. 42. &c. The Aphrican, or Sandy Promontory, not far from Carthage, is a very conspicuous headland, that would naturally be the first to present itself to men, sailing to the west, from Tyre or Sidon. It was, in all likelihood, among the first places, touched at by the Phœnicians; at least, it was in the immediate vicinity of this promontory, that they founded Utica, the most antient of all their colonies on the African coast. From the nature of the soil, these early settlers were led to call it *Apher*, that is, in their language, "the Cape of Sand;" and, in process of time, the name, thus imposed, was gradually applied to the entire continent. The place is named Clypea, or Aspis, by the Greek and Roman geographers. According to Dr Shaw, who attentively surveyed the whole of this country, there is a very fertile district, near Keffand Baijah, still called Frigeah, which evidently is a corruption of the antient name of Africa, in the barbarous dialect of the inhabitants. See Travels in Barbary, p. 73. Dr Hyde takes the word to be the same as the Phœnician or Punic word Havarca, Havreca, or Avreca, *i. e.* the Barca, or country of Barca. Bochart (in Chanaan. L. I. 25.) gives an etymology, different from either of these. He derives the name from

the Arabic word *Pheric, Spica*, thereby designating Africa, as "the "country of grain." The conjecture is ingenious, like most of the etymologies of this excellent scholar; and it sufficiently corresponds with the Frigeah of Dr Shaw, as well as with a considerable proportion of the African soil. Page 349.

The antient divisions of Africa, beginning on the east, were as follow: 1. Egypt. 2. Cyrenaica, including Marmorica, now Barca. 3. Regio Syrtica, or the country between the two Syrtes; afterwards called Tripolis, or Tripolitana, from its three principal cities, and now, the kingdom of Tripoli. 4. Africa Propria, or the territory of Carthage, now Tunis. This was divided into two parts, Byzacium on the east, and Zeugitana on the west. 5. Numidia, now Algiers. 6. Mauritania, now Morocco and Fez. 7. Gætulia. 8. Libya, comprehending the interior districts on the east: And, 9. Æthiopia, comprehending those on the west and south. See the Map.

How imperfectly soever the antients were acquainted with Æthiopia, on the western coast of Africa, there is no reason to doubt, as some learned men have done, and particularly M. Gosselin, a late French critic, that that continent was circumnavigated, at a very early period; and that Vasco de Gama, when, in 1497, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, made no new discovery, but only retraced the course, in which the Phœnicians, by about one-and-twenty centuries, had preceded him. Indeed, Mr Rennel has made it clear, that Prince Henry of Portugal, if he was ignorant of this early voyage, must have learned the shape and extent of Africa, from the writings of Abulfeda.

Africa, says Herodotus, except in that particular part, which is contiguous to Asia, is unquestionably surrounded by the sea. Λιβύη μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ ἐοῦσα περίῤῥυτος, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐρίζει. L. IV. 42. He tells us, that the Atlantic, the Indian, and the Mediterranean seas form but *one ocean;* that Africa was actually circumnavigated, by order of Necho (the same who is in Scripture called Pharoah Necho), king of Egypt, with the aid of Phœnician mariners:

Page 340. And he further adds an anecdote of Xerxes, king of Persia, that, when Sataspes, one of his Satraps, had been guilty of a crime, for which he was condemned to die, the king agreed, that the sentence should be changed into what was accounted a far greater punishment, namely, the task of sailing round Africa, by the Mediterranean, the Pillars of Hercules, and Cape Soloeis (now Cape Cantin), and terminating the circuit at the Red Sea. *Θυγατέρα γὰρ Ζωπύρου ἐδήσατο τῆ Μεγαβύζου παρθένον. ἔπειτα μέλλοντος αὐτῆ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω βασιλῆος, ἡ μήτηρ τῆ Σατάσπεος, ἐοῦσα Δαρείου ἀδελφεὴ, παρῃτήσατο, φᾶσά οἱ αὐτὴ μέζω ζημίην ἐπιθήσειν ἥπερ ἐκεῖνον. Λιβύην γὰρ οἱ ἀνάλκην ἔσεσθαι περιπλώειν, ἐς ὃ ἂν ἀπίκηται, περιπλέων αὐτὴν, ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον.* L. IV. p. 238. Edit. Gale. "And, as no guilt was imputed to the ships' crews to be so employed," says Mr Rennel, in commenting on the passage, "we must conclude, that the measure was deemed, and perhaps known to be practicable, although difficult and tedious." Eratosthenes, who lived 350 years after Herodotus, knew that Africa was surrounded by the ocean (Strab. L. I. p. 46.); and, although Ptolemy and Polybius seem to doubt its peninsular figure, Pliny believed, that the voyage had been achieved by more than one navigator (L. II. 67. V. 1.); and both he and Pomponius Mela relate, on the authority of Cornelius Nepos, that Hanno, the Carthaginian, failed in the attempt, which he made from the western coast, but that Eudoxus, who was in the service of Lathyrus, king of Egypt, actually suceeeded, in completing the voyage, from east to west. See Mel. L. III. 10.—Plin. ubi sup.

As the subject is curious, I shall subjoin, for the entertainment of the reader, the short narrative of Herodotus, concerning the celebrated expedition, undertaken by order of Necho, as above mentioned. "Except in that particular part," says he, "which is contiguous to Asia, the whole of Africa is surrounded by the sea. The first person, who proved this, was, as far as we are able to judge, Necho, king of Egypt. When he had desisted, from his attempt to join, by a Canal,

the Nile with the Arabian Gulph, he dispatched some vessels, under the conduct of Phœnicians, with directions to pass by the Columns of Hercules, and, after penetrating the Northern Ocean, to return to Egypt. These Phœnicians, taking their course from the Red Sea, entered the Southern Ocean. On the approach of autumn, they landed in Libya, and planted some corn, in the place where they happened to find themselves: When this was ripe, and they had cut it down, they again departed. Having thus consumed two years, they in the third passed the Columns of Hercules, and returned to Egypt." Beloe's Translation, Vol. II. pp. 215—217. "Since so many authorities concur," says the judicious Mr Rennel, "in the belief, that Africa had been sailed round, we cannot readily guess, why it should be doubted at present; unless the moderns wish to appropriate, to themselves, all the functions and powers of nautical discovery. Few persons, we presume, are inclined to doubt, that voyages were undertaken, by the Phœnicians, to Britain, for tin; by Hanno, to the west coast of Africa, for the purpose of establishing colonies, and to discover new lands; by Scylax, from the Indus to the Red Sea, to explore the intermediate coasts; and by Nearchus, from the Indus to the Euphrates, for the same purpose. And to this list may well be added the voyages, made at a yet earlier date than any of the others, by the fleets of Solomon and of Hiram, to Ophir and other places, for gold, ivory, &c.; voyages, some of which, in point of duration, are said to have equalled that of Necho," p. 676. Page 349.

It may further be observed, that *two* distinct expeditions were certainly performed, by these Jewish fleets. Let the curious reader consult Kings, B. I. 9. xxvi.—xxviii. and 10. xxii., together with Chronicles, B. II. 8. xvii. xviii. and 9. xxi., and he will be convinced of the fact. The one voyage was to Ophir, by the way of the Red Sea, and the other to the Coast of Guinea, by the Mediterranean: For, although gold made a part of each return, yet some of the articles, composing the cargoes, such as ivory, apes, and peacocks, were certainly not imported, on both occasions.

Page 349. Mr Rennel, in his work, on the Geographical System of Herodotus (which may rather be considered as a pleasing treatise on antient geography in general), has examined this subject with great accuracy and ingenuity. He has not only considered the many difficulties, that must have attended the circumnavigation of the African peninsula, but the probable methods, by which it was accomplished, the actual rate of antient sailing, the effects of the monsoons and currents, and other circumstances; so that no impartial enquirer can any longer doubt of the truth of this example of Phœnician intrepidity. What has always struck me as a far stronger evidence, than any other, in favour of Herodotus's relation, is the curious internal mark of authenticity, which it bears, even contrary to the belief and opinion of the narrator. These adventurers, says he (speaking of the Phœnicians), reported as a fact, which, believe it who will, seems to me perfectly incredible, viz. that, having sailed round Africa, *they had the sun upon their right hand;* Καὶ ἔλεγον ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀ πιστὰ, ἄλλῳ δὲ δ τεέῳ, ὡς περιπλώοντες ἐς τὴν Λιβύην, τὸν ἥλιον ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξία. This phenomenon, for which we can now easily account, and which they must necessarily have observed, after they passed the line, could not well have been brought forward, had the voyage been *fictitious*. No ingenuity, indeed, can be supposed capable of suggesting it, in an age, when astronomical science was yet in its infancy.

(28.) The name of this place is evidently of Greek derivation (from καταβαίνω, *descendo*), signifying a descent or declivity. It is situated immediately to the east of Cyrenaica, or the territory of Cyrene, and was originally colonized from Greece. Catabathmus is represented, by the antients, as the eastern boundary of Africa (as Egypt is usually not included in that continent), being a valley of great extent, which commences at this place, and from thence there is a descent, towards the banks of the Nile. See Pomp. Mel. L. I. 8.—Solin. XXX.—Plin. Hist. Nat. L. 5. V. &c. There is, likewise, according to Ptolemy, another place of

the same name, but further to the west, called the Greater Catabathmus, near which there is a town upon the coast. It is remarkable, that this is the only place in Africa, mentioned by Sallust, of which the name is not of *oriental* derivation. Page 350.

(29.) STRABO speaks, in very favourable terms, of the soil of this part of Africa. The soil, he says, of the country along the coast, the whole way from Carthage to the Pillars of Hercules, is extremely fertile; but it abounds with wild beasts, in the same manner as in the more inland districts. It is said, and with great appearance of probability, that the Numidians, in former times, were prevented, by the superabundance of those animals, from cultivating the ground. In our days, however (that is, in the time of Augustus), the natives have acquired great dexterity in the chace; and the taste, at Rome, for public spectacles, and the demand for wild beasts, to supply the combats at such exhibitions, furnish a ready market for the produce. Thus, the country is cleared, and agriculture promoted, in consequence of our luxury. Πᾶσα δ' ἡ ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος μέχρι στηλῶν, ἔστιν εὐδαίμων· θηριοτρόφος δὲ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ μεσόγαια πᾶσα. ἐκ ἀπείκος δὲ καὶ Νομάδας λεχθῆναι τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἐ δυναμένες γεωργεῖν, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θηρίων τὸ παλαιόν· οἱ δὲ νῦν ἅμα τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῆς θήρας διαφέροντες, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσλαμβάνοντων πρὸς τοῦτο διὰ τὴν σπουδὴν τὴν περὶ τὰς θηριομαχίας, ἀμφοτέρων περιγίγνονται, καὶ τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῆς γεωργίας. L. II. p. 131. Edit. Casaub.

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(30.) CÆTERUM *Britanniam qui mortalis initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum.* Tacit. in Agricol. XI. The imitation is here sufficiently obvious.

(31.) SOME are of opinion, that this was Hiempsal, the son of Micipsa; and that Scipio Æmilianus, on destroying Carthage, presented

Page 350. several valuable libraries, which it contained, to certain "Numidian lords," and particularly to the sons of the last mentioned prince. See Univers. History, Vol. XII. B. 3. p. 383, in Note. Vol. XVIII. B. IV. p. 111. ibid. The authors of this useful work seem, in both the places here alluded to, to refer to Sallust as their authority; but there is no foundation whatever for attributing such an assertion to the historian. The probability is, that the king Hiempsal, mentioned in the text, was the son of Gulussa, and another grandson of Masinissa. In the time of Cæsar, this Hiempsal reigned over a part of Numidia, and is the same that is named Mandrestales, by Appian. See Bel. Civil. L. I. p. 653. Edit. Toll. It was at the court of this prince, that the younger Marius, together with other illustrious fugitives, took refuge, when the elder Marius, after concealing himself in the marshes of Minturnæ, escaped to Africa. Hiempsal was succeeded by his son Juba, a prince more than once mentioned above, as having perished, together with Petrēius, after the battle of Thapsus. On this event, Cæsar reduced the whole country into the form of a Roman province, and gave the government of it to Sallust, with Proconsular authority. See Vol. I. p. 58. and Notes.

(32.) Diodorus Siculus agrees with Sallust, in making the Libyans and Gætulians the first inhabitants of Africa. Herodotus, whom Sallust seems principally to have followed, in like manner, divides the original inhabitants into two races, Libyans and Æthiopians; of whom the former possessed the northern, and the latter the southern parts of Africa. As for the Phœnicians and Greeks, he says, they were strangers, who afterwards came into the country. Λιβύες μὲν καὶ Αἰθίοπες, αὐτόχθονες· οἱ μὲν, τὰ πρὸς βορέω, οἱ δὲ, τὰ πρὸς νότα τῆς Λιβύης οἰκέοντες· Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Ἕλληνες, ἐπήλυδες. L. IV. p. 287. Edit. Gale. By these two aboriginal nations, are evidently meant the Moors and Negroes; which classes or casts are fully as distinct, in the present day, as they were observed to be, in antient times. In fact, they have not

greatly varied from their former limits, although the Negroes may, in some instances, have received new masters from the Moors, who are more warlike and enterprising. The common boundary of the Libyans (i. e. the Africans), and the Æthiopians, in antient times, may be placed at the southern border of the Sahara, or Great Desert. Hanno, the celebrated Carthaginian admiral, found the Æthiopians in possession of the western coast, about the parallel of 19°; and Pliny (L. V. 31.) places them five days journey beyond Cerne, which nearly coincides with the report of Hanno. In the present day, the Negroes are not found higher up than the Senegal river, or about the parallel of 17°, and that only in the inland districts. It appears, that the Senhagi tribe, which does not consist of Negroes, possessed the coast about Cape Verde, in the time of Ptolemy: which promontory is called by him Arsinarium. See Rennel's Geog. of Herodot. Sect. XVI. p. 427. Page 350.

The name Libya is derived from the Arabic word *Lub*, which signifies "dry or parched;" or from the Phœnician *Lheba, ardor, æstus.* See Bochart, and Univers. Hist. Vol. XVIII. p. 248. The term Gætulians denotes "a pastoral people, or tribe of shepherds" from *Geth, pecus.* This, it may be observed, is nearly the same appellation, as that given to the Getæ, the Goths, and different pastoral nations, in other quarters of the globe.

(33.) The tradition among the Romans was very different from this; for, according to their account, Hercules travelled from Spain into Italy, where, among other achievements, he attacked, and slew Cacus, as mentioned by Virgil and Livy. The fabulous heroes, however, of the name of Hercules, were extremely numerous among the antients. Diodorus Siculus and Eusebius speak of three; Servius mentions four; Cicero six; and Varro no fewer than forty-three. The truth is, that the word Hercules is not originally a proper name, but is taken from the Phœnician *Harokel*, i. e. "merchant, adventurer, or navigator;" and hence we see the cause of its being bestowed on so great a

Page 350. multitude of persons. They were, for the most part, adventurous mariners, and commanders of Phœnician fleets; who, leaving their country, from curiosity or enterprise, became the founders of new settlements. The Greek or Theban Alcides was thus named Hercules, on account of the numerous expeditions, which he had undertaken, to distant countries.

There are three great eras in nautical discovery, which, in the history of mankind, may be considered as remarkable. The first is formed, by the genius and boldness of the Phœnicians, who, on the one hand, sailed down the Mediterranean, and, entering into the western ocean, to the Tin, or British islands, they visited Friesland, and even Scandinavia; and, on the other hand, they sailed southwards by Cape Verde, and, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, made the entire circuit of Africa. See Scylac. Perip. p. 55.—Herodot. L. IV. 41. 42. &c.—Plin. L. V. 1. II. 67.—Pomp. Mel. L. III. 10. &c. The second era is that of the Califs, when in the meridian of their power. Their fleets, at different times, navigated, with success, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulph; and, besides penetrating into India, they surveyed almost the whole of the eastern coast of Africa. The third and last era, is formed by the discoveries of the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and other nations of Europe, in the end of the fifteenth century; when the Cape of Good Hope became first known to their fleets, that is, when they retraced the route, in which the Phœnician navigators had gone before them. The Cape of Good Hope was re-discovered in 1487; America visited in 1492; and, five years after (1497), De Gama doubled the Cape, and made the first voyage, by that route, to India.

In contemplating these three eras, we cannot help being struck with the superior merit of the Phœnicians, who may fairly boast of having commenced, so to speak, the education of the human race, by communicating, to the then savage tribes of Europe, some notion of their arts, their cultivation, and their polity. This extraordinary people inhabited only a neck of land, narrow in extent, and by no

means fertile in point of soil, on the eastern shore of the Mediterra- Page 350.
nean sea; yet they contrived, by means of their commerce and industry, to render themselves among the most rich, and powerful nations of the ancient world. If their discoveries were less extensive than ours, if their voyages were mostly of the coasting kind, it should be remembered, that they were made under circumstances, infinitely more disadvantageous. They possessed not our knowledge, nor our science; and, above all, they had not the assistance of the magnet, without which, it is difficult to conceive, how any voyage of length or importance, should be performed upon the ocean.

Among the numerous colonies, which the Phœnicians established on the shores of the Mediterranean, and the various Herculeses, who conducted them, it is not easy to say, what particular chief of that name may be here alluded to, in the text, by Sallust, as having died in Spain. Tradition has completely confounded with one another the various persons of this name, and the Grecian mythology has attributed, to a single Hercules, a variety of establishments, which were certainly made, at different periods, by successive Tyrian navigators. If our author allude to the colony, which was founded at Gades (now Cadiz, in Spain), it is, in general, believed, says the intelligent M. De Brosses, to have been about the time of Moses. But, adds he, Velleius Paterculus tells us, that Gades was built by the Tyrians, in the time of Medon, the first Archon of Athens (A. C. 754); and that, soon after, the same body of Tyrians founded Utica, on the Libyan coast: But, in regard to this last circumstance, the historian must be mistaken: For Aristotle, who drew his information directly from the writings of the Phœnicians, makes the foundation of Utica to be 287 years prior to that of Carthage; and, as the foundation of Carthage took place 50 years before the Trojan War, so the foundation of Utica must be dated in 1519 before our era, that is, according to M. De Brosses, prior to the days of Moses, and the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt. In this calculation the worthy President

Page 350. is incorrect. Amidst the darkness, which covers the history of these remote ages, it is scarcely possible to ascertain the truth: Yet, according to the most authentic accounts, as collected and compared by the learned Dr Playfair, the departure of the Israelites from Egypt took place A. C. 1555. See Chronolog. pp. 34. 253. M. De Brosses is of opinion, that the first adventurers, under the name of Hercules, are the same Phœnicians, frequently known by that of Cadmus; that Utica must have been founded, about 1519 years before our era; and that, upon the whole, there is no great difference, in point of time, between that event, the building of Gades in Spain, and the days of Moses and Joshua. Dr Playfair, on the other hand, one of the most accurate chronologers of modern times, on the authority of Scripture, and a mature comparison of all the different accounts, places the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, A. C. 1555, the founding of Tyre in 1252, that of Carthage in 1233, and that of Utica so late as 986. What Dr Playfair's reasons were, for so extraordinary a chronology, in regard to Utica, I cannot conjecture. Concerning Carthage, he nearly agrees with other writers; and there seems little doubt, on the best evidence, that the foundation of the latter city was considerably posterior to that of the former. This seems to be confirmed by the etymology of the names themselves; for Utica, in the Phœnician dialect, according to Bochart (De Col. Phœnic. L. I. 24.), signifies "the old," and Carthage "the new city;" and their vicinity to each other, on the opposite extremities of the same bay of the sea, gives every probability to the opinion.

(34.) It is not easy to conceive what the Persians, an inland people, and of pursuits wholly foreign to navigation, should have had to do with the colonization of Africa. It may, indeed, be supposed, as Phœnicia was a country too circumscribed to furnish troops, for the numerous naval armaments of Sidon and Tyre, that they, as well as other maritime states, might take into their service the troops of foreign nations, and employ, as cavalry, the Persians and Medes. M. De Brosses

ingeniously supposes, that Sallust had fallen into a mistake as to the name of Persians. Having seen the word *Pharsim* (*i. e.* horsemen) in the Carthaginian records of King Hiempsal, he hastily assumed it as denoting the Persian nation: For the derivation of the name (from the oriental *Phars* or *Phâris*, *equus*), seems to have been from an extraordinary fondness, in this people, for equestrian exercises. Wasse thinks, that Sallust might mean the Pharusians, who were, in early times, a rich and powerful tribe of the Gætuli, dwelling on the shores of the Atlantic, near the borders of Æthiopia. The elder Pliny (L. V. 8.) says, that the Persians were antiently called Pharusians; and, according to both Pliny and Solinus, which last writer also refers to the Carthaginian records, this people accompanied Hercules, in his expedition, to procure the golden apples, from the Gardens of the Hesperides; but, their patience being exhausted by fatigue, and long wandering, they settled in the inland parts of Libya (*Itineris tædio, hîc resedêrunt*). Solin. XXXIV. See also Strab. L. XVII. p. 828. The notion is, indeed, very antient, that the Gætulians came originally from Arabia; and the people of that country, being in the neighbourhood of the Persians, might be mingled with them, by alliance and intermarriages. In like manner, M. De Brosses conjectures, that Sallust may have put Armenians for Aramians, a people, of whom he had no knowledge: For the lesser Aram, or Aram-Mini, very near to Phœnicia, was thus called, in order to distinguish it from Pandan-Aram, the greater Aram (*i. e.* Aram-Naharjim, *Aram-fluviorum*), which was Mesopotamia. Page 351.

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(35.) NUMIDÆ (says Pliny) *Nomades à permutandis pabulis appellati, mapalia sua, hoc est, domus, plaustris circumferentes.* Hist. Nat. L. V. 3. See likewise Solinus, Sect. XIX. This name is obviously derived from the Greek νέμω, *pasco*, or νομὴ, *pabulum*. Fest. Pomp. p. 132. Edit. Gothof. Thus it appears, that the names Numidians,

Page 351. Gætulians, and Scythians, are nearly of synonymous import, and that the appellation "Nomades," is applicable to all of them. *Nome*, however, had likewise a more extensive signification, and was taken for a province, or district of a country. Egypt, says Diodorus Siculus, was divided by Sesostris, into six-and-thirty Nomes (νομὰς, *præfecturas*), over which he appointed governors. See L. I. p. 50. Edit. Rhodoman. It is on this account, that the learned Henry Stephens supposes the Greek νομὴ, to be originally derived from the antient Egyptian, or African language, in which it had a signification, similar to that above mentioned.

(36.) THE derivation of *Mapalia*, or *Magalia*, as the name is sometimes written, is uncertain. They seem originally to have been a sort of tents, or portable cottages, covered with straw, and round in shape, according to Cato in his Origines (Fest. Pomp. L. XII. p. 224. Edit. Gothof.); and St Jerom represents them as shaped like ovens: But, most probably, for the reason given in the text, they were of an oblong figure, resembling the hulls of ships. Silius Italicus agrees with our author as to this point, in the following passage, in Book Second;

> Ipsa autem gregibus per longa Mapalia, lectos
> Ante aciem ostentabat equos—

Virgil, in the Third Book of his Georgics, v. 339, thus gives an idea of the wandering shepherd of Africa:

> Quid tibi pastores Libyæ, quid pascua versu
> Prosequar, et raris habitata Mapalia tectis?
> Sæpe diem, noctemque, et totum ex ordine mensem
> Pascitur, itque pecus longa in deserta, sine ullis
> Hospitiis; tantùm campi jacet: Omnia secum
> Armentarius Afer agit, tectumque, laremque,
> Armaque, Amyclæumque canem, Cressamque pharetram.

See further, concerning the African *Mapalia*, Liv. L. XXIX. 31.— Plin. Hist. Nat. L. V. 3. XVI. 37.—Tacit. Annal. L. III. 74. IV. 25. 51.—Lucan. L. II. 89. IV. 684. IX. 945. Page 351.

(37.) THERE is nothing, in this supposed corruption of *Medi* into *Mauri*, that is at all probable, or agreeable to analogy. Sallust seems not to have had any knowledge of the oriental languages; nor had the learned of his day made great proficiency in philological science. The Romans, like the Greeks, were too proud of their own language, to condescend to study that of Barbarians; yet it is, in a great measure, by a diligent comparison of different languages, that this science can be advanced. The historian himself, however, as the President De Brosses well observes, informs us, without knowing it, from what source the name Mauri is derived, when he says, that that people were the earliest of the African nations who ventured to open a communication with Spain. *More*, in the African dialect, signifies "merchant," or "trader;" and the Turks or Arabs usually call those "Mores," or "Moors," who dwell in cities, and are addicted to commerce. See Cantemir. Hist. Ottom. The inhabitants of Mauritania are, to this day, a trading people; insomuch, that most of the internal trade of Africa is carried on by them. Hence it appears, that the name More or Moor, among the eastern nations in general, is applied to those African merchants, who have carried on the trade of Asia, by the Red Sea, by Alexandria, and by Aleppo, since the days of the Califs, and their successors. The learned Bochart makes Maurus to be equivalent to *Mohur*, or, by an elision of gutturals, *Maur*, *i. e.* "one from the west, or a western person;" a derivation, which is not destitute of ingenuity.

Were we to digress a little further on the subject of etymology, that wide, and boundless field of conjecture, it might be observed, that some philologists have referred Moor, to the oriental word *Mer*, signifying "to barter or traffic;" which appears likewise to be the origin of the Latin *Merx* and *Mercator*, and of our own term "Merchant." The

Page 352. Greek word μαυρὸς, *obscurus, niger,* probably owes its origin to the same source. See Isidor. Orig. L. IX. p. 1044. Edit. Gothof. As a great part of the African nations are blacks, so it happens, that Moor has become a general name, for certain nations of that colour, whether in Asia or Africa, although in nowise connected with Mauritania. When the Saracens went from Arabia to Africa, and from thence conquered Spain, they were naturally called Moors, as having come directly from Mauritania. But, in India, the term is applied to a different class of men.

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(38.) PHOENICIANS is the name, given to the Canaanites, by the Greeks, as it is supposed, by a corruption of the oriental expression *Ben-Anac,* which signifies "children of heaven, of the gods, or children of kings;" and the Phœnicians might naturally enough usurp to themselves such an appellation, on comparing their power, their wealth, and their cultivation, with the ignorance of the savage nations, among which they established so many colonies. It was in the same way, and as a mark of veneration, that the native Americans called the Spaniards, under Columbus and Cortes, "Children of the Gods." We find mention made, in the Old Testament, of a formidable race of men, or giants, as they were feigned to be, called Ben-Enac, or Anak, the children of Anak, or Anakims. See Deuteron. Ch. I. 28. II. 21. IX. 2.—Numb. Ch. XIII. 22. 28. 33.—Joshua, Ch. XI. 21. 22. Now, says M. De Brosses, here we have the Phœnicians, under their proper appellation: For, by putting the Egyptian, or Canaanitish article *Ph* before *Anakims,* or *Enacims* (as he writes it), we have Ph-Enacims, "the Enacims," *i. e.* Phœnicians; in the same way as *Pha-Roa, Ph-Ro,* "the king," for Pharoah, the Egyptian monarch. It was not unnatural, adds he, for the Hebrews, to invent the fable of the gigantic stature of the Anakims, in order to designate their greater power and resources, beyond those of their neighbours. The whole of

this M. De Brosses borrows from Bochart, who, in his elaborate treatise, Page 352.
called *Chanaan, De Coloniis et Sermone Phoenicum*, examines the point with great accuracy and learning. See L. I. 1. p. 362. et seqq. Edit. Francof. The derivation, however, is, at least, as good, and, certainly, more ingenious, than that of Syncellus, who derives the word from a person named Phœnic. (See p. 152.); or that of the Chronicle of Alexandria (p. 158.), from φοῖνιξ, *palma;* or even that of Sir Isaac Newton, who supposes Phœnice, or Phœnicia to be a translation of the Hebrew word Edom, from the Edomites, who fled thither in the time of David. See Chronol. of Ant. Kingdoms amended, p. 208. 209. &c. The same learned critic takes notice, that, according to Plautus (in Pœnul.), one of the Punic names of Carthage was *Chedreanech*, or Chadre-Anak, and he with great reason refers it to their Canaanitish extraction. See Chan. L. I. 1. II. 6. pp. 363. 804.

It must not be understood, by this passage in Sallust, that these were the first colonies, that came over to Africa, from the shores of Palestine, because it clearly appears, that the tribes, called by our author Medes, Persians, and Armenians, were early detachments from the same country. The irruption of the Israelites, under Joshua, into the land of Canaan or Phœnicia, and the consequent expulsion of the natives, who were thereby driven westward, towards the sea-coast, is justly considered, as having given rise to the Phœnician emigrations; as the country, thence becoming overstocked with inhabitants, poured its industrious tribes over the shores of the Mediterranean, and even as far as the northern ocean. This perfectly agrees with the chronology above stated, concerning the age of Moses and Joshua, and the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt. Some writers, notwithstanding, are of opinion, that the naval enterprises of the Phœnicians, however they might, by this circumstance, be augmented or accelerated, were yet undertaken, at a much earlier period; among which enterprises they place the migrations of the Titans, from Biblos and Berytus, to Thessaly, and that of Atlas, to Mauritania: But here they ascend to

Page 352. times of mere fable and conjecture, and beyond all reach of authentic records. Be this as it may, we may remark, concerning the opinions of those, who delight pathetically to dwell on the cruelty and injustice of expelling the Canaanites from their country, in order to make room for the chosen seed of Jacob, that the invasion of Phœnicia, under Joshua, operated, on the whole, towards the benefit of the human race. Instead of occasioning the destruction, it only encreased the greatness and prosperity of the conquered nation; and seems to have been the means, employed by divine Providence, to spread the arts and cultivation of an industrious, and enlightened people, over so considerable a portion of the habitable globe.

The name, bestowed upon the leaders of these Phœnician colonies, was, most commonly, Cadmus, that is, "a native, or man of the east," or else Hercules, which, as already mentioned, signifies "great merchant, or navigator." Hence, the vast number of towns and settlements, of which we read in antient history, that all claimed those heroes as their founders. By converting, into proper names, such general appellations, there soon became as many Cadmuses, as there were eastern chiefs, endued with curiosity and enterprise, and as many Herculeses, as there were Phœnician navigators. See Note 33. anteh. This is the only rational method of explaining, how two individuals, in so remote a period, should have visited, and founded colonies, in almost every bay and creek of the Mediterranean and Archipelago, from the shores of Palestine, to the Pillars of Hercules. The story of Cadmus, the son of Agenor, and of his wife Harmonia, who landed in Africa, near the Lake Tritonis, is familiar to the classical reader; and Cadmeia, afterwards named Carthage, was also built by that adventurer. There is a curious confirmation, to be found in Procopius, of the fact, that the Phœnician migrations, to Africa, took their rise from the invasion of their country, by the Israelites. In Numidia, says that historian, at a copious fountain, near the town of Tigisis, there are two columns of pure white stone, on which the following inscription is to be found, in

the Phœnician characters and language: "We are the Canaanites, who fled hither, from before the face of that robber Jesus (or Joshua), the son of Navé (that is, Nun)." Page 352.

Οὐ νῦν πόλις Τίγισίς ἐστί τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται. ἔνθα στῆλαι δύο ἐκ λίθων λευκῶν πεποιημέναι ἄλλοι κρήνης εἰσὶ τῆς μεγάλης, γράμματα Φοινικικὰ ἐγκεκολαμμένα ἔχουσαι, τῇ Φοινίκων γλώσσῃ λέγοντα ὧδε. ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν οἱ φυγόντες ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ληστοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ. De Vandalic. L. II. 10. p. 258. Edit. Paris. Suidas also takes notice of the same circumstance, in voce Χαναάν.

By these observations, which may seem rather foreign to the purpose, it is meant only to show, that the sketch, given by Sallust, of the colonization of Africa, though succinct, according to his manner, and in some want of elucidation, is strictly conformable to the most authentic accounts; and that, in the perusal of the Greek, and Roman writers, who make such frequent mention of Cadmus and Hercules, as founders of colonies, we are to understand nothing more, than certain general appellations, which were bestowed, on early courage and enterprise. From popularity and success, they would be assumed by many; and, in fact, they must belong to a great variety of persons.

(39.) THERE were two towns in Africa, of the name of Hippo (from the Phœnician *Ubbo*, or *Ubo*, *sinus*, according to Bochart, De Col. Phœnic. L. I. 24. p. 519.), each situated on a bay of the Mediterranean. See the Map. The one is called Hippo Regius. It was a town of Numidia (hod. Bona, in the kingdom of Algiers), and, in the beginning of the fifth century, became the Episcopal residence of St. Augustine. See Plin. Hist. Nat. L. V. 4.—Pomp. Mel. L. I. 7. &c. Solinus (Sect. XXX.), thinking of the Greek word Ἵππος *(equus)*, absurdly makes the place to have been founded, by some Grecian horsemen. The other Hippo was named Hippo Zarytus, or Diarrhytus (hod Bizerta), and was situated a short way west of Uttica. See Plin. Hist. Nat. L. V. 4. IX. 8.—Pomp. Mel. L. I. 7. &c. Of this place Dr.

Page 352. Shaw thus writes. "Eight miles to the westward of the *Promontorium candidum*, at the bottom of a large gulph, is the city of Bizerta, pleasantly situated upon a canal, betwixt an extensive lake and the sea . . The lake, upon which Bizerta is situated, has an open communication with the sea; and, according to an observation of the younger Pliny, is either continually receiving a brisk stream from the sea, or else discharging one into it. (*Ex hoc (stagno), in modum fluminis, æstuarium emergit, quod, vice alternâ, prout æstus aut repressit, aut impulit, nunc infertur mari, nunc redditur stagno.* Epist. L. IX. 33.) . . The channel of communication betwixt the lake and the sea, is the port of Hippo Diarrhytus, which still receives small vessels; though it must have been formerly the safest, as well as the most beautiful haven of this part of Africa. There are still remaining the traces of a large pier, that was carried out into the sea, to break off the north-east winds; the want whereof, together with the great aversion in the Turks to repair it, will, in a short time, make this haven useless, which, in any other country, would be inestimable." Travels in Barbary, pp. 75. 76.

Adrumetum was a town of considerable note, the capital of Bizacium, and lay on the south side of the gulph of Hammet. No place is more variously named, by different authors. It is called Adrymes, or Adryme, by Stephanus Byzantius and Strabo; by Polybius, Plutarch, Ptolemy, and Isidore, Adrymeta, Adrumetus, Adrymetum, and Adrumettus; by Appian, Adrymetus; by Sallust, Cæsar, Hirtius, and Pliny, Adrumetum; by Pomponius Mela, Hadrumetum, or, according to Vossius, Hadrumentum. See Strab. L. XVII. p. 834.—Stephan. p. 38. Edit. Berkel.—Plutarch. in Caton. Minor.—Ptolem. L. IV. 3.—Isidor. Orig. L. XIV. 5.—Plin. L. V. 4. VI. 34. &c. M. De Brosses derives the name from *Ader-Myth*, "the death, or tomb of Ader;" and Bochart, from two Phœnician, or Syriac words, which import "the land returning an hundred fold," *i. e.* in corn or grain. See De Col. Phœnic. ubi sup. The place still subsists, under the name of Herkla,

and was the Justiniana of the middle, and the Heraclea of the lower empire. See Shaw's Travels, p. 105. Others have taken it to be the modern Hamamet, a little further to the northward, and on the other side of the gulph. "Adrumetum was built, says Dr. Shaw, as Clypea was, on an hemispherical promontory, two leagues to the south-east of the morass, the boundary, as I suppose, betwixt the Zeugitana, and this province. It appears to have been little more than a mile in circuit; and, if we may judge of its former grandeur by the remaining ruins, we should rather take it for a place of importance, than to have been of any great beauty or extent. That part of the promontory, which stretched to the northward, and formed the port, seems to have been walled in, quite down to the sea-shore; but the rest of it, to the distance of a furlong from thence, does not discover the least traces of ruins." Hirtius, in his account of the War in Africa, says of Cæsar, that he sailed round the town, for the purpose of reconnoitering it: *Cæsar circum oppidum vectus, naturâ loci perspectâ, redit in castra.* Sect. III.; and that he might very well have done, from its then situation, as above described. Page 352.

There were also two towns of the name of Leptis (from the Punic word *Lapt, statio.* See Bochart. Chan. L. I. 24. p. 527. Edit. Francof.). The one, here alluded to by Sallust, seems to be Leptis Minor. It was situated between Adrumetum and Thysdrus, and was rich enough to pay to the Carthaginians, while under their dominion, the tribute of a talent per day. The other Leptis, or Leptis Major, lay between the greater and lesser Syrtis, in the kingdom of Tripoli, and is now called Lebeda. See Pomp. Mel. L. I. 7. and Shaw's Travels. Both places had good harbours, and were used as commodious stations for the Tyrian vessels, and, in after periods, for the Roman fleets; from which circumstance the name is evidently derived. Hence Lucan says, L. IX. 949.;

> Proxima Leptis erat, cujus statione quietâ
> Exegere hiemem, nimbis flammisque carentem.

Page 352. Let us see how Sallust himself describes the greater Leptis a little further on in this history. "It was built," says he, "by a colony of Sidonians; who, forced into exile, by dissentions in their country, sailed over to Africa. The position of the place is between the two Syrtes, certain bays of the sea, situated nearly in the eastmost part of the African coast. . The manners of Leptis, as well as its laws, are mostly Sidonian, and amply attest its Phœnician origin. Nothing but the language has undergone any considerable change, having received, by intermarriages with the natives, some admixture of the Numidian dialect. The distance of the place, from the seat of government, tended to preserve, in purity, the institutions of a people, who were entirely cut off from the more cultivated districts of Numidia, by the intervention of a vast, and uninhabited desert." Sect. LXXX. From the latter part of this account, there is reason to think, that, on the overthrow of Carthage, the place became subject to the Numidian kings; as, by the Section immediately preceding, it appears, that, during the Jugurthine War, it submitted to Metellus, and that a garrison, and a governor were sent thither by that general, in order to protect it.

Leptis Minor, according to Dr Shaw, is the modern Lempta. It seems once to have been more than a mile in circuit; but, at present, nothing of it remains, except the ruins of the castle, with a low shelf of rocks, that probably made the northern mound of the antient port, or Cothon. See p. 109.

(40.) MANY instances might be mentioned, by which the connection, between the colonies and the mother country, is strongly manifested. When Cambyses, king of Persia, resolved, at one and the same time, to attack the Carthaginians, Ammonians, and Æthiopians, the Phœnicians, on whom he depended for naval assistance, positively refused their aid. They pleaded, says Herodotus, the solemnity of their engagements with that people, and the horrible impiety of committing acts of violence, against their own descendants.

Ὀρθίοισί τε γὰρ μεγάλοισι ἐνδεδέσθαι, καὶ ἐκ ἂν ποιέειν ὅσια ἐπὶ τὰς Page 352.
παῖδας τῶς ἐπύτων στρατευόμενοι. L. III. p. 168. Edit. Gale. Thus, the Carthaginians escaped being made tributary to the Persian monarch. Polybius (in Legat.) tells us, that Carthage used to pay an annual tribute to the Temple of Hercules at Tyre; and the Tyrians, on the other hand, when their city was besieged by Alexander, sent off the greater part of their women and children to Carthage, as to a friendly asylum. See Diodor. Sicul. L. XVII. p. 519 Edit. Rhodoman. When Hannibal, after the fatal battle of Zama, withdrew to Asia, and arrived at Tyre, he was received, as Livy says, by the descendants of the men, who had built Carthage, *Ut in aliâ patriâ*, with the affection of kinsmen; with every honour, that was due to a commander, so illustrious by his exploits, and whom they regarded as their fellow-citizen. See L. XXXIII. 49. There is no doubt, but that Sallust had an eye to some, or all of these examples, in the present passage.

(41.) THIS famous city was founded by Cadmus, according to the best computations, in the year of the world 2775; that is, 1233 years before the Christian era, 480 before the foundation of Rome, and 49 only after the memorable epoch, when Troy was taken, and demolished by the Greeks. See Playfair's Chronol. pp. 253. 254. If the curious reader wish to see the various, and contradictory calculations of the antient writers, on this subject, accurately examined, he may consult Petavius, De doct. temp. L. IX. 69. also L. XIII; and Bochart, De Col. Phœnic. L. I. 24. &c. Cadmus was a leader of one of the Phœnician colonies, which visited the African coast; and, from him the place was called Cadmeia, or the Eastern city, as the name imports. See Note 34. anteh.

About the year 864 A. C., and 369 years after its first foundation, this city was greatly enlarged, or rather rebuilt by Elissa, better known by the name of Dido, sister to Pygmalion; who, flying from

Page 352. her native country, on account of the cruelty of her brother, by whom her husband Acerbas, or Sichæus, had been put to death, landed in Africa, with all her treasures. See Appian. de Bel. Punic. p. 1.—Virg. Æneid. L. I.—Justin. L. XVII. 4.—Cedren. Hist. Compend, p. 140. Edit. Paris. Those authors relate, that Dido, having asked of the inhabitants a piece of ground, for building a new city, of as great extent, as the hide of a bull would go round or cover,

Taurino quantum posset circumdare tergo,

she ordered it to be cut into small slips, or thongs, by which means she inclosed a far larger space, than the grantors imagined: Hence, the place, on which she began to build, or the citadel, was called Byrsa, from the word *βύρσα, corium, pellis*, as it is pretended by the Greek, and Roman writers. Jarbas, at that time, reigned over Libya. He demanded Dido in marriage; and, as he denounced war against the Carthaginians, if she refused to comply, they anxiously solicited her to accede to the match. On this, the queen erected a funeral pile, for the purpose, as she said, of performing certain funeral rites, previously to the marriage, to appease the manes of her deceased husband. She then ascended the pile, with a sword in her hand, in the presence of the people; and, declaring that she would go to her husband, in compliance with their wishes *(Ituram se ad virum, sicut præceperant)*, she courageously put herself to death. The Carthaginians ever after worshipped her as a goddess, and erected, on the spot, a temple to her memory. It is to the penetralia of this temple, where the image of Dido, and those of the other guardian Gods of the nation were assembled, that Silius Italicus makes the father of Hannibal mysteriously conduct him, when a boy, there to swear eternal enmity to the Romans. The description is well known to the classical reader

Urbe fuit mediâ, sacrum genetricis Elissæ Page 352.
Manibus, et patriâ Tyriis formidine cultum,
Quod taxi circùm, et piceæ squalentibus umbris
Abdiderant, cœlique arcebant lumine, templum.
Hoc sese, ut perhibent, curis mortalibus olim
Exuerat regina loco. Stant marmore mæsto
Effigies, Belusque parens, omnisque nepotum
A Belo series; stat gloria gentis Agenor,
Et qui longa dedit terris cognomina Phœnix.
Ipsa sedet tandem, æternùm conjuncta Sichæo;
Ante pedes ensis Phrygius jacet. Ordine centum
Stant aræ, cœlique Deis, Ereboque potenti.
Hîc, crine effuso, atque Hennææ numina divæ,
Atque Acheronta vocat Stygiâ cum veste sacerdos.
Immugit tellus, rumpitque horrenda per umbras
Sibila; inaccensi flagrant altaribus ignes.

L. I. 81.

We may here remark, that it was a strange anachronism in Virgil, to make Dido contemporary with his hero Æneas, if, according to the above statement, which is generally received, there were more than three-hundred years, between their respective ages. The apologies, made for the poet by Macrobius, and other authors, are of little value: But it is singular, that Sir Isaac Newton should have undertaken to render probable the chronology of Virgil; and he has done much to prove, that, agreeably to the common antient computations, the destruction of Troy was anticipated, by nearly three centuries. See Newton's Chronol. pp. 32. 65. 66. &c. It must be confessed, that the accounts of Eustathius and Cedrenus, tend to show something very like a coincidence in the above sentiment, between Virgil and Trogus (which last author Justin epitomized); and, without the belief of such an opinion having existed in antient times, it is difficult to conceive, that the great Roman poet, whose taste in other respects

Page 352. was perfectly correct, should, in this instance, have committed so wanton, and, at the same time, so unnecessary a violation of historical truth.

The city, thus built by Elissa, she named Carthada, i. e. "the new city;" from the Phœnician words *Cartha Hadath*, or *Cartha Hadtha*. See Bochart. Chan. L. I. 24. p. 50. Edit. Francof. This was in contradistinction to the place, in its immediate neighbourhood, called Utica, or the old city, and derived from the Phœnician *Atica, prisca*. Carthage erelong became the greatest place in Africa. Carthage was divided into three parts. 1. Bosra, or Byrsa, the Citadel; evidently from the Phœnician *Bosr, munire*, or *Bosra*, arx: 2. Cothon, or the Port; that is, "a place fashioned by labour;" and 3. Magara or the City; denoting "habitations;" both names being derived from the same antient language. See Fest. Pomp. in voc.—Bochart. De Col. Phœn. L. I. 24.—Scalig. Not. ad Fest.—Salmas. in Solin. &c. In the same manner, according to the author of the *Etymologicon Magnum*, and Phavorinus, Elissa Dido imports, in the Phœnician dialect, "the female traveller, or exile." As for the story of the bull's hide, it was a mere fable, proceeding from the absurd vanity of the Greeks, who affected to deduce every thing, however antient, from their own language. They perceived, that *Bosra*, nearly resembled *βύρσα*, the word, that, in Greek, signifies a hide, or leather, and they found no difficulty in supplying all the other circumstances. For most of the above etymologies, and many others, not less ingenious, we are indebted to Bochart (Chan. L. I. 24. II. 24. &c.), with whose learning and discernment the absurd conjectures of Servius, Stephanus Byzantius, and Eustathius on the subject, will not bear a comparison. The curious reader may likewise examine Vossius, Idol. Gent. L. I. 32.

The city of Carthage stood on a bold peninsula, projecting into the bay, and was, as Strabo tells us, 360 Stadia, or five-and-forty miles, in circumference. The neck of the peninsula extending, in breadth, to sixty Stadia, was fortified with a wall. Polybius makes its extent only twenty-five Stadia. See Strab. L. XVII. p. 832. Edit. Casaub.—Appian.

De Bel. Pun. L. I. p. 95. Edit. Toll. According to the estimate, made by Dr Shaw, on the spot, the peninsula appears to be about thirty miles round, and the city to have occupied nearly the one half of that space; for Livy says (L. XXX. 9.), that it was fifteen miles distant from Tuneta or Tunes; and that is the actual distance of the modern Tunis, from the ruins. The city was built upon three hills or eminences, somewhat inferior to those, on which Rome was erected: But all that exists of it, besides the common sewers and water-cisterns, is the area of a spacious room, on one of the hills, overlooking the south-east shore, and of some other smaller rooms, not far distant, which have tessellated pavements. It is here, as the same learned traveller thinks, that the Byrsa or Citadel was situated. Below the Citadel lay the harbour, and a small island, called Cothon, encompassed with a Canal or Euripus, and having docks all round it. See the Map. During the time of the Punic Wars, the city contained 700,000 inhabitants. Page 352.

The government of Carthage, in the age of Dido, appears to have been monarchical; but it was soon changed into a mixed government, as Aristotle tells us, partly aristocratical, and partly, as he terms it, political, that is, democratical. See De Repub. L. II. 11. It was also, in some sort, monarchical, as the two Suffetes or Kings (sometimes called, by the Roman writers, Consuls and Dictators), who were annually elected, enjoyed, during their office, the royal authority. Besides these magistrates, there was a Senate, in some respects resembling that of Crete or Sparta; and an extraordinary degree of power was vested in the People. Aristotle, on examining the constitution of the most perfect republics in the world, gives, upon the whole, the preference to that of Carthage. In his days, however, it had deviated from its original character, and had too strong a bias towards popular ascendency, which, of course, occasioned its ruin. In the judgment of Polybius, the principal cause of the greatness of Rome, and of the fall of Carthage, during the third Punic War, was, that the populace, in the latter state, had prevailed over the Senate, while the authority

Page 352. of the Senate was paramount in the former, and vigorously directed the government. For these particulars, see Aristot. de Repub. L. II. 11. —Isocrat. in Nicocl.—Corn. Nep. in Hannibal. VII.—Herodot. L. VII. 167.—Diodor. Sicul. L. XIII. 43. XIV. 54. &c.—Justin. L. XXII. 7. XXXI. 2.—Liv. XXIII. 13. XXX. 7. XXVIII. 37. &c. —Polyb. L. VI. 49.

Except some remains of the magnificent aqueduct, which brought water to the city, there are not now at Carthage, any vestiges of its antient grandeur. "We here meet," says Dr Shaw, "with no triumphal arches, or sumptuous pieces of architecture; no granite pillars, or curious entablatures;" so that the emphatic lines of Lucan equally apply to the present, and to the former condition, of this deserted place:

> Quà devictæ Carthaginis arces
> Procubuere, jacentque, infausto in littore, turres
> Eversæ: Quantum illa metus, quantum illa laborum
> Urbs dedit insultans Latio, et Laurentibus arvis!
> Nunc passim, vix reliquias, vix nomina servans,
> Obruitur, propriis non agnoscenda ruinis!—

The Carthaginians unquestionably exhibited the greatest maritime state, known in antient times; and, except in the instance of Great Britain, it never yet has been rivalled. Their dominion, in the height of their power, extended over the whole coast of Africa, from Cyrenaica, and the deserts of Libya, to the Pillars of Hercules; over the best part of Spain and Sicily, besides Sardinia, and several other islands of lesser consideration; and, when destroyed by the younger Scipio Africanus, the city had stood, from the time of Dido, upwards of 700, and, from that of Cadmus, upwards of 1080 years. It was rebuilt by Augustus, as a Roman colony, and finally demolished, in the seventh century, by the Saracens.

It is to be regretted that Sallust, from a desire, as he says, to compress his narrative, did not insert in it, an account of the

Carthaginians. Possibly, he felt some portion of national prejudice, against that great, and justly celebrated people; or, more probably, he blushed for the base, and shocking conduct of his countrymen, in regard to them, and willingly laid hold of any excuse, to pass over their name, and their history in silence. See some reflections on the fate of Carthage, Vol. I. pp. 412. 413. Page 353.

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(42.) CYRENE was the chief town of the district of Cyrenaica, and so called, from a Phœnician word, denoting "the copiousness of its fountains." See Bochart. Chan. L. I. 25. pp. 544. 545. It was situated east of the greater Syrtis, and is now a part of the kingdom of Tripoli. Cyrene was built by Aristæus, surnamed Battus, about the time that the Heraclidæ returned from the Peloponnesus, that is, A. C. 1104, and by a Greek colony, which he brought with him from Thera, one of the Sporades islands, in the Ægean sea, immediately south of Ios, and originally peopled by the Phœnicians, and afterwards by the Lacedæmonians.

The province of Cyrenaica, now Kairoan or Kurin, lay within the tract of the Nomades. It constituted the most elevated division of it, and seems to have been a delightful country, happy in its climate, and wonderfully fertile. See Herodot. L. IV. 99. It received the first Grecian colony, established in Africa; and how interesting it was, on that account to the Greeks, may be collected from the detailed history of the origin, progress, and subjection of it, as given by Herodotus, in his Melpomene, or Fourth Book, and heard, when he recited it at the Olympic Games, with so much pleasure. This province had the name of Libya Pentapolis, from its containing five cities of principal note, namely Cyrene, Barce, Berenice, and Tauchira; and what is remarkable, those names are not greatly different from the appellations they bear, at the present day.—It was in this charming

Page 353. country, that the poets placed the Gardens of the Hesperides, so famous for their golden fruit, and the labour of Hercules.

The scite of Cyrene was in a beautiful plain, about eleven miles from the sea; and it soon became one of the greatest cities in Africa, maintaining its independence, against every effort of the Carthaginian power. It appears, from what is afterwards related by our author, in Sect. LXXXI., that there were frequent contentions for territory, between the two states; and he there records the memorable story of two Carthaginian brothers, named Philæni, who suffered themselves to be buried alive, rather than circumscribe the possessions of their country. Cyrene was long celebrated for its wealth, its learning, and its elegance, and gave birth to many eminent men, among the number of whom were Aristippus, Callimachus, Eratosthenes, and Carneades. The place was at length bequeathed, by King Ptolemy, to the Romans, A. U. C. 657. For these particulars, see Herodot. L. III. & IV.—Pausan. L. X. 13.—Strab. L. XVII. p. 838.—Pomp. Mel. L. I. 8.—Plin. L. V. 5. &c.

The island of Thera, now Santorin, has incidentally been mentioned, as the mother-country of the Cyrenians; and it is, without doubt, particularly worthy of notice, from the extraordinary circumstance of the Volcano, which has existed under it, for so many ages. Although the island itself is not immediately connected with the geography of the African continent, yet I am persuaded I shall be forgiven the digression, if I here bring together, for the amusement of the reader, the principal facts, which so many writers, both ancient and modern, have attested concerning it, as one of the most curious objects of natural history.

It appears sufficiently ascertained, that Thera, together with the adjacent islands of Anaphe, Therasia, Hiera or Automate, and Thia, have, at different times, by the force of earthquakes, been all thrown up from the bottom of the sea. Nothing can be more frightful, says Olivier, a French traveller, who lately visited the Archipelago, than the

violent convulsions, that have taken place, all along the coast of Thera, Page 353.
Therasia, and Aspronisi. The formation of the roadstead, and that of those three islands, which have, at known periods, certainly risen from the bottom of the sea, are calculated to strike us with astonishment. The coast of Santorin, nearly an hundred toises in height, presents itself, in several places, to the eye, like a perpendicular mountain, formed of various strata, and of different banks of volcanic substances. See Vol. II. pp. 234. 235. Santorin, according to Herodotus and Pliny, received the name of Callista, or "the Handsome Island," from κάλλιστος, *pulcherrimus*, after it had risen from the sea. It was next called Thera, from Theras, the son of Autesion, and nephew of Polinyces, who peopled it with a colony of Greeks; and its present name of Santorin or Santorino, is probably derived from that of St Irene, the tutelary saint of the island, under the Emperors of the east. See Herodot. L. IV. 51. &c.—Plin. Hist. Nat. L. II. 87. IV. 12.—And the Travels of Olivier.

The three islands Thera, Therasia, and Aspronisi, were all of volcanic origin, and were well known as such, by the antients. Justin relates, that, after an earthquake, an island was seen to rise from the sea, between Thera and Therasia (*Cum admiratione navigantium*); and the fatal effects of the shock were felt at Rhodes, as well as several other places in Asia Minor. L. XXXIV. 4. The new island was named Hiera, that is "sacred," and was dedicated to Pluto. This event happened, about 196 years before the Christian era. Dion Cassius takes notice of the sudden appearance of a small island near Thera, in the reign of Claudius; and Syncellus places it between Thera and Therasia. Seneca (Quæst. Nat. L. VI. 21.) expressly asserts, that the island of Therasia rose from the sea, in his time (*Spectantibus nautis*). Sometime afterwards, there arose another island, called Thia, which, in process of time, disappeared, and was united to the new island already mentioned. Pliny states the appearance of Thia to have taken place in his days, 110 years after that of Hiera. *Post annos* CX., *in nostro*

Page 353. *æro, M. Junio Syllano et L. Balbo Coss. ad* VIII. *Idus Julias, nata Thia.* Hist. Nat. L. II. 87. See also L. IV. 12. Cedrenus relates, that, in the tenth year of Leo Isauricus, there appeared, for some days together, a thick fog, between the islands of Thera and Therasia, and a smoke issuing, as if from a mighty furnace; that, on a sudden, there was seen, floating on the surface of the water, a new island, which at last adhered to the island of Hiera, and considerably added to its size. At the same time, such prodigious quantities of pumice-stones were cast up, as covered the coasts of Macedon and Asia, as far as the Dardanelles. This happened, according to Theophanes, A. D. 712, or, according to Nicephorus, in 720. The whole of this seems to confirm what Strabo tells us had happened long before, between Thera and Therasia, during an earthquake. Volcanic flames, he says, burst through the sea, and burned for four days together, so that the waters were rendered hot, and in one blaze of fire; on which an island, composed of masses of strata, and no less than twelve Stadia (or 1500 paces) in circumference, as if plucked up by machinery, gradually rose above the surface of the waves. *Ανὰ μέσον γὰρ Θήρας καὶ Θηρασίας ἐκπεσεῖσαι φλόγες ἐν τῇ πέλαγες ἐφ' ἡμέρας τέσσαρας, ὥστε πᾶσαν ζειν καὶ φλέγεσθαι τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀνεφύσησαν κατ' ὀλίγον ἐξαιρομένην ὡς ἂν ὀργανικῶς, καὶ συντεθειμένην ἐκ μύδρων νῆσον, ἐπέχεσαν δώδεκα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον.* L. I. p. 57. Edit. Casaub.

Nothing remarkable took place, from 712 till 1427, when the size of Hiera was once more visibly encreased. After a fresh explosion, in 1573, the Little island of Kammeni issued from the sea, such as we see it at this day; and Father Richard, in his account of St Erini, relates, that, in his time, there were several old men in Santorin, who had seen this island formed, in the midst of the sea, and that, for that reason, they called it Micri Cammeni, or "little burnt island." When Tournefort was at Santorin, in the beginning of the last century, the new island of Kammeni had not then been produced. It was not till some years after, from 1707 to 1711, that it emerged, after various earthquakes.

Every encrease, that the island received, was announced by a dreadful noise, and followed by a white smoke, thick and infectious. The whole was terminated by a shower of fragments of basaltes, pumice-stones, and ashes, which were spread to a great distance. Mr Preston of the Royal Irish Academy, one of the most pleasing poets, and accomplished scholars of the present day, in his entertaining Notes on the Fourth Book of Apollonius Rhodius, thus writes, concerning the revolutions, that have taken place, in this singular quarter of the world. Page 353.

"If the reader reflects on the changes, which Santorin has experienced, through the effects of a volcano, which acts on it from a very remote period, he will remark in them four principal eras, distinct from one another. At the first, the island was united to mounts St Stephen and St Elias, as far as the environs of Pergos and Messaria, the only places, which were not volcanized. The second was, the formation of the rest of the island, as far as Therasia and Aspronisi. The roadstead did not then exist, and the island was as large again, of a rounded, or oblong form. The ground rose in the form of a calotte, more or less regular at its summit, and commanded, at one of the extremities, by mounts St Stephen and St Elias. The third period was, the sudden and extraordinary depression, which took place in the middle of the island, whence has resulted the roadstead. The fourth, and last period, is the formation of three new islands, which have successively issued from the bottom of the sea. Perhaps, there will one day be formed others: Perhaps, all these islands will be united to one another, and all the space, which the roadstead occupies, will be filled up. It is impossible to foresee all the changes, that may take place, as long as the volcano, which exists at Santorin, shall remain in activity." Vol. II. pp. 335. 336. See also Olivier's Travels. Some interesting information, relating to the submarine Volcanos of Santorin and the Azores, will be found in Dallas's Natural History of Volcanos, lately published.

Page 353. (43.) THE Syrtes were two bays, or gulphs of the Mediterranean, the Greater and Lesser, well known in antient times, and mentioned as uncommonly dangerous, by almost every Greek and Roman writer. The former, or most easterly, is now the gulph of Citra; and the latter that of Gabes. See the Map. The name is evidently of Greek derivation, from σύρω, *traho*. Sallust, in an after part of this history, thus describes them. The position of the place, says he (speaking of Leptis), is upon the coast, between the two Syrtes, certain bays of the sea, of which that appellation sufficiently indicates the character. These gulphs or bays are situated nearly in the eastmost part of the African coast, being in description pretty similar, although of unequal magnitude. Next to the shore, there is an uncommon depth of water: But that circumstance considerably varies, according to the nature of the bottom; and, in some places, during tempestuous weather, there are continued shallows. For, when the winds blow with fury, and the sea rolls with a prodigious swell, mud and sand, and even stones of vast size, are forced along, by the rapidity of the current. Hence, the bed of the waters is constantly changing, at the mercy of the tempest; and hence, these gulphs have the name of Syrtes, from the frequent dragging, or shifting of their channel. *Id oppidum (Leptis) situm inter duas Syrtes, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus, propè in extremâ Africâ, impares magnitudine, pari naturâ; quorum proxuma terræ prœalta sunt; cætera, utì fors tulit, alta; alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse, et sœvire coepit ventis, limum, arenamque, et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt. Ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Syrtes ab tractu nominatæ.* Sect. LXXX. Alluding to the singular exposure of these bays, to the fury of the east winds, Horace says (L. V. 9.), in his Ode to Augustus, on the battle of Actium,

Aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus
Ventis iturus non suis,
Exercitátas aut petit Syrtes Noto,
Aut fertur incerto mari.

On account of the circumstances above mentioned, these bays are termed, by Lucan, *Vagæ Syrtes.* Being full of sand-banks, which were perpetually shifting their position, the depth of the channel was rendered various and uncertain; and therefore they are uniformly mentioned in the same terms, by Scylax, Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, Mela, Solinus, and Diodorus Siculus. One of the best descriptions of the Syrtes, according to the frightful notions, entertained of them by the antients, is in the Fourth Book of the Argonautics of Apollonius Rhodius; where the poet conducts the sacred vessel, with his heroes, to the dangerous, and inhospitable shores of Libya. I am persuaded, that the reader will not be displeased to see it, in the spirited version of Mr. Preston. Page 555.

Full in their view the land of Pelops lay;
When northern blasts arose, with furious sway.
Nine dreadful nights the storm incessant roars;
As many days it rends the Libyan shores.
The driving winds the helm, the pilot scorn:—
Near the fell SYRTES is the vessel borne.
There shifting sands the lab'ring bark embay;
Thence never crew pursued the homeward way.
A hideous tract the slimy marshes spread;
The putrid waves are motionless and dead:
A treacherous depth of seeming land is seen,
Devouring water, cloth'd in fraudful green.
Along the brine a spume corrupted lies,
And pestilential vapours load the skies.
Inhospitable rise the sandy heaps.—
No bird has dwelling there, no thing that creeps.
The winds, conspiring with the refluent surge,
On these unhappy shoals the vessel urge;
Where tides resistless, with alternate roar,
Now to the main return, now break upon the shore.

Page 353. Part of the keel within the wave remained;
The greater portion now the land sustain'd.

Πέλοπος δὲ νέον κατεφαίνετο γαῖα.
Καὶ τότ' ἀναρπάγδην ὀλοὴ Βορέαο θύελλα
Μεσσηγὺς πέλαγός τε Λιβυστικὸν ἐννέα πάσας
Νύκτας ὁμῶς καὶ τόσσα φέρ' ἤματα· μέχρις ἵκοντο
Προπρὸ μάλ' ἔνδοθι Σύρτιν· ἵν' οὐκ ἔτι νόστος ὀπίσσω
Νηυσὶ πελει, ὅτε τόν γε βιώατο κόλπον ἱκέσθαι.
Πάντῃ γὰρ τέναγος, πάντη μνιόεντα βυθοῖο
Τάρφεα· κωφὴ δέ σφιν ἐπιβλύει ὕδατος ἄχνη.
Ἠερίη γ' ἄμαθος παρακέκλιται· οὐδέ τι κεῖσε
Ἑρπετὸν οὐδὲ ποτητὸν ἀείρεται· ἔνθ' ἄρα τούς γε
Πλημμυρὶς (καὶ γάρ τ' ἀναχάζεται ἠπείροιο
Ἦ θαμὰ δὴ τόδε χεῦμα, καὶ ἂψ ἐπερευγεται ἀκτὰς
Λάβρον ἐποιχόμενον) μυχάτῃ ἐνέωσε τάχιστα
Ἠϊόνι, πρόπιος δὲ μάλ' ὕδασι παῦρον ἔλειπτο.

v. 1231—1244.

See likewise the well-known passage in Lucan, L. IX. 303.

From these descriptions of the poets, let us turn to the more sober, and instructive account of M. Rennel, who, in his Essay on the Geographical System of Herodotus, thus writes, concerning these two celebrated bays. "The Syrtes," says he, "which were the terrour of the antient mariners, are two wide, shallow gulphs, which penetrate very far within the northern coast of Africa, between Carthage and Cyrene; in a part, where it retires very far back, to form the middle bason, or widest part of the Mediterranean Sea. The north and east winds, of course, exert their full force on these shores, which are entirely exposed to them: At the same time, that not only certain parts

of those shores are formed of moveable sand, but the gulphs themselves Page 355.
are also thickly sown with shallows of the same kind, which, yielding to the force of the waves, are subject to variation, in their forms and positions. To this must be added the operation of the winds, in checking or accelerating the motion of the tides, which are therefore reducible to no rules. And, from these causes combined, the depths are so uncertain, that experience, it would appear, proved of no avail to mariners.

"The two Syrtes are more than 200 geographical miles asunder, and were distinguished by the terms GREATER and LESSER; of which, it would appear, Herodotus knew only the former, by the name of Syrtis, the latter, by that of the Lake Tritonis. Not but that both were known, and had obtained the above distinctive names, in the time of Scylax, whom we may conceive to have written before the time of Herodotus (and who lived in the reign of Darius Hystaspes). But it is remarkable, that our author is entirely silent, concerning the properties of the Syrtis, which he thus mentions by name, whilst he speaks of the dangers of the other, in a pointed manner. We are not, however, from this silence to infer, that he was ignorant of the dangers of the Greater Syrtis.

"The Greater Syrtis bordered on the west of the province of Cyrenaica, and penetrated to the depth of about 100 miles within the two capes, that formed its mouth or opening, which were that of Boreum, on the east, Cephalus or Trieorium, on the west. In front, it was opposed to the opening of the Adriatic sea, and the Mediterranean, in this part, expanding to the breadth of near ten degrees (which is its greatest breadth), exposed this gulph to the violence of the northerly winds Scylax reckons it a passage of three days and three nights, across its mouth; which, however, measure no more than 180 geographical miles, on the best modern maps. It is not, however, pretended, that the whole extent of this space was equally dangerous, or that there

Page 353. were dangers in every part: On the contrary, there is every reason to suppose, that the dangers were confined to particular parts of it.

"The Lesser Syrtis lay opposite to the islands of Sicily and Malta. It appears to be no more than from forty to fifty geographical miles in breadth, but penetrates about seventy-five within the continent; and we have Scylax's word, that it was the more dangerous of the two. The islands of Cercina and Cercinitis (Cyranis of Herodotus), bounded its entrance to the north; Meninx, or that of the Lotophagi, on the south. It was here that Jason is said, by Herodotus, to have been in imminent danger of shipwreck, previous to his setting out, on the Argonautic expedition. Melpom. 179.

"Pliny informs us, that Polybius had written a description of the Syrtes, which, perhaps, from the acuteness and accuracy of that author, might have been a better one, than any that has come down to us. It may be supposed to have been a part of the information collected by him, whilst employed in exploring the coasts of Africa, by Scipio, Lib. V. 1. Pliny has quoted, from this description, little more than the bare dimensions of the Syrtes, which we have already given. It appears that Pliny, in some degree, confounds the two Syrtes together, Lib. V. 4.; but it is clear, that the nature of the dangers they present, were essentially different; those of the Greater Syrtis being produced by the quicksands, both on the shore, and in the offing; and which were rendered more formidable, by their great extent: But the dangers of the Lesser Syrtis arose, more particularly, from the variations, and uncertainty of the tides, on a flat, shelvy coast. In effect, Pliny supplies no description at all of the Syrtes: He just says, that they are horribly dangerous (L. V. 4.): Neither does Solinus: But both of them seem to consider the irregularity of the tides, as the sole, or chief cause of the dangers. Strabo (836) imputes them, not only to the tides, but to the flatness and ooziness of the bottom; and he observes, that ships, whilst navigating this part, kept as wide as possible of the indraught of the gulphs.

"It appears, that the improved state of navigation amongst the moderns has stripped the Syrtes of the greatest part of their terrours; since most of the dangers must probably have arisen, from the difficulty of working off a *lee-shore*; for which purpose the antient ships were very ill calculated, in comparison with the modern ones. The slow progress of those ships, which kept them so long in the neighbourhood of dangers of every kind, would add to that risk; and these deficiencies combined, must very often have proved fatal, in stormy weather; although a modern ship, well fitted, would, under similar circumstances of situation, have been unconscious of any danger. And this applies equally to other dangers, as those of Scylla and Charibdis, &c. It is also to be considered here, that the coast, being in many parts bordered by quicksands, their accustomed refuge, of drawing up their ships on the beach, could not be resorted to. Thus, modern improvements may be said to have removed that, which was the greatest terrour of the antient navigators, when a lee-shore happened to be inaccessible. Page 353.

"Marmol says, that the natives still call this gulph (the Greater Syrtis) Syrte al Kibbeer, which has precisely the same meaning as the antient name; and it certainly continues to be known to mariners, by the name of Sidfa or Seedra . . Notwithstanding that the mouth of it was thickly sown with shallows, yet bold and enterprising navigators made their way through them; and it may be pretty clearly collected, that the part, so much dreaded and avoided, was at the south-east of this Syrtis, where the Philænian altars were situated, and where the sea enters deepest into the land. Edrisi informs us, p. 93., that about seventy geographical miles of the road, leading along the gulph, is through land, which is, in a manner, in a state of solution; occasioned either by the sea-water, or by the natural moisture of the soil.

"Strabo furnishes another fact, relating to this Syrtis. He says, that Cato, in marching from Berenice, round the Syrtis (towards Carthage), was compelled, together with the army, which he led, to pass

Page 353. through deep sands and inundations, caused by the tides; in effect, corroborating what Edrisi says. This event happened after the battle of Pharsalia, and the retreat, and death of Pompey, in Egypt. The object of Cato was, to join his forces to those of Juba and Scipio, in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Strabo further says, that Cato had 10,000 men, which he divided into separate bodies, that they might more conveniently obtain supplies of water, in that arid region (p. 836): That they marched on foot, and completed the tour of the Syrtes, from Berenice, in thirty days. Those, who examine the distance, will find, that the rate of marching was eleven geographical miles and a half, in direct distance, or about one mile above the mean of ordinary marches, which is 10, 6. Plutarch says, that Cato marched in winter, from Cyrene; and that he took with him some of the Psylli, to charm the serpents, which were said to abound in the regions he was to traverse, and cure their stings." Sect. XXIII. p. 646—653. Mr. Rennel remarks, that the Goodwin Sands, on the coast of Kent, possess much the same properties, as the shallows and coast of the Greater Syrtis.

Notwithstanding the length of this extract, the reader, I imagine, will thank me, for having given it in the words of this judicious geographer himself, as his account would not easily have admitted of abridgment.

The learned Dr Shaw tells us, that, although Agathemer, Strabo, and other antient geographers, fix the beginning of the Lesser Syrtis at the islands of Cercina and Circinitis (now Querkiness), yet it should properly be at Cape Vada (now Capoudia): For, from that promontory, to the island of the Lotophagi (hod. Jerba), there is a succession of small flat islands, shallows, and banks of sand. These prove extremely advantageous to the natives, who, by wading a mile or two from the shore, and fixing, as they go, hurdles made of reeds, enclose a multitude of fish. The fact has been taken notice of by Strabo. See L. XVII. pp. 834. 835.; who indeed completely confirms this account. "The easterly winds," says Dr Shaw, "were too violent,

whilst I travelled along the coast of the Lesser Syrtis, to observe the flux and reflux of it, from whence some authors have derived the name. However, I was informed, agreeably to the account, which Agathemer has left us, that, at Jerba particularly, the sea rises, twice in twenty-four hours, a fathom, or more, above its usual height. The like has been observed in the Gulph of Venice, which ranges along with it, in the same meridian, and therefore, is equally subject to the like pressure or attraction." p. 112. Page 353.

It may be observed, that one of the two contiguous islands above-mentioned, namely Cercina, or the place where the Lesser Syrtis commenced, is that, to which Sallust was sent, by Cæsar the Dictator, with a detachment of the fleet under his command, and should have been noticed in its proper place. See Vol. I. pp. 56. 57. Herodotus calls it Cyranis. He says, that it is 200 Stadia in length, of a trifling breadth, and of easy communication with the continent. Here, adds he, is a lake, from which the young women of the island draw up gold-dust, with bunches of feathers, besmeared with pitch. See L. IV. 195. It appears that Diodorus Siculus mistook Cyranis for Cerne, now the island of Arguin, on the west coast of Africa, formerly a Carthaginian, and, in modern times, a Portuguese settlement, near Cape Blanco.

(44.) It is impossible, in this place, to avoid the alternative of fixing the charge, either of inconsistency on Sallust, or of gross inaccuracy on the transcribers of his text. As to the text, its uniform appearance, in all the MSS., gives little room for the latter supposition; so that the fault seems rather to lie with the historian himself. In a concise sketch, according to his manner, of the principal places on the coast, from Hippo to Egypt, he proceeds pretty regularly as far as Adrumetum; after which, instead of mentioning the Lesser Syrtis, he makes a transition to Catabathmos, which was the very furthest boundary of Africa, on the east. From Catabathmos it then appears to be his design to

Page 353. enumerate the principal places westwards to Adrumetum: But, even in that view, there is a visible incorrectness; for the Philænian Altars are placed *west* of both the Syrtes, instead of being in their true situation, at the south-east extremity of the Greater, or between that gulph and Cyrene. This is on the supposition, that Sallust meant to *change* his plan of description, when he got as far as Adrumetum, as the general tenour of the narrative bespeaks; nevertheless, the particular words, in the outset, are, *Igitur ad Catabathmon prima Cyrene est;* that is, "in proceeding *towards* Catabathmos, the first place we meet with is Cyrene;" an assertion, very opposite to the real position of the places; as the Lesser Syrtis, Leptis, the Greater Syrtis, and the Philænian Altars all intervened.

It is remarkable, that M. De Brosses, who had taken some pains with the text of Sallust, as well as with the geography of antient Africa, makes not a single observation on the passage. The learned Cortius, who appears to find no difficulties, where other critics discover them, undertakes to explain it in the following words. *Castilioneus taxat Sallustium, quòd has ares post Syrtes posuerit: Nec meliùs Crispinus eum defendit, qui adserit, post Leptin hoc loco poni. Neutrum verè. Collocat Sallustius post Cyrenem, ut Plinius, ut Mela, aliique: Nam quæ de Syrtibus et Lepti adtulit, ea interposita sunt, propter commemorationem maxis: Qui mos tum aliis, tum nostro haud insolens est, etsi imperiti interpretes eum nusquam ferè observare voluerunt.* p. 508. Which notable argument amounts shortly to this; that, because the historian chanced to make mention of the sea, and of the Syrtes, which formed a part of it, he had a right to confound the position of any other place in the neighbourhood, that he thought fit. With every deference to the ingenuity of Cortius, I am forced to differ from him, on this occasion, and willingly class myself with the ignorant, the *Imperiti interpretes*, whom he thinks proper to despise: For, whether we take the passage in the original, or in the translation I have given, which, I trust, is a fair one, I can see nothing

but confusion in the order of the places, that are intended to be described. Page 354.

The Abbé Thyvon, whose critical opinions are, in general, respectable, thinking to vindicate the accuracy of Sallust, translates *Igitur ad Catabathmon*, "Je reviens donc à la vallée de Catabathmos;" because the historian had mentioned the place before, as the eastern boundary of Africa; and *Deinde Philænôn Aræ*, "Après cette ville (meaning Leptis) les Autels Phileniens;" in which last notion he is joined by Crispinus and others. Whatever may be said of the former clause of the sentence, this method of rendering the subsequent part, will avail him little, because still the Philænian Altars lay far to the east of the Lesser Syrtis; unless, indeed, the authority of Peutinger is to be set up, against that of all the most accurate geographers.

In regard to the story of the two Carthaginian brothers, named Philæni, or the cause of erecting Altars to their memory, the point is so fully treated by the historian himself, in Sect. LXXXI. of the present history, that it is unnecessary to say any thing, in this place, on the subject.

(45.) The Numidian territory, on account of the different districts, that passed under that name, has been so variously described, by different writers, that scarcely any two of them are found to agree, concerning its extent and boundaries. Under Jugurtha, it stretched over a very extensive surface, and formed the greatest kingdom, possessed by any African power, after the destruction of Carthage. See a particular account of it, in Note 6. anteh.

(46.) Herodotus, in Book II. Section 32., delineates the position of the different African nations, in terms nearly resembling those, employed by Sallust. The whole of Libya, he observes, along the Mediterranean sea, from Fgypt to the promontory of Soloeis, which terminates Africa, is inhabited by different tribes of Libyans, excepting only

Page 354. that district, which is in the possession of Phœnicians and Greeks. The parts of Libya, beyond the sea-coast, are filled with beasts of prey; while the regions still more remote, besides being infested with those noxious animals, are scorched by the rays of the sun, and exhibit nothing but a barren, sandy, and immeasurable desert. Τῆς γὰρ Λιβύης τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βορηΐην θάλασσαν, ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολόεντος ἄκρης, ἢ τελευτᾷ τῆς Λιβύης, παρήκεσι παρὰ πᾶσαν Λιβύες, καὶ Λιβύων ἔθνεα πολλὰ, πλὴν ὅσον Ἕλληνες καὶ Φοίνικες ἔχεσι. τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατηκόντων ἀνθρώπων, τὰ κατύπερθε τῆς θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε τῆς θηριώδεος, ψάμμος τέ ἐστι, καὶ ἄνυδρος δεινῶς, καὶ ἔρημος πάντων. "Here," says Mr Rennel, "Herodotus clearly distinguishes three belts or regions, parallel to the Mediterranean, the northernmost of which we must, of course, conceive to have been that, which extended along the sea-coast, and was bounded, on the south, by Mount Atlas, and other ridges; the middle one, that called "the country of dates;" and the third, the Great Desert, or Sahara itself." Sect. XVI. p. 414. Abulfeda, like Herodotus and Sallust, also divides Africa into three regions; but he proceeds from west to east, in his enumeration.

(47.) The Mulucha, or as some writers have it, the Malva, or Molochath (now the Meluya, Mul-looïah, or Mul-ûhhah, according to the pronunciation of the Moors) "is," says Dr Shaw, "a large and deep river, which empties itself into the Mediterranean sea, over against the bay of Almeria in Spain. It lies about forty miles to the westward of Twunt (ol. Artisiga), and 240 from the Atlantic Ocean. Small cruising vessels are still admitted within its channel, which, by proper care and contrivance, might be made sufficiently commodious, as it seems to have been formerly, for vessels of greater burden. The sources of it, according to Abulfeda, are a great way within the Sahara, at the distance of 800 miles; and the whole of it, contrary to most of the other rivers,

lies nearly in the same meridian. The Mul-looïah, therefore, as it ap- Page 355.
pears to be the most considerable river in Barbary, so it is by far the fittest for such a boundary, as the antient geographers and historians have made it, between Mauritania and Numidia; or between the Mauritania Tingitana and Cæsariensis, as they were afterwards called. The same river, likewise, by comparing together the old geographers, will appear to be the Molochath, and the Mulucha: For both these names have no small affinity with the Mul-looïah, or Mul-ûhhah, the true original name, perhaps, of the Malva or Μυλᾶα. The same boundary, likewise, between the Mauri and the Massæsyli, which is by Strabo ascribed to the Molochath, is by Sallust, Mela, and Pliny ascribed to the Mulucha." See Travels in Barbary, pp. 7. 8.—Strab. L. XVII. p. 829. Edit. Casaub.—Plin. Hist. Nat. L. V. 2.—Ptolem. L. IV. 2.—Pomp. Mel. L. I. 5.

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(48.) Haud *longè à mari, prope Cirtam oppidum.* Here there is probably a blunder in the text, as Cirta, the chief town of Numidia, is well known to be the modern Constantina, and is no less than eight-and-forty Roman, or something less than as many English miles, from the coast; so that it was impossible for two such armies, as those of Jugurtha and Adherbal, if encamped near the town, to be also near the sea. It is extraordinary, that none of Sallust's commentators have observed the errour, which is probably referable to the transcribers: For I can never believe that the historian himself, who, as governor of the province, must have often been at Cirta, could have so written the passage. Cortius, indeed, discovered the mention of the errour, in Cuper's Notes on Lactantius (De Mort. Persecutor. XLIV.); but, what is rather singular in a critic of Cortius's perspicacity, he notices it only to defend it. *Non vidit Cl. Gisb. Cuperus* (says he) *ad Lactantium, quomodo hæc conciliari quæant, cum Strabone et Melâ, qui Cirtam oppidum* procul à mari *ponunt. Dicas*

Page 356. *autem consedisse utrumque exercitum, inter mare et Cirtam; atque poterunt consedisse haud longè à mari, atque etiam haud longè ab Cirtâ; et hujusmodi quidem oppidi à mari distantiam innuere voluit Mela, cùm scripsit, eam esse* procul à mari *sitam. Neque verò particulæ istæ,* procul, longè, post, ante, *sensu semper strictissimo accipiendæ sunt; quod nemini ignotum, et nos alibi adnotavimus.* p. 516. From hence it should seem, that, in Cortius's opinion, *Haud longè,* or *Haud procul à mari,* and *Longè,* or *Procul à mari,* mean one and the same thing!

That all distance is relative I will readily admit; and that the words *Procul, Longè,* and the like, are seldom to be understood in a very strict, precise, or definite sense. What might appear a great, or a small distance to this learned critic (whose ideas may have been on a scale of uncommon magnitude), I cannot take it upon me to determine. Eight-and-forty miles are nothing, when compared with the diameter of the earth, or the distance from the pole to the equator: But certainly eight-and-forty miles cannot be esteemed an inconsiderable space, when the position of a town, and the encampment of two small armies are in question. It would be an abuse, at least of ordinary language, as absurd as unprecedented, to assert, that two such armies could encamp *near* a place, eight-and-forty miles from the sea (even allowing, as Cortius supposes, that the encampments were formed *between* the sea and the place), and yet that they could be said, at one and the same time, to be *near to both.*

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(49.) As Jugurtha had studied the art of war under one of the greatest generals among the Romans, and at one of the longest, and most memorable sieges, recorded in their history, he was well acquainted with all the modes of attack and defence of fortified places, then in use; so that we need not wonder at his having recourse to some of them, on this occasion.—Instead of stopping at each particular siege, recorded in the subsequent narrative of our author, in order to explain the mode

of attack, or the engines employed, either to assail, or to defend the place, I shall here endeavour, for the benefit of the young student, to bring together, under one view, the principal information, which the Roman writers have left us, on so curious a topic; and certainly there is no one, in the military transactions of that great people, which is calculated to convey to us a higher idea of their enterprise, their perseverance, and their ingenuity. Page 356.

When regular siege was to be laid to a place, two lines of intrenchments, at some distance from each other, were usually drawn round it, the one for the purpose of preventing the sallies of the besieged, and the other for that of securing the besieging army, from hostile attacks from without. These intrenchments were composed of a ditch and rampart, strengthened with a parapet and battlement, and sometimes even with a wall, flanked with turrets. At the foot of the parapet, or at its junction with the rampart, a line of palisades was frequently run, and defended by various contrivances; such as trunks of trees, sharpened at the end, and fixed into rows of trenches; pits dug in irregular lines, filled with strong, and sharp stakes, and covered with brush-wood; and the like. Over and above these, Cæsar, at the siege of Alesia (by the taking of which he finished the reduction of Gaul), cut, in front of the palisades, and at four-hundred feet distant from the rampart, a ditch twenty feet broad; and he secured it, by two other ditches, no less than fifteen feet broad, and as many deep, the innermost of which was filled with water. See De Bel. Gall. L. VII. 72. 73. &c. Edit. Oudendorp. In the interval between the two lines was the station of the besieging army; and the camp was pitched, in the manner the most convenient for communicating with both.

In front of the inner line, was raised a mount or *Agger*, composed of earth, wood, stones, and sometimes hurdles, which was gradually advanced towards the town, and encreased in height, till it equalled, or overtopped the walls. At *Avaricum* (now Bourges), the mount, raised by Cæsar, was no less than 330 feet broad, and in height it was

Page 356. eighty feet. See Bel. Gall. L. VII. 24. The mount was generally secured by turrets, consisting of different stories, from which showers of darts and stones could be thrown on the besieged, by means of engines called *Catapultæ*, *balistæ*, and *scorpiones*, that played on the garrison. At the memorable siege just now mentioned, Cæsar erected the astonishing number of nearly 1600 such turrets. There were, besides these, moveable towers of wood, thirty, forty, and even fifty feet square, which were advanced, and brought back at pleasure, by means of wheels, fixed on the inside planks or beams, of which they were constructed; and, in order to prevent them from being set on fire by the enemy, which was constantly attempted, they were covered with raw hides, coarse mattresses, or other materials, not easily susceptible of inflammation. As the towers generally were of a height, superior to that of the battlements of the town, no place, to which they could be brought forward, was able long to hold out against them.

In order that the men might advance, with safety, up to the very works, sheds or mantlets, called *Vineæ*, or, as I have rendered it in the text, "moving pent-houses," were contrived, made of wood or hurdles, and covered, sometimes with earth, raw hides, and other substances; and these, like the towers, were brought forward, or withdrawn at pleasure, upon wheels. The military shell or *Testudo* (so named from its resemblance in shape to the back of a tortoise), composed of the soldiers' shields, held together over their heads, was a contrivance of a similar sort, and used to protect the assailants, from the darts of the enemy.

It was under cover of the moving pent-houses, that one of the most celebrated of all the antient engines, the Battering-Ram, was worked. This formidable machine consisted of an immense beam of wood, like the mast of a ship, shod, at the great end, with iron, in the form of a Ram's head, from which circumstance it derived its name, and suspended between two posts, of proportionable magnitude, with ropes, or iron chains. Balanced in this manner, it was worked, or impelled,

with great violence by a hundred men or more (who were frequently relieved), for the purpose of battering the walls; so that, when a breach was made, the besiegers might rush in, and make themselves masters of the place. It was under cover of the moving pent-houses also, that the men worked at the intrenchments: They filled up, or opened ditches; they threw up mounds; and performed various other services, without being exposed to the darts, or the engines of the garrison. Page 356.

When, from the nature of the ground, it happened, that the pent-house could not efficaciously be brought forward, the besiegers frequently had recourse to an under-ground attack. By means of mines, driven under the walls, and sometimes into the middle of the besieged place, they succeeded in cutting off the springs of water, or in overthrowing the fortifications. When the latter was intended, the roof of the mine was supported with wooden props; which, being set on fire, gradually burned away, and in due time effected the object. In these dangerous attempts, however, the assailants were frequently opposed, in countermines, by the besieged; and, when the two parties chanced to meet, a dreadful conflict under ground was the consequence. A curious instance of this species of encounter occurred, at the siege of Ambracia, under Fulvius. It is well described by Livy (L. XXXIII. 7. &c.); together with the various contrivances, which were used, in order to prevail in it.

The great object, on the part of the garrison of any place, was, of course, to prevent the assailants from approaching the works; for which purpose, besides other methods, they likewise employed mines, against the mount or *Agger;* they frequently destroyed it, together with its works, by getting underneath the foundation. These mines they supported with wood, and afterwards set it on fire, in the same manner, as was practised by the besiegers, in their attack on the fortifications. When a breach was apprehended, from the impression of the battering engines, the garrison took care to erect another wall, immediately behind the former, so that the assailants often had their work to begin anew. Besides

Page 357. these, they employed various other methods, to elude, or weaken the force of the battering-ram, to protect themselves from missile weapons, and effectually to annoy the enemy.

From the prodigious labour and complexity attending the above, and many other operations, impossible to be touched upon, far less to be detailed, in the short compass of a Note, it is apparent how sieges, in antient times, were protracted, not only for months, but for many years together, until the invention of Gun-powder (perhaps, on the whole, an advantage to the human race), introduced a more compendious mode of warfare, and completely altered the system. In order to form a competent idea of the perfection, to which the attack and defence of fortified places were brought among the antients, the reader may consult Vegetius, *De Re Militari;* and, still more particularly, the history of some of the most celebrated sieges, that were carried on by the Romans, before their astonishing intrepidity, and thirst of dominion had subdued the world. Among the most remarkable, are the siege of Syracuse, under Marcellus, as recorded by Polybius and Livy, when that place was so obstinately defended by the genius of Archimedes, no less than the efforts of the inhabitants; that of Ambracia, not long after, under the Consul Fulvius; that of Numantia, under the second Scipio Africanus, and other generals; those of Avaricum and Alesia, under Julius Cæsar: And we may add to the list, although it happened in an after period, the long, and obstinate siege of Jerusalem, as Josephus describes it, when that city was taken, and destroyed by Titus.

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(50.) CIRTA, now Constantina, has already been more than once mentioned, as the capital of Numidia, and one of the strongest places in the kingdom. The etymology of the name, according to Bochart, is from the Phœnician or Punic word *Cartha, civitas,* by way of pre-eminence. Cirta is placed by Dr Shaw, who visited the spot, as well

as by Pomponius Mela and Pliny, a great way inland, on the river Ampsaga, and forty-eight Roman miles from the sea, as noticed above. It was called also Cirta Sittianorum, from P. Sittius Nucerinus, of whom an account is to be found, at pp. 162. 163. anteh. See Plin. Hist. Nat. L. V. 3.—Hirt. de Bel. Afric. XXXVI.—Dion. Cass. L. XLIII. p. 242.—Appian. Bel. Civil. L. IV. p. 996. Edit. Toll.—Solin. Polyhist. XXIX. Page 357.

Cirta was indebted, for its wealth and importance, principally to Micipsa. That prince fortified and embellished it, with great expense and labour, and made it his principal residence. He invited, to the place, a Greek colony; and, before his death, it had become so flourishing, that, as Strabo tells us, it could send into the field an army of no fewer than 20,000 foot, and 10,000 horse. L. XVII. p. 832. Edit. Casaub. After the subjection of Numidia to the Romans, Sittius made himself master of the town, and bestowed upon it his own name; and Catiline, who was connected with Sittius, counted upon Cirta as a strong-hold, that might prove important, in the event of the Conspiracy involving an African war. Although Cirta was a Roman colony, and dignified, by Cæsar, with the title of Cirta Julia, it was greatly neglected, till the time of Justinian, who caused the town to be rebuilt, and the fortifications to be repaired, giving it the name of Constantina, which it has since retained, as the capital of a small kingdom, dependent on Algiers.

Dr Shaw describes Constantina, as a place of uncommon natural strength being situated on a sort of peninsular promontory, of more than a mile in circuit, inaccessible on every side, except the south-west, by reason of precipices of a hundred fathoms high, from whence the prospect, he says, is delightful, and prodigiously extensive, into the adjoining country; while the Rummel, antiently the Ampsaga, runs below, in a deep, narrow, and rocky channel. He informs us, that many monuments of antient magnificence are scattered over the surface, particularly the remains of a superb aqueduct, which conveyed water from

Page 361. Phys-geah, for the use of the town. The ruins of this, as well as of the spacious cisterns connected with it, still gratify the curiosity of the traveller. Dr Shaw adds, that the Map of Cirta, given by Cuper, in his Notes on Lactantius, is extremely incorrect, conveying no idea of its situation and character. See p. 60.—62.

From this account of the town of Cirta, it is plain, that Jugurtha could not hope to become master of it by force: and, being exposed to an attack on one side only, namely the south-west, it could be defended, against a considerable army, by a mere handful of men.

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(51.) UTICA, that is, according to Bochart, "the old city," in the Phœnician language, and now commonly supposed to be Porto Farina, may be regarded as one of the most antient places in the known world, having been founded by the Phœnicians, three-and-thirty centuries anterior to the present period. It lay, beyond question, as mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus, twenty-seven Roman miles west of Carthage, and between that city, and the Promontory of Apollo. Dr. Shaw, on the most probable grounds, the shifting of the channel of the river Bagrada (hod. Me-jerdah), at the mouth of which it was situated, and from two striking passages in Cæsar and Livy (De Bel. Civil. L. II. 24.—Liv. L. XXIX. 35.), fixes its scite at the small town, called Boo-shatter, although that is now at some distance from the shore. See the Map. Porto Farina he makes to be the sea-port, named formerly Ruscinona, where the Carthaginian fleet retired, the night before the engagement with Scipio, near Utica. Liv. L. XXX. 10. The whole country, between Utica and Carthage, presents a scene, which, to a scholar like Dr. Shaw, must have been in a high degree interesting; comprehending, besides other objects, the *Campi magni*, and the *Castra Corneliana*, so frequently noticed by Polybius and Livy, now covered with extensive ruins.

After the destruction of Carthage, Strabo says, that Utica became the first place on the African coast. It was usually the residence of the provincial governor, and afterwards became celebrated for the death of Cato. It held the rank of a municipal town, while Hippo, Adrumetum, and even Carthage itself, were no more than Roman colonies. Pages 362. 363.

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(52.) Livy agrees with Sallust in stating, that Adherbal was put to death at Cirta; See Epit. LXIV.: But, according to Strabo (L. XVII. p. 831.), it happened at Utica. This seems to be a mistake in the writer last mentioned; as Utica was situated in the Roman province; and we have already seen, in Sect. XXVII., that the ten commissioners, after landing at that port *(Uticam adpulsi)*, sent letters to Jugurtha, desiring his immediate presence, in the province; *Quàm ocissumè ad Provinciam accedat.*

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(53.) This Memmius was the son of Caius Memmius, who commanded a Legion under Scipio, at the siege of Numantia. The son obtained the Quæstorship, A. U. 637: He became Tribune of the People, in 642; Prætor, in 649; and governor of one of the eastern provinces, in the following year. Memmius was warmly attached to the popular party, of which he was among the most noted leaders, at this period. The violent hostilities, that took place between him and Scaurus, certainly commenced, on account of the Jugurthine War, and continued for several years, to the great disturbance of the commonwealth. In 653, being a candidate for the Consulship, together with Glaucia, and Antonius the celebrated orator, and on the point of being elected as colleague to the latter, Memmius lost his life, in one of those shocking riots, so common at Rome, during the election of the magistrates. Of the success of Antonius, it seems, no doubt was enter-

Page 363. tained, from the superiority of his influence; and Glaucia, in order effectually to prevail against the other competitor, with the assistance of the Tribune Saturninus, procured a band of ruffians, armed with bludgeons, to attack Memmius; when they actually dispatched him, in the midst of the assembly! The Comitia, as Appian says, instantly became a scene of violence and tumult, where the fear of the laws, and the authority of the magistrates were completely suspended; and there remained no longer any regard to restraints divine or human. Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία θορυβηθεῖσα διελύετο, ἔτε νόμων, ἔτε δικαστηρίων, ἔτε τινὸς αἰδοῦς ἔτι ὑπούσης. L. I. p. 627. Edit. Toll.

Cicero, in his account of illustrious orators, does not rank Memmius very high in the list, notwithstanding what is here said of him, by our author. Neither his own talents in that department, nor those of his brother Lucius, could, in the judgment of Cicero, be placed above mediocrity; although, at the bar, both were considered as violent and acrimonious accusers, bringing many of their cotemporaries to trial, for capital offences, and seldom or never appearing on the side of a defendant. *Tum etiam C. et L. Memmii fuerunt, oratores mediocres, accusatores acres atque acerbi. Itaque in judicium capitis multos vocaverunt, pro reis non sæpe dixerunt.* De Clar. Orator. XXXVI. According to Sallust, we are led to imagine, that Memmius was one of the most able speakers of his time; and, indeed, the specimen he produces (which, in substance, is probably genuine), does no discredit to the assertion. From both accounts, we may conclude, that Memmius's talents lay rather in command of invective, and in extraordinary asperity, than in oratorical powers, either various or extensive; the former of which were better suited, than even qualifications of a superior class, to rouse the people to fury, against a public delinquent.

(54.) THERE were a vast number of laws, that went under the name of the Sempronian, viz. all the enactments, brought forward on various occasions, by either of the two brothers, Tiberius or Caius Sempronius

Gracchus, during the days of their popularity. The particular law, Page 363.
here alluded to, was called *De Provinciis;* by which it was enacted, that, every year, before the Comitia were held, the Senate should select, out of all the provinces, two in particular, to be assigned to the future Consuls, and for that reason called "Consular Provinces:" But it was permitted, to those magistrates, to divide them between themselves by lot, or by other prescribed methods. See Note 69. on the Conspiracy of Catiline, p. 183. anteh. It is probable, that this law had not, at first, been very regularly observed; but, from the present period, it appears, that scarcely any deviation was ever made from it. Immediately on the allotment, troops, money, and other necessary supplies were voted, as particular services, or as exigencies required. See Cic. de Provinc. Consular. II. Pro Balb. XXVII. Pro Dom. IX. Manut. de Legg. X. XV. et Not. in Cic. Fam. L. I. 7.

(55.) This was Cornelius Scipio Nasica, son to Scipio Nasica, surnamed Serapion, who was Pontifex Maximus, and who put Tiberius Gracchus to death; an act, by which Cicero declares, that he as eminently benefited the commonwealth, as his contemporary Africanus, by the overthrow of Numantia. *Nec plus Africanus, singularis et vir, et imperator, in excidundâ Numantiâ, reipublicæ profuit, quàm eodem tempore, P. Nasica privatus, cùm Tiberium Gracchum interemit.* De Offic. L. I. 22. The Scipio here mentioned married Metella, the daughter of Macedonicus. In the tract *De Claris Oratoribus,* he is named with applause, as one of the eminent speakers of his time, and distinguished for wit and humour, above all his cotemporaries. Sect. XXXIV. He died during his Consulship, in the present year; which, as we shall hereafter see, was the cause of his colleague Bestia's unlucky return from Numidia, in order to preside at the elections.

Lucius Calpurnius Bestia was of the Calpurnian family, one of the most illustrious in Rome, as has oftener than once been noticed. Bestia had been Tribune of the People, at a critical period, A. U. 632.

Page 363. during the celebrated Consulship of Opimius, and proved himself a steady friend to the party of the nobles, by procuring a law to be passed, for the recal of Publius Popilius, notwithstanding all the intrigues and influence of the Gracchi; for which, of course, he is highly applauded by Cicero. See De Clar. Orator. XXXIV. All that the great orator otherwise says of him, is, that he was, *Vir acer, et non indisertus;* but Sallust, in the following Section, gives his character, with precision and impartiality. His conduct in the Numidian war, as will be seen, was shockingly corrupt: But Cicero, who was determined, on all occasions, to extol Scaurus to the skies, could not decently avow the truth, in regard to his friend, and copartner Bestia. Not long after, the popular faction found an opportunity of revenge, which they eagerly embraced. A prosecution, on the Mamilian law (See Sect. XLIV. posth.), was raised against Bestia: and, being deservedly convicted, he was condemned to exile, where he ended his days.

Besides the charges of public delinquency, brought against him by his enemies, there was a curious accusation of a domestic nature, exhibited by Marcus Cæcilius, namely, his being guilty of poisoning at least two of his wives, by means of wolfsbane, applied, while they slept, in that particular manner, which the Romans believed would cause immediate death. The doctrine itself, concerning this poison, seems to have been very antient, and, together with the accusation against Bestia, is thus stated by Pliny. *Antiquorum curam diligentiamque quis potest satis venerari? cùm constet omnium venenorum ocyssimum esse aconitum; et tactis quoque genitalibus foeminini sexûs animalium, eodem die inferre mortem. Hoc fuit venenum, quo interemptas dormientes à Calpurnio Bestiâ uxores, M. Cæcilius accusator objecit. Hinc illa atrox peroratio; ejus in digito mortuas.* L. XXVII. 2. What proofs appeared, as to so extraordinary a fact, or whether the crime could be brought home to the defendant, the curious naturalist has not informed us.

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(56.) THE Romans did not permit the ambassadors of every prince or state to enter the city: For which reason, there was a spacious building, named the *Villa Publica*, erected near the river, in the Campus Martius, for the purpose of receiving, and entertaining them. See Vol. I. p. 538. Those, to whom the honour of coming within the walls was not granted, sometimes obtained an audience of the Senate, in the Temple of Bellona, which was likewise situated in the suburbs. Pages 364. 365. 366.

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(57.) THE first general, that we sent over, says Florus, was the Consul Calpurnius Bestia. But the king, who, from former experience, well knew, that gold, and not the sword, was the most successful arms, that could be employed against the Romans, fairly purchased a peace. *Primus in Numidiam Calpurnius Bestia Consul mittitur: Sed rex peritus, fortiùs adversus Romanos aurum esse, quàm ferrum, pacem emit.* L. III. 1. vii.

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(58.) ACCORDING to some authors, there were two towns in Numidia, of the name of Vacca, or, as Ptolemy and Plutarch call it, Vaga, or Baga. But the place, here alluded to, was probably Vacca, which lay on a branch of the river Bagrada, and forty or fifty miles to the west of Utica. See the Map. More particular mention will be made of this place, in the sequel.

(59.) WITHOUT incurring the imputation of unnecessarily entering into verbal criticism, this passage seems to require illustration. The original has; *Postero die, quasi* per Saturam, *sententiis exquisitis, in deditionem accipitur.* By *Satura* (the substantive *Lanx* being understood) the Romans meant a large platter or charger, which was, once a year, filled with fruits of every sort, and gratefully offered to the

Page 630. Gods, as the *Primitiæ*, or first-fruits of the season. This sort of *Sacra miscella* was called, by the Greeks, πάγκαρπος θυσία, πολυσπερμία, and the like. In process of time, the phrase *Per saturam* came to be proverbially used, to denote other things, that were various, manifold, much diversified in their nature. Hence *Per saturam sententias exquirere*, means the taking the sense of an assembly, in a general, or promiscuous manner; when the members are neither called by name, nor the votes marked nor numbered, but their sentiments obtained in a general way, as I have just now said; or literally, according to the vulgar phrase, "by the slump." There is, in the Preface to the Pandects, compiled by order of Justinian, a passage, where the same mode of expression occurs, and where it evidently is used in a similar sense. *Et primi anni hoc opus legentibus tradebatur, non secundum edicti perpetui ordinationem, sed passim, et quasi* per satyram *collectum, et utile cum inutilibus mistum, maximâ parte inutilibus deputatis.* It was in like manner, by a deviation from the primary sense of the word, that *Satura lex* signified a law, like the *Lex Papia Poppæa*, for example, consisting of many different heads; and the name of the poem, afterwards so well known by that of Satire, *Satyra* (at first written *Satura*), certainly sprung from the same origin. It was a composition wholly of Roman structure, having had no prototype among the Greeks, and might very justly be called, as Juvenal says, *Farrago libelli;* a short, but various medley of sketches of life and manners, and often made up of very heterogeneous parts.

Festus, in his explanation of the term *Satura*, expresses himself as follows: *Satura, et cibi genus, ex variis rebus conditum est; et lex, multis aliis legibus conferta. Itaque in sanctione legum adscribitur; Neve* per saturam *abrogato, aut derogato. Titus Annius Luscus, in eâ, quam dixit adversus Tiberium Gracchum; Imperium, quod plebes* per saturam *dederat, id abrogatum est. Et Caius Lælius, in eâ, quam pro se dixit; Dein, postero die, quasi* per saturam *sententiis exquisitis, in deditionem accipitur.* p. 425. Edit. Gothof. This, in a great mea-

sure, tends to confirm what I have stated; and it moreover informs us of another particular, namely, that Sallust had copied the words, in the last clause of his sentence, from a certain oration of the elder Lælius, which that excellent speaker had, on some occasion, delivered in his own defence; a thing very likely for our author to have done; as we know how much he was in the habit of borrowing from both Lælius, and the Censor. That Festus lived at a period, when the orations of Lælius were still extant, has not been denied: And yet the learned Cortius, with his usual pertinacity, declares the circumstance to be clearly beyond belief (*Manifestò incredibile*). Rather than admit the possibility of his being mistaken in the opinion, he assures us, that it is *perfectly certain*, that Festus must have forgotten, both to insert a quotation from the Oration of Lælius, and to tell us, that the concluding words, instead of belonging to Lælius at all, were quoted, by himself, from Sallust's history of the Jugurthine War. One thing, at least, is perfectly certain, if the assertion of Cortius be not, and that is, that a critic, who gratuitously assumes such latitude of supposition, and who is moreover armed with such powers of amendment, can never find a difficulty in any antient writer. Page 368.

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(60.) The opening of this speech is imitated, from that of Cato the Censor, against Sergius Galba, as it is to be found, in the Seventh Book of his *Origines*. *Multa me dehortata sunt huc prodire; anni, ætas, vox, vires, senectus: Verùm enim verò cùm tantam rempublicam agier arbitrarer.* The rough, though vigorous character of the Censor's composition is here apparent; but it is well copied, and certainly much improved upon by Sallust, and is, in my judgment, nearly as good an exordium to a popular address, as is to be found in any antient writer: *Multa me dehortantur à vobis, Quirites, ni studium reipublicæ omnia superet; opes factionis, vestra patientia, jus nullum; ac maximè, quòd innocentiæ plùs periculi, quàm honoris est.* An excellent critic, Lord

Page 368. Monboddo, differs very essentially from this sentiment, and thinks the composition what he calls "hard and rumbling." "What orator of Greece or Rome," says he, "that had any reputation, ever began an oration to the People in the manner Sallust makes Memmius the Tribune begin his?" Orig. and Prog. of Lang. Vol. III. p. 205. Now, with deference to the learned Judge, let the reader of taste take the opening of three very celebrated orations, which has been often quoted, and compare it with that of Memmius, as reported by Sallust; first, that of the Third Philippic of Demosthenes, beginning Πολλῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γιγνομένων, &c.; secondly, that of the oration of Æschines *De Coronâ*, beginning, Τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν ὁρᾶτε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, &c.; or, thirdly, that of the well-known pleading of Cicero for the poet Archias, *Si quid est in me ingenii, Iudices,* &c.; and, on comparing these, I imagine, he will find no such degrading inferiority, on the side of the Roman historian. To the peculiar fascination of Greek sounds to a classical ear, it is, indeed, impossible to oppose any argument, deduced from reason, or supported by the laws of criticism: But, excepting this, the commencement of Memmius's speech can, by no means, be considered as contemptible: It is deficient neither in rythm, nor in images; and it certainly excels the two last examples in one quality, that is, its being shorter than either; for the first sentence of any composition, however forcible or eloquent, will never fail to lose some part of its effect, if drawn out to an extraordinary length. Of the Greek prejudices of the learned, and very respectable judge, I have said enough, in another place, Vol. I. pp. 293. 294. 426. 445. &c. to which I refer the reader.

(61.) It has puzzled Glareanus, Castilioneus, and other commentators, what to make of the "fifteen years," here mentioned by Sallust, when it evidently appears, from the context, and, particularly, from what is said in the following Section, that he alludes to the times of the Gracchi, and to the triumph, gained by their death, over the popular interest. Tiberius, the elder of the two brothers, was cut off, two-

and-twenty years, and Caius, about ten years, prior to this time; so that the retrospect of fifteen, although it includes the one period, cannot be said to apply to both. Cortius says, that Sallust gives an ἀπαρτιλογία, *Ut numerus rotundetur;* and M. de Brosses thinks, that, in taking the two periods together, a mean number was intended to be expressed, by that of fifteen years. This may do very well in numeral proportions; but it is by no means admissible, in ascertaining chronological events. If, as some MSS. have it, we read, *His annis duodecim*, it comes somewhat nearer to the truth; and may be thought to allude to the latter of the two periods, when Caius Gracchus, and Fulvius Flaccus were put to death; as the popular faction, while those leaders were at its head, greatly revived, and, on their death, sunk again into depression. Page 369.

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(62.) THE massacres, which followed the death of the Gracchi, were certainly shocking, and utterly disgraceful to the triumphant party, under whose sanction they were committed. Velleius Paterculus, when not under the influence of servility or prejudice, can make excellent reflections on the striking events of history, and thus writes, concerning the fate and character of these celebrated brothers. After describing the manner of their death, and the indecent circumstances of their bodies being thrown into the Tiber; Thus perished, he says, two extraordinary men, both sons to Tiberius Gracchus, and maternal grandsons to the great Scipio; while their mother Cornelia, who was left behind them, lived to read, in the fate of her children, a perversion of disposition, and a misapplication of talents, to the most pernicious purposes. Had they only been proof against a mistaken ambition; had they aimed at objects, consistent with the principles of the constitution; they might have risen to an eminence, probably as high, and certainly more honourable, than they could have hoped to attain, by popular tumult, and the distractions of their country. But, adds the historian, if the conduct of the Gracchi was intemperate, that of their opponents was disgraced

Page 374. by circumstances of peculiar atrocity. As a striking example, the son of Fulvius Flaccus, a promising youth, not past eighteen years of age, of an elegant form, and certainly not implicated in the guilt of his father, when sent by the latter, to treat of terms of accommodation, was, by the order of Opimius, cruelly put to death. While they were carrying him to execution, a Soothsayer of Etruria, and friend of the young man, perceiving his tears, and that he began to launch out into useless lamentation, nobly cried out to him, to show greater firmness, and that he himself would set the example how he should meet his fate. With these words, he rushed against one of the door-posts of the prison, which were made of stone; and, dashing out his brains with the violence of the blow, he expired on the spot. *Hunc Tib. Gracchi liberi, P. Scipionis Africani nepotes, vivâ adhuc matre Corneliâ, Africani filiâ, viri optimis ingeniis malè usi, vitæ mortisque habuere exitum. Qui, si civilem dignitatis concupiscent modum, quidquid tumultuando adipisci gestierunt, quietis obtulisset respublica. Huic atrocitati adjectum scelus unicum. Quippe juvenis, specie excellens, nec dum duodevicesimum transgressus annum, immunisque delictorum paternorum, Fulvii Flacci filius, quem pater legatum de conditionibus miserat, ab Opimio interemptus est. Quem cùm haruspex Tuscus, amicus, flentem in vincula duci vidisset; Quin tu hoc potiùs, inquit, facis? protinusque inliso capite in postem lapideum januæ carceris, effusoque cerebro, expiravit.* L. II. 7.

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(63.) Our author's love of brevity has left us in the dark, as to who this Cassius was. During the whole of the seventh century of the city, the Cassian family was celebrated for its firm integrity, and for the extraordinary severity, which more than one of its members displayed in the tribunals. Cicero, speaking of a Lucius Cassius, made Military Tribune at the time of Verres's trial, says; *Cassius ex familiâ, tum ad cæteras res, tum ad judicandum severissimâ:* And, in

fact, there were so many persons of the same name and character, and who also bore the prænomen of Lucius, that it is difficult to distinguish between them. Page 374.

It seems probable, that the Cassius, mentioned in the text, was Lucius Cassius Longinus, who, during his Prætorship, was accounted so severe a judge, that his tribunal became tremendous to criminals, and obtained the name of *Reorum scopulus*, "the rock of the accused," that is, the rock, upon which they were almost certain of being wrecked. It was he, likewise, to whom Cicero attributes the celebrated maxim "*Cui bono?*" "who derives advantage from the business?" a question, which Cassius always inculcated on the *Judices* or jurymen, in all the criminal trials, carefully to investigate. With a keen discernment, and knowledge of mankind, he was of opinion, in regard to most crimes, that we have made a considerable progress towards arriving at the truth, if we can once ascertain who derives *benefit* from their commission. Cicero, in his famous Oration for Milo, in endeavouring to recriminate on Clodius, founded his argument on this principle (this *Dictum Cassianum*), and laboured to show, that it was Clodius, and not Milo, who waylaid his adversary, with the intent to assassinate; and he set forth the various advantages, that would have accrued to the former, if he could have succeeded in cutting off so powerful a rival. See In Milon. XII. with the Commentary of Asconius. See likewise Philip. II. 14. By such a line of conduct, Cassius became one of the most eminent characters of his time, and one of the principal models, which Cato afterwards copied. His weight and influence, among his own order, were extensive; while the people looked up, with favour and admiration, to a man, whom no views of interest, nor violence of faction, were able to withdraw from the line of rectitude. It is from him that all rigid, and upright judges were afterwards called *Cassiani judices;* and the same honourable character seems to have distinguished his family, to a late period of the empire. See Tacit. Annal. L. XII. 12.

Page 374. Cicero, in his pleading for Roscius Amerinus, represents Cassius as a model of judicial integrity and wisdom. Though upright in his decisions, and inclined, at all times, rather to severity than mercy, I should not fear, says the orator, even at a tribunal like his, to stand forth in the cause of my client. Cassius, like another well-known kinsman, who flourished somewhat earlier, courted public applause, not as others did, by munificence and public largesses, but by the rigid severity of his principles, and the universal confidence, which his character inspired. *L. Cassius ille, quem populus Romanus verissimum et sapientissimum judicem putabat, indentidem in causis quærere solebat,* CUI BONO FUISSET? *Sic vita hominum est, ut nemo ad maleficium conetur, sine spe atque emolumento, accedere. Hunc quæsitorem ac judicem fugiebant, atque horrebant ii, quibus periculum creabatur: Ideò, quòd tametsi veritatis erat amicus, tamen naturâ non tam propensus ad misericordiam, quàm implicatus ad severitatem, videbatur. Ego, quamquam præest huic quæstioni vir, et contra audaciam fortissimus, et ab innocentiâ clementissimus; tamen facilè me paterer, vel illo ipso acerrimo judice quærente, vel apud Cassianos judices, quorum etiam nunc ii, quibus causa dicenda est, nomen ipsum reformidant, pro Sex. Roscio dicere.* Pro. Rosc. Amerin. XXX. *Homo, non liberalitate, ut alii, sed ipsâ tristitiâ et severitate popularis.* De Clar. Orator XXV. We need not, therefore, wonder at the profound respect, entertained by Jugurtha, for Cassius, when he went over, to bring him to Rome. In assuring the prince of the public faith, in regard to the security of his person, he added, says the historian, that he might consider his own honour as privately pledged, for the fulfilment; an obligation, which to Jugurtha seemed not less important, than the faith of the republic. *Privatim præterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris, quàm publicam ducebat. Talis, eâ tempestate, fama de Cassio erat.*

After being Prætor, A. U. C. 642, Cassius became Consul, in 646, together with Caius Marius, who was raised to the office, by the favour of the people, for the purpose of conducting the war against Ju-

gurtha. But Cassius carried on a contest with the Tigurini, with very different success. By that martial people he was unfortunately defeated and slain, and his army obliged to pass under the yoke. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. L. I. 12.—Liv. Epit. LXV.—Oros. L. XVI. 17. There are several medals extant, which celebrate the fame and merit of this, as well as other members of the Cassian family. Page 377.

It does not appear, that this Cassius was the same person, mentioned by Cicero, as Tribune of the People A. U. 616, and as the injudicious framer of the well-known law, *Lex Cassia Tabellaria*, during the Consulship of Lepidus and Mancinus. Nor does he appear to be the Cassius, as some critics suppose, who, in consequence of a special commission from the people, reversed the sentence of Lucius Metellus, the High Priest, passed against some Vestal Virgins, who had an intrigue with Vecturius, a Roman Knight; and, on trying them anew, actually condemned several of them to death, with the usual solemnities. See Ascon. in Cic. Milon. XII. Asconius, however, in the place here referred to, attributes the maxim *Cui bono* to this Cassius. Dr Adam, who is, in general, so accurate, seems to be neither wholly in the right, nor wholly in the wrong, in his discrimination of the celebrated persons of this name. But the Delphin commentator on Cicero's Orations, Valesius, in his Notes on Ammianus Marcellinus, L. XXII. XXVI., and M. Bayle (in voc. Cassius), have probably come the nearest to the truth.

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(64.) Nothing more is known concerning Bæbius, of whose surprising powers of impudence and persistency we have here an example. But the ceremonial of Jugurtha's appearance at Rome, and the farce of his public examination, display more forcibly, than a thousand arguments, the true nature, and the radical defects of the Roman constitution; how amidst the perpetual contest, among the great, for wealth and power, the people were alternately cajoled and oppressed, and, in

Page 379. the end, as the historian observes, "made the bubble of contending factions." What is said in this passage of Memmius being able to allay the ferment, and to sooth the passions of the multitude, reminds us of the fine simile of Virgil, in the First Book of the Æneid:

> Ac veluti magno in populo, cùm sæpe coorta est
> Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
> Jamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat.
> Tum pietate gravem ac meritis, si fortè virum quem
> Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant:
> Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet.

(65.) THESE two Consuls were both of antient, and Patrician family. Albinus was surnamed Posthumius, as appears by the *Fasti Consulares;* and he is little known, excepting for his ill success in Numidia, which will appear in the sequel. Minucius Rufus, by our author called Quintus, but Marcus by Livy (Epit. LXV.), was more fortunate than his colleague. He obtained the province of Macedonia, and successfully made war against the Thracians. Medals of the Consul last-mentioned are still extant.

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(66.) THE fifty persons, whom the historian says, were delivered up, as sureties for Bomilcar, could not, as some suppose, have been Numidians; because Jugurtha came over, in the most private manner, from Africa, and with very few attendants. Had they been of that nation, they probably, on such an occasion, would have been proceeded against with severity, and the very effects upon his subjects at home, which the king wished to avoid, would thereby have been produced. These sureties, therefore, must be understood to be Romans, who were paid by Jugurtha for their services; and, as they had no personal danger to apprehend, they would be exposed only to a pecuniary fine, when Bomilcar disappeared, and his bail became forfeited.

(67.) THE same story, and in nearly the same words, is told by Livy, Florus, and Eutropius. The history of Cæsar, at no very distant period, amply verified Jugurtha's prediction: For of that great man it may be truly said, as I have above observed (Essay II. pp. 300. 301.), that the one half of Rome was bribed, and the other half compelled by force of arms, to submit to his authority. Pages 381. 383.

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(68.) THE situation of this place is uncertain. M. De Brosses supposes, and with sufficient probability, that it lay near Mount Aurasius, in the southern quarter of Numidia. Suthul, in the Phœnician or Punic dialect, signifies "the town of Eagles;" and we are told, that the cliffs of Mount Aurasius are still frequented by vast numbers of those birds. Orosius (L. V. 15.) takes notice of the absurd expedition of Aulus, who, at the head of 40,000 men, he says, laid siege to a town called Calama, in the hope of being able to seize Jugurtha's treasures: But Orosius places Calama near the sea-coast, between Hippo Regius and Cirta, which does not correspond with Sallust's account of the movements of the army.

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(69.) THIS practice Jugurtha evidently borrowed from the Romans. It was considered as the greatest piece of ignominy, to which an army could be subjected. Two spears were planted in the ground, and another placed transversely over them, resembling in form the Greek letter Π. Under that the conquered troops were made to march, like cattle, as it were, subdued to the yoke, in token of disgrace and submission. The Dictator Cincinnatus, who was called from the plough, to head the armies of his country (*Ille triumphalis agricola*, as Florus terms him), was the first, who instituted the practice, in commemoration, as it appears, of his own agricultural occupations (*Ne quid à rustici operis imitatione cessaret*): And accordingly, on conquering the Æqui, and the

Page 368. Volsci, he made the former people pass under the yoke. *Tribus hastis jugum fit* (says Livy); *humi fixis duabus, superque eas transversa una deligata. Sub hoc jugo Dictator Æquos misit.* L. III. 28. In the course of events, the Samnites memorably retaliated on the inventors, by making them, in their turn, submit to the same mark of ignominy.

From a Fragment of Appian we learn, that the Thracians and Ligurians, who, our author tells us, deserted to Jugurtha, on this occasion, were afterwards, on that prince agreeing to a surrender, punished by Metellus, after the African manner, with extraordinary severity. Having formed the troops into a hollow square, and drawn up the traitors in a circle, in the midst of them, he ordered the hands of some to be cut off: The rest were buried in the earth, as high as the middle; and, after being pierced with the darts and javelins of their companions, they were, at last, burned to death. See Excerp. Numid. L. VIII. p. 1222. Edit. Toll. It is remarkable, that the same mode of punishment subsists in Africa to this day.

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(70.) By the ordinance of Mamilius, or Manilius (as some writers have it), many illustrious culprits were brought to justice; Calpurnius, Albinus, and Opimius, of all of whom mention has above been made; besides Galba, son to Servius Galba, the famous orator, and son-in-law to Crassus; and Cato, grandson to the Censor, nephew to Scipio Africanus, and father to Cato, surnamed "of Utica." This Cato had formerly been Consul. Galba was a member of the Pontifical college, and was the first of that sacred body, who suffered the disgrace of a public trial. The peroration in the pleading, which he produced, says Cicero, in his own defence, was esteemed so fine a composition, that, when I was a boy, I was made to learn it by heart. *Extat ejus peroratio, qui tanto in honore, pueris nobis, erat, ut eam etiam disceremus.* De Clar. Orator. XXXIII. Both Cato and Galba were condemned; and, being fined in a large sum of money, they retired into exile. Al-

binus and Calpurnius shared a like fate, notwithstanding the greatest efforts to save them, made by Scaurus; who, as Sallust informs us, had, with extraordinary effrontery, and still more address, procured himself to be nominated one of the Inquisitors on the trial. Page 387.

As for Opimius, his condemnation made a prodigious noise at Rome; and, according to the political prejudices of those who have recorded it, he has been confidently held forth, as a corrupt delinquent, and as a martyr to patriotism. Cicero and Velleius Paterculus delight to contemplate this virtuous head of the Patrician party, this saviour of his country, ending his days in unmerited neglect, at Dyrrachium; while Sallust calmly represents him, as corruptly receiving Jugurtha's gold, and leaves the reader to judge for himself. The historian, however, adds, with perfect candour, that, whatever were the demerits of any of the culprits, the prejudices of party were at least equally conspicuous; and that the caprice of the multitude, rather than the principles of justice, for the most part guided the decision of the judges.

(71.) Almost all the antient writers, agree in referring the decline of the Roman manners, and the ruin of those manly virtues, which had raised the republic to power and grandeur, to the overthrow of Carthage, in which it so blindly exulted. Velleius Paterculus has a passage on this subject, wherein he expresses, with no less truth than eloquence, the rapid changes that ensued. *Potentiæ Romanorum* (says he) *prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriæ posterior aperuit. Quippe, remoto Carthaginis metu, sublatâque imperii æmulâ, non gradu, sed præcipiti cursu, à virtute descitum, ad vitia transcursum; vetus disciplina deserta, nova inducta; in somnum à vigiliis, ab armis ad voluptates, à negotiis in otium, conversa civitas.* L. II. 1.

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(72.) It is not often that Livy condescends to draw from our author, whom he is said to have both hated and envied: But it seems proba-

Page 389. ble, that he had this striking passage in his eye, when he put the following sentiment into the mouth of Appius Claudius, in his Second Book. *Dum Tribuni Consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse virium in medio : Distractam laceratamque rempublicam, magìs quorum in manu sit, quàm ut incolumis sit, quæri.* Sect. LVII. The idea seems to have been taken originally, by Sallust, from Thucydides. See L. III. 82. fin. vers.

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(73.) QUINTUS CÆCILIUS METELLUS, surnamed Numidicus, was of the illustrious house of the Cæcilii, and, without doubt, one of the greatest, and most remarkable men of this period. He was son to L. Metellus Calvus, grand-nephew to Macedonicus, and father to Metellus Pius. The Cæcilian family was one of the most antient, and dignified in Rome, having produced a Tribune of the People, as early as the year of the city 316; and, towards the period of which Sallust treats, it had given to the republic, within the space of twelve years (as Velleius Paterculus truly remarks), more than an equal number of Consuls and Censors, or military commanders, who had triumphed for their victories. Metellus was Quæstor, A. U. 628; Tribune of the People, in 633; Curule Ædile, in 636; Prætor of Rome, in 639; and, at length, Consul, in the present year.

All the antient writers give, to this great man, the same character, as is attributed to him by our author, and, in particular, for incorruptible integrity. He was a skilful general, an accomplished statesman, a respectable scholar, a patron of learning, and, according to Cicero, an orator of no mean endowments. What is remarkable, and highly to his praise, he seems to have been absolutely the only person, engaged in the contest with Jugurtha, and in the various negociations with that prince, who did not either exhibit a conduct grossly corrupt, or, at least, who did not mingle, with his virtues, the most shocking vices. It is to be regretted, that more particulars concerning him are not pre-

served, and that an account of his Life, which was composed by Plutarch, has not come down to posterity. Page 392.

Metellus, on account of his victories over Jugurtha, acquired the honourable title of Numidicus. Some time after, he stood forth as the only Senator, who had resolution enough to refuse to swear, that he would support the laws of the Tribune Saturninus, whom Marius so ungratefully employed to attack him, and, on that account, he was driven into exile; until, in consequence of a law, framed by Callidius the orator, he was restored, with great honour, to his country. An entire day, says Appian, scarcely sufficed to receive, at the gates of Rome, the congratulations of the numerous friends, who went out to welcome him, on his return. Cicero, who pleased himself, in tracing the resemblance between the fortunes and character of Metellus, and his own, and especially on the score of the ingratitude of their country, mentions him with warm applause, in various parts of his writings and speeches. Their integrity, or their patriotism might, indeed, be compared, but their firmness in adversity was widely different. For these particulars, See Cic. Orat. pro. Cluent. XV. Pro Dom. XXXI. Pro Sext. XVI. Pro Balb. V. Epist. ad Attic. L. I. 16. De Orat. L. III. 18. De Clar. Orator. XXXV.—Vel. Paterc. L. II. 11.—Plutarch. in Mar.—Appian. de Bel. Civil. L. I. p. 625.—629. Edit. Toll.

Of Marcus Junius Silanus, Metellus's colleague in office, little is known. It appears, that he afterwards obtained the province of Gaul, and, notwithstanding what is said by Eutropius, was extremely unsuccessful against the Cimbri, being totally defeated by that warlike people. See Liv. Epit. LXV.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 12.—Flor. L. III. 3. iv.

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(74.) The *Lixæ*, says Festus, were a set of men, who made it their business, for hire, to follow the camp (*Qui exercitum sequebantur quæstûs gratiâ*), and consisted of bakers, cooks, buffoons and players for the

Page 393. amusement of the officers, &c.; but such retainers were not allowed in antient times. The general, the Tribunes, and other superior officers only, had then the use of slaves. The soldier, according to the strict Roman discipline, was obliged to grind his own corn, to bake his own bread, to dress his own victuals, and in every respect to serve himself; and it was that antient discipline, which it was now the object of Metellus's orders to revive. In process of time, when luxury encreased, and the nerves of discipline were relaxed in consequence, the retainers of the camp excessively multiplied. Under the Emperors, the common soldiers were men widely different from those, who had conquered under the Metelli, and the Scipios. The former had slaves to attend them, and not unfrequently were permitted, especially in the armies of the east, to launch out into every sort of licentiousness and irregularity; so that the *Calones*, and the *Livæ* of a camp, were sometimes not less numerous than a moderate army.

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(75.) At each of the four gates of the camp, guards *(Vigilia)* were mounted for the night, and relieved every three hours, that is, four times during the night. It was the practice, likewise, four times to go the rounds *(Vigilia circuire)*, and to visit, and turn out the guards. That duty, we find, was now performed by the Consul, and his Lieutenants; although, on ordinary occasions, it was committed to the Tribunes and Equites. See Polyb. L. VI. p. 655. &c.—Liv. L. XXII. 1. XXVIII. 24. Afterwards, the Tribunes were allowed to do the duty by delegation; and, at length, particular officers were appointed by them *(Circuitores)*, for that exclusive purpose. Veget. L. III. 8.

On turning back to the Conspiracy of Catiline (Sect. XXXI. fin.), I perceive it is said, that, "In every quarter of Rome, guards were ordered to be mounted, and put under the command of the inferior magistrates:" But the term *Vigiliæ* is here not accurately translated. It should have been, "guards were ordered to be mounted, during the

night;" as *Vigiliæ* generally bears that meaning, while *Excubiæ* signifies guards during either night or day. Page 393.

(76.) THE weight, which a Roman soldier carried, when equipped for a march, was prodigious; victuals for fifteen days, sometimes longer, and usually corn, as being the lightest sort; labouring tools, and necessary utensils, such as a saw, a pick-axe, a hook, a basket, a chain, a camp-kettle, &c.; stakes usually three or four, sometimes twelve; the whole amounting to no less than sixty pounds in weight. See Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 377. All this was exclusive of his arms, which made a vast addition: But those, says Cicero, a soldier never considers as a burden, as they are, like his shoulders, his hands, or the arms of his body, a part of himself. *Nam scutum, gladium, galeam, in onere nostri milites non plùs numerant, quàm humeros, lacertos, manus: Arma enim membra militis esse dicunt: Quæ quidem ita geruntur aptè, ut, si usus foret, abjectis oneribus, expeditis armis, ut membris pugnare possint.* Tuscul. Disput. L. II. 16. Thus, we find, that, calculating the shield, which was four feet long, and two and a half broad, the helmet, which was of brass or iron, the coat of mail, the greaves for the legs, together with the sword and javelin, at a moderate weight, they must have amounted to sixty pounds more. The soldier, therefore, carried on the march, a burden of about a hundred and twenty pounds, that is, taking the Roman pound at twelve ounces avoirdupois, little less than six stones of our usual weight; a fact, which, to the delicacy of modern times, must seem very wonderful.

To how great a height habit and perseverance may invigorate the human frame, and render it capable of labour, and even active and healthful, under fatigue and hardship, we are not, perhaps, prepared to ascertain: But certainly there has been, in these "coster-monger days" of ours, either a very extraordinary deterioration of the human race (as is sagely conjectured by Lord Monboddo), or the stories, that are told, of the rapid marches of the Roman troops, under such a load, must

Page 393. be altogether fabulous. Vegetius, in his military tract (L. I. 9.), says, that even raw recruits *(Tyrones)* were made to march twenty miles, in five hours, at the common, and four-and-twenty at the full military step. *Militari gradu, viginti millia passuum, horis quinque duntaxat æstivis, conficienda sunt. Pleno autem gradu, qui citatior est, totidem horis, viginti-quatuor millia peragenda sunt.* The Roman mile was about an eleventh part only less than the British statute mile, which is no great consideration in such a statement. Therefore, unless the author intended to describe the exertions of a few individuals, of which there is no appearance in the context, his account is altogether incredible.

I think I may assume, without any disparagement to the Roman character, that the people of this island are at least as athletic and active, as a nation, as the Greeks or Romans ever could pretend to be; yet every officer knows, that no *body of men*, in modern times, could march, for five hours together, at the rate of four miles, and still less at that of nearly five miles an hour, whether burdened, or not, with six stone weight per man. The pedestrian exertions of individuals are, for obvious reasons, extremely different undertakings. Cæsar, who was not a speculatist, like Vegetius, but an officer of experience, as well as a writer of unquestionable veracity, tells us no such wonders of his wars in Gaul, in Spain, or in Africa. He, indeed, mentions, that his troops sometimes marched twenty miles *in a day*, and, on one occasion, when every thing depended on dispatch *(Res posita in celeritate videbatur)*, they accomplished a progress of five-and-twenty (See Bel. Gal. L. V. 47. VII. 40.): But he says nothing of the *time*, that was employed in those performances. In the history of Polybius, who records some of the most extraordinary efforts, ever made by the armies of Rome, we find no fact, in any wise resembling the statement of Vegetius. Procopius, in his Gothic War, speaks of some marches of twenty-eight, and even thirty-three miles, at a time when the stated, and ordinary progress of an army *(Mansio)*, was eighteen miles per day, but with soldiers very differently equipped

from those of the republic; but he, in like manner, gives them an entire day for the exertion. See Bel. Goth. L. I. 24. & II. 10. &c. It is more than probable, that Cæsar, or Metellus, or Polybius, would have laughed at the man, who should have ventured on an assertion, so extremely preposterous, as the one we are considering: And yet, on the authority of a sophist of the age of Valentinian, it has been diligently propagated, and as firmly believed, by Hottoman, by Cortius, and by a long list of commentators and critics. Had they considered the marching of four or five miles an hour, for five hours together, merely as the effort of a few recruits, at their exercise in the Campus Martius, or on the plain of Byzantium, it might have been credible: But they gravely assume it as a principle of practice, and quote it, on all occasions, in order to explain the movements of the Roman armies. Page 395.

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(77.) This was the celebrated Marius; who, from the rank of a peasant, became one of the most powerful, and cruel tyrants, that Rome ever beheld, during the Republic. Although the origin and character of this man must be known to every one, who is tolerably conversant with Roman history, yet, as he is conspicuously to figure in the present narrative, it may be satisfactory to the young student, just to trace the outline.

Caius Marius was born at Arpinum, a town of the Volsci (the same, which afterwards gave birth to Cicero), and of so mean a family, that he is supposed, at one time, to have worked for hire, as a ploughman, and then to have served in the ranks, in the Roman army. Hence Juvenal, in his Eighth Satire, in quoting the examples of these two celebrated men, as having both risen, by their own merit, from obscurity, says of Marius;

Arpinas alius, Volscorum in monte solebat
Poscere mercedes, alieno lassus aratro;

Page 395. Nodosam post hæc frangebat vertice vitem,
Si lentus pigrâ muniret castra dolabrâ.

Marius served his first campaign, that is, we may suppose, as an officer, at the siege of Numantia, under the great Scipio (Cic. Orat. pro Balb. XX.), who perceived his early talents, and, as it is said, predicted his future elevation. So great, says Plutarch, was the superiority of both of these extraordinary persons, that the one, while yet a youth, gave such indications of eminence; and that the other could discern, from the appearance of the dawn, the brightness of the day, that was to succeed. Οὕτως εὐφυὴς ἦν, ὁ μὲν ἐκ μειρακίου φανῆναι μέγας, ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ τέλος νοῆσαι. In Mar. IV. Edit. Reisk. Plutarch seems to be among the number of those writers, who were dazzled with the lustre of Marius's warlike achievements, and for that reason apt to overlook his real character; otherwise he never could have so far departed from his better judgment, as to put in competition, though even indirectly, a mere military savage, with one of the greatest, most polished, and most patriotic characters, that ever did honour to the Roman republic.

By the interest of Metellus, Marius obtained the office of Tribune of the People, A. U. C. 634; for his family had always been under the patronage of the illustrious house of the Cæcilii, and had been treated by them, with the most uncommon kindness. During his possession of this office, the hatred of the nobles, which he afterwards exhibited, first began to disclose itself, together with his singular audacity, and unfeeling opposition to his patron; and the laws, which he even then got enacted, sufficiently showed, how dangerous an opponent he would one day become, to that order. After his Prætorship, the government of Spain fell to him by lot; from which time, as Cicero says (De Offic. L. III. 20.), he remained without notice or distinction *(Jacebat)*, and might have so remained to the end of his days, to the unspeakable benefit of his country, as well as of the human race, had not Metellus, from good will, and partiality to the man, nominated him his Lieutenant, on obtaining the command in Africa.

Thus conspicuously brought forward, the genius of Marius began to display itself, to the eyes of the discerning. His views, which, from the first moment, were all selfish and interested, were favoured by the temper of the times; but they could not possibly have been concealed from general observation, had they not been artfully connected by him, with the interests of that party in the state, which, after a long depression, now began to rise to ascendency, and almost to overwhelm the constitution. As to Marius himself, he was destitute of polish, of knowledge, or of liberal acquirements, and, what was much worse, he had neither patriotism nor integrity. He was, to a degree, crafty, cruel, covetous, and perfidious, aiming at no object, but his own advancement to power; while his horrible ingratitude to Metellus (who proved, indeed, to him, *Parens ac Deus vitæ atque fortunæ*) was such, as, had it been his only crime, must have damned him with posterity.—Such was the man, who was destined to act a most remarkable part, in the present war, and for several years after, on the great stage of public business. Page 395.

(78.) It appears, that there were several towns in Numidia, of the name of Vacca: But the one here mentioned is evidently the *Oppidum Vagense* of Pliny, and the Baga of Plutarch. Cellarius rightly places it, to the north-east of Cirta; but he quotes no authority for his statement. From Sallust's account, it lay to the right hand, as Keff or Sicca Veneria did to the left, in travelling from Carthage or Utica, to Numidia, and is the city of Bejah or Bay-jah, which was visited by Dr Shaw. It is described by him, as not far from the Algerine frontier, seven leagues distant from Tabarca, and ten to the south-east of Matter, or the *Oppidum Materense* of the antients. When Vacca revolted from Metellus, that general, as our author afterwards informs us (Sect. LXXI.), set out from his winter-quarters, in the evening, and arrived before it, about the third hour, on the following day; a march, which, considering the expedition wherewith it was said to be performed, very well accords, as Dr Shaw thinks, with the actual distance between.

Page 397. Bay-jah and Utica, viz. that of fifty miles; at which last place Metellus was cantoned. at the time. See the Map. Vacca, moreover, it may be observed, cannot be the Vaga of Ptolemy; because Vaga lay in the country of the Cirtesii; and the reason why Vacca is not noticed in the Itinerary of Antoninus, or in the Peutinger's Tables, is, as Dr Shaw conjectures with probability, because it lay wholly out of the great road, which was carried from Carthage, into both Numidia and Byzacium.

"Bay-jah," says the learned, and intelligent traveller just now mentioned, "keeps up the character, which Sallust gives his Vacca (*Forum rerum venalium totius regni maxumè celebratum*), being a town of great trade, the chief mart, indeed, of the whole kingdom, particularly for corn, from which all other commodities are estimated; and, in the plains of Bus-dera, which lie below it, on the banks of the Me-jerdah, there is kept, every summer, a public fair, frequented by the most distant Arabian tribes, who resort thither, with their flocks, their manufactures, and their families. The present city is built upon the declivity of a hill, with the conveniency of being well watered; and upon the highest part of it is the citadel, which is of no great strength." pp. 92. 93. On the walls, which are constructed with the antient materials, Dr Shaw discovered a curious inscription. It was considerably mutilated; but it preserved these words, under the title; *Vaccensium ordo splendidissimus*, and serves to identify the spot.

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(79.) I HAVE placed the Muthul, in consonance to the opinion of the most intelligent geographers, in the southern part of Numidia, between the Ampsaga, and the Bagrada; where, after flowing northwards, through a considerable tract of country, it falls into the latter river, south of Thala. See the Map. According to the meaning of the Punic or Phœnician word *Muth, mors*, Muthul signifies *Fluvius lethalis*. See Bochart. Chan. L. I. 33. II. 2.

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(80.) THE imitation of this passage by Tacitus, is too marked and striking, to escape the notice of the critical reader. In giving the speech of Civilis to his men, when on the eve of a battle with the Romans, he makes him say, like Jugurtha; *Quæ provideri, astu ducis oportuerit, provisa; campos madentes, et ipsis gnaros, paludes hostibus noxias.* Hist. L. V. 17. Pages 398. 399.

(81.) AGAIN, when Caractacus, in addressing his troops, immediately before the action, in which they were totally routed, and himself was taken prisoner by Ostorius, Tacitus says of the British chief, borrowing this sentiment of Jugurtha; *Enimvero Caractacus, huc illuc volitans, illum diem, illam aciem testabatur, aut recuperandæ libertatis, aut servitutis æternæ, initium fore.* Annal. L. XII. 34.

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(82.) THERE is no passage in the writings of Sallust, that the commentators have, from an unacquaintance with Tactics, found more difficult to render intelligible, either to themselves, or to their readers, than the account of this well-concerted attack by Jugurtha. Although concise and rapid, according to the manner of the historian, it is given wholly in the style of military detail, which Sallust perfectly understood; as it was familiar to every Roman of education, who was engaged in public life, and might be called upon to serve, in the armies of his country. As writers, no less than readers among ourselves, are now all *military* men (thanks to our neighbours the French, for that improvement on our system), we have been enabled, not only to detect the imperfections of foregoing translators of this part of the history, but to render it in technical terms, appropriate to the occasion, and such as Sallust might intelligibly have used, had he given the narrative in English. In order that the movements of the troops may be the more clearly apprehended, I have subjoined a sketch of the ground, as it is supposed to have lain, and of the neighbour-

Page 399. ing objects; which, together with the following remarks, by way of *military commentary*, it is hoped will answer the purpose.

Jugurtha, in consonance to his plan of keeping a watchful eye on the motions of the Roman general, had learned, by his scouts, that the enemy were on their march, along the mountains near the Muthul, and he seized that opportunity of attacking them to advantage. From the nature of such a country, and the information, given us by the historian himself, in Sect. L. anteh., concerning Metellus's order of march, we know, that he usually moved forward in a single column; himself at the head of it, with the light Cohorts; Marius in the rear, commanding the Roman cavalry; with the Velites or light-infantry, under the charge of the Tribunes and Præfects, covering the flanks, and, as often as it was needful, scouring the country. See the Plan, Position A. These light cohorts seem to have been a select body, answering in description to our Piquets. They were legionary soldiers, drawn, like the piquets, from the line, whether singly, or by Maniples, we are not informed; but, with the general at their head, they appear to have acted as a sort of advanced-guard to the army, when on its march.

When Metellus was about to descend from the heights, and began to observe the ambush, that was prepared for him, by the Numidians, on the hill, he ordered a halt; and, immediately changing the disposition of the troops, formed the line to the front, upon the right division, as that flank was next to the quarter, where the Numidians were posted. Situated as he was, he had no desire to engage the enemy: He resolved only, in making the best of his way, across the plain, to the river, to guard against an attack. For the single lengthened column (*Agmen*), which was necessary to clear the defiles of the mountains, he now substituted the line of battle (*Acies*), drawing up the troops in the usual manner, in three lines (*Triplicibus subsidiis*). He posted Marius in the centre; all the cavalry on the wings; and the slingers and archers in the intervals between the Maniples, or companies of foot of the line.

A
A
B
B
D
C
ROMAN CAMP
MUTHUL R.
PLAN of the BATTLE
between
JUGURTHA and the ROMANS

See Position B. He then ordered the whole to face, or perhaps to wheel, by centuries, or half centuries, to the left, and from that flank to march down *(Transvorsis principiis)*, in three columns, to the plain; himself advancing with those squadrons of the cavalry, which now formed the head of the right column, and had, just before, been upon the left of the line. See Position C. Thus, should the Numidians, as was expected, venture down from the hill, he would be enabled, by means of a single "wheel" to the right, if the lines were broken into column by divisions, or by "turning" to that side, if broken by files, instantly to form them again towards the enemy, and be ready to charge, at a moment's notice. That he did wheel into line, to receive Jugurtha, is sufficiently evident, from the historian's narrative; otherwise the Numidians could not have been, as he describes them, on the left of the Romans, at the commencement of the affair; nor could the Consul have presented the same front to the enemy, as he had immediately formed, on discerning them upon the hill. Page 399.

All this every officer will understand: And he will further perceive the technical propriety, in Sect. LIV., of rendering the *Equites sinistræ alæ, qui in agmine principes facti erant*, by "The cavalry of the left wing, which, as the line had broken, from that flank, into column, became the leading division, on the march."—The historian further informs us, that, as soon as it was observed by Jugurtha, that the Romans had quitted the heights, he detached a body of two thousand foot, in order to occupy them, and to cut off Metellus's retreat towards that quarter, if he chanced to be worsted in the action. This detachment is marked with the letter D, in the sketch.

The President De Brosses, in his plan of the battle, although assisted by an intelligent military friend, M. Cortois de Charnaille, has made a glaring mistake, in leaving out altogether the position taken up by Metellus, in forming the army into line, from the single column, before it came down to the plain. See Position B. This, notwithstand-

Page 399. ing, it was absolutely necessary for the Roman general to do, before he could make his forward movement, in three columns (which last disposition we may call an *Agmen munitum)*, in order to proceed towards the river. M. De Brosses has moreover neglected, notwithstanding some scientific hints from the same friend, to place the three lines, on the march, at equal intervals from one another; a precaution, on which the precision of their subsequent movements must in a great measure depend.

Polybius, the only historian, who gives us an intelligible account of the Roman army (for Livy, being no soldier himself, exhibits only a bad copy, but without any acknowledgment, from his master), fully explains, in his Sixth Book, the three principal orders of infantry, named *Hastati, Principes,* and *Triarii,* of which the line of the Romans was composed. He likewise very clearly explains the order of their march. He tells us, that, on a march properly so called, the three kinds of these troops, belonging to each Legion, regularly followed one another; that is, they moved forward by Legions, the whole army being in divisions, and forming but a single column. On the other hand, in the case of a march, or movement in the face of an enemy, each of the three orders, belonging to the whole army, formed a separate column of itself, or in other words, they moved forward by lines, composing, in all, three columns. They took care, at the same time, to preserve equal intervals from one another, with the proper files covered; and thus, on any sudden attack being made, from either right or left, by turning or wheeling, as the case might be, to the side in question, the front was at once formed in three lines, as already stated. See Polyb. L. VI. pp. 674. 675. Edit. Gronov.

The situation of Metellus completely illustrates this account. When he was traversing the mountains, as in Position A., the troops moved forward by Legions, in a single column, which was stretched greatly into length. As soon as he suspected an ambush, or perceived the presence of an enemy, according to the usual practice, he halted the whole.

He took up position B, by forming the line of battle, from the common order of march; and then moved forward in three columns, that is, in the other order, or *Agmen munitum*, described above (See Position C.); always prepared to wheel again into line, should the enemy intercept his progress, and to charge in an instant. *Paulisper agmen constituit* (says the historian): *Commutatis ordinibus, aciem instruxit;* and, a little after, he adds, having described the new position, *Transvorsis principiis, in planum deducit.* Page 399.

It has been well remarked, by military writers, that this is among the last engagements, recorded in the history of the commonwealth, in which the order by Maniples was observed, in the line of battle; and Sallust, indeed, has in such direct terms intimated the fact, that no doubt can be entertained concerning it. It was Marius, who so soon after rose to the head of the military department, that changed the system; and he is therefore considered, as the inventor of the the order by Cohorts, which, from that period, continued in use. The Roman historians. whose writings have come down to us, all lived after the time of Marius; and notwithstanding that Livy, in particular, treats of events greatly anterior, yet he improperly speaks of Cohorts, instead of Maniples, as belonging to times, long before the Cohort had existence. Sallust is guilty of the same inconsistency, in frequently noticing Cohorts, in the armies of both Jugurtha and Metellus: But we ought not so greatly to blame him, as some critics have done, for giving Roman designations, in general, to Numidian troops; because we know, that Jugurtha was bred in the armies of Rome, and laudably endeavoured to transplant their science and proficiency in the art of war, into those of his country.

Satisfactory as, I trust, these illustrations will appear, yet it must be acknowledged, that Sallust's account of the attack, by the Numidian king, is not without its difficulties. He tells us, that Metellus's army was drawn up *Triplicibus subsidiis*, which naturally should mean "four lines," that is, three lines stationed behind the first; whereas, our

Page 399. knowledge of the antient tactics must satisfy us, that no more than three, in all, could be intended by the author. There is no example, as far as I know, wherein the former number was ever adopted, as a system, in any of the engagements, described by Cæsar, Polybius, or Livy. The body, consisting of six Cohorts, drawn up by Cæsar, behind the third line, at Pharsalia, and a few other instances of a similar sort, are partial cases, that do not affect the general principle, since we find them constantly accounted for (as in the instance of Cæsar, who meant to oppose the cavalry of Pompey), by the particular circumstances, in which different commanders happened to be placed. The regular order of battle consisted of three lines, covering one another, seldom of two, and never of four; and Sallust, who gives, in considerable detail, the history of Jugurtha's attack, would, with his usual accuracy, have explained the circumstance, had there been so extraordinary a deviation from the established method. *Subsidia*, we uniformly find, is the word, employed by the Roman writers, to designate the second and third lines. Even Livy, the most unscientific of them all, in regard to military operations (witness his confused account of the constitution of the army, in L. VIII. 8.), never deviates from the practice. In the same manner, our author, in describing the disposition, made by Catiline at Pistoria, consisting of two lines, says; *Octo Cohortes in fronte constituit; reliqua signa in subsidia arctiùs collocat.*

The reason of this will more clearly appear, if we reflect on the nature and constitution of the Roman *Acies*. After the model of the Greek Phalanx came to be abandoned, the *Acies*, or order of battle, was as follows. The *Hastati* or spearmen, composed the first line. Those consisted of the flower of the youth, who were supposed likely to open the combat, with the greatest spirit: The spears, however, with which they fought, in antient times, were afterwards laid aside. In the second line were stationed the *Principes*, men of middle age, but still in the vigour of life. At first, they appear to have been posted before the *Hastati*, and hence their name of *Principes* was derived. Thirdly,

came the *Triarii*, so called, because they occupied the third place; Page 399. and they consisted of veterans of approved, and well-known valour, armed with the *Pilum*, or javelin; on which account, they are sometimes named *Pilani*, by different writers. In like manner, the *Hastati* and the *Principes* had both the title of *Antepilani*, because they were stationed in front of the *Triarii*. The Velites, or light infantry, were wholly unconnected with these troops. They occupied no particular station in the line, but were generally employed to skirmish in front, or on the flanks; or they were posted, with the Slingers and Archers (*Funditores ac Sagittarii*), in the intervals between the divisions, as occasion required. As to the cavalry, they were always drawn up in one line, and stationed on the wings of the army.

In any view of the case, therefore, it is impossible that Cortius can be in the right, who says, that Metellus's disposition consisted of four different lines (*Quadruplex acies*). The doubtful expression of Sallust may possibly be an errour of the copyists; or it may be a technical phrase, in fashion only at the time, but not adopted by other writers, whose compositions have come down to us.

Besides this, there is yet another difficulty. Our author tells us, that, between the range of mountains, traversed by Metellus, and the river Muthul, there lay a plain of *twenty* miles in breadth; a space that seems to me incredibly great, when the other parts of the narrative are taken into consideration. And yet, concerning the scene of the engagement, Sallust's information ought to be correct, as, during his government of Africa, he is said to have visited the different places, where remarkable transactions had taken place, for the express purpose of collecting materials for his history. If, on the most favourable hypothesis, we admit, that it was early in the morning, that the general came in sight of the plain, and of the hill, on which Jugurtha lay in ambush, some part of the day must have been spent, before he could change the whole disposition of his army, march down in column to the plain, and, at length, detach Rutilius towards the river.

Page 399. After this, a still greater portion was requisite, for the Lieutenant to march between eighteen and nineteen of our miles, across the plain, pitch and fortify his camp, halt during a considerable interval, and afterwards beat Bomilcar; and yet all this must, on such a supposition, have been achieved, before sun-set! Vegetius tells us (L. I. 9.) of marches of twenty, and twenty-five miles being performed, at the quick military step *(Pleno gradu, vel agmine citato)*, in five hours; Cæsar makes mention of others, of the same length, in the course of a day (a thing somewhat more credible); but these are trifling efforts, when put in competition with the alacrity of Rutilius. That Rutilius, however, did perform this exploit, is seriously believed, and even pertinaciously maintained, by Cortius and other critics, who quote Vegetius as their authority; absurdly assuming, as applicable to *bodies* of troops, what can be credible, only when understood of individuals, or, at least, of very small numbers acting together, and lightly armed and accoutred. On a march, such as was the case in question, we know, that the Roman soldiers were loaded, with no less than about six stone averdupois weight per man. See the absurdity of this doctrine exposed, in Sect. 76. anteh.

Without doubt, there must be some great mistake, in the figures of the MSS. Little more than eleven or twelve Roman miles can possibly be allowed, for the breadth of the plain: That will afford sufficient room for Rutilius's march, and the occurrence of the two engagements; and, on such a hypothesis, we can conceive it extremely possible, that the shouts and noise of the greater of the two, were unable to be heard, at the encampment of the Lieutenant.—This glaring inconsistency in the dimensions of the plain, as it stands in every edition, has been noticed by Ciacconius, who has proposed various other readings, for the purpose of correcting it.

It is further to be observed, that the hill, which lay "across" the plain (a circumstance that has escaped almost all the translators), must have been situated pretty close to the foot of the mountains; since Metellus,

from their brow, where he formed the line, could discern Jugurtha posted on the hill, notwithstanding the advantage of the bushes, which he had to conceal him. The quarter, likewise, to which Bomilcar was detached by the king, must have been towards the opposite side of the hill, and nearer to the river; for Bomilcar was soon aware of the prodigious noise of the engagement, while it failed to reach the ears of Rutilius. Page 399.

Since military science has, in some sort, become a national object in this country, it is curious to consider, both the high degree of perfection, which it attained in antient times, and our wonderful ignorance, until of late, of its most simple rudiments. The Prussian movements and discipline, as introduced, within these few years, into the British army, may be clearly traced to the best principles of the Greek and Roman tactics. There appear in both systems, the same precision in the evolutions of the infantry; the same rapidity in those of the cavalry; the same utility and variety in the changes of the column; together with the important practice of movements from the flanks: and the necessity of steadiness and precision in pivot and leading files, of bodies great or small, when new positions are to be taken up, or changes of disposition are to be made to advantage. It is a judicious application of the very same principles, that will be found to have employed the genius of a Frederic, or a Suwarrow, and that of the conquerors at Arbela and Pharsalia.

Although Sallust is not a writer, who, like Polybius or Livy, often enters, with minuteness, into military details, yet, whenever he takes up the department, he displays all the correctness, without the prolixity of the Greek historian. The account of the engagement, which we have just now been considering, is pregnant with instruction to the military student. In fact, there is no description in any writer, better calculated to illustrate the similarity, even in the minutest particulars, between the antient, and the modern principles of movements, and to show, how accurately the latter are a transcript of the former. When

Page 399. Metellus, for example, after passing the defiles, and forming his line on the brow of the mountains, descended into the plain, it was by a movement from the left, with right files of divisions covering; so that, the distance between the divisions being accurately preserved, they could at once wheel again into line. The great principle of the "deploying" of bodies from the flanks (as our tacticians somewhat needlessly call it, by a French expression *), is here conspicuously displayed. It was a principle well known to the Greeks, in the evolutions of the Phalanx: It was called by them ἐπαγωγὴ, and afterwards copied by the Romans. Both of these military nations, indeed, seem to have highly valued its utility, in the manœuvring of bodies of whatever magnitude; as it gave to their formation again at pleasure, on any given point, both precision and rapidity.

In the present advanced, and advancing state of our military experience, there are perhaps no compositions, that could be more advantageously perused, than those excellent repositories of tactical science, the Commentaries of Julius Cæsar, and the History of Polybius. Independent of the solid accessions, which they would procure to our military skill, they would serve the purpose of somewhat diminishing our reverence for the Prussians and Austrians, as *original* masters in the art of war. Thus sent to the true sources of military science, we should have the less need to learn it, at second hand, from the other nations of Europe. We should soon perceive, that what they have taught us, whether in the discipline of the camp, or the movements of

* When any new term of art or science becomes necessary, we have a strange propensity to borrow from the French, instead of having recourse to the Greek or Latin, if our own language cannot furnish the supply. Instead of interlarding our military phraseology with such expressions as *déployer, en échellon*, &c. which are pure French, our Tacticians should employ some scholar, to provide for them the requisite terms, and thereby avoid the reproach of *debasing*, instead of *enriching* the diction of their country; a thing, which must inevitably happen, when men borrow from an inferior, instead of a superior tongue. See Observations on this subject, in Vol. I. p. 292. & Notes, p. 434.—436.

the field, may primarily be referred to the same antient origin. Those ingenious nations, the Greeks and Romans, probably carried military science to as great a height of excellence, as it ever yet has attained, among any subsequent people; and they certainly as much surpassed every other nation of their own times, in the art of subduing, as in that of informing, and humanizing the world. Page 399.

I shall make no apology for the uncommon length of this Note: With the discerning reader, I trust, it will be found, in the curiosity and importance of the subject.—Let me only add, that respectable translations of Cæsar and Polybius, executed in the style of Mr Murphy's Tacitus, with a good *Military Commentary*, that is, rendering what remains to us of those admirable writers, real *English books*, might, at this time, be considered, both as a popular, and a valuable accession to our literature. But who is there, that shall undertake to produce such versions, now that Murphy is no more?

(83.) This was Publius Rutilius Rufus, who may be justly classed with Metellus, as among the most virtuous, and valuable characters, whether of this, or of any other period (*Virum non seculi sui, sed omnis ævi optimum.* Vell. Paterc. L. II. 13.). A. U. C. 648, he obtained the Consulship, together with Manlius Maximus; and was remarkable for his knowledge of the military art, and for the improvements, which he introduced into the Roman discipline. He is mentioned, in particular, by Valerius Maximus, as the first, who, by masters appointed for the purpose, had the soldiers instructed in the art of attack and defence, with the sword, and other weapons. No man was more fitted for the station which he held, under such a general as Metellus.

Rutilius, by his love of justice, and incorruptible integrity, incurred the hatred of many profligate characters of his time. Both Scaurus and Saturninus, though of opposite parties, were his mortal enemies. But his celebrated quarrel was with the Roman Knights, whose animosity he also excited, by his meritorious conduct. Having been

Page 399. Quæstor in Asia, A. U. 632, during the time that Mucius Scævola *(Augur)* governed the province, as Prætor; and having also been, A. U. 654, after his return from Numidia, Lieutenant to Q. Mucius Scævola *(Pontifex)*, he successfully restrained the oppressions, which this order, as farmers of the public revenue, then exercised without control. The consequence was, that a powerful faction was exasperated against him. He was prosecuted for peculation and injustice, in that very country, where he had so meritoriously endeavoured to restrain both; and the Equites, at that time, being in the sole possession of the tribunals, he was, to the disgrace of the republic, condemned to exile. See Ascon. Pedian. in Cæcil. XVII.—Cic. de Amic. I. Pro Balb. XIII. Pro Font. XIII. De Orator. L. I. 53. De Clar. Orator. XXIX.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 13.—Sen. Consol. ad Marc. XXII. De Benefic. XVII. He retired to Mitylenæ, in the island of Lesbos, where, in the society of his friend Opilius, the Grammarian, he dedicated the rest of his days to the study of philosophy, and to literary pursuits. When Mithridates, in a fit of revenge, ordered a general massacre of the Romans in Asia, Rutilius was at Smyrna, and narrowly escaped, by changing his dress, for a Greek habit. Cic. pro Rabir. Post. X. As he had studied under Panætius, and imbibed, from that philosopher, the principles of the Stoics, he enjoyed, in his retirement, a fair opportunity of reducing them to practice, and of seeking for happiness, in retirement and virtue.

Few men among the Romans, whether in public, or private life, have been more universally, and, I believe, more deservedly applauded, than Rutilius, by all parties, and denominations of men. Seneca, and not without reason, constantly classes him with those, whose fortune it has been, to find truer glory in apparent misfortune, than in the most flattering, and uninterrupted tide of success.—Rutilius, perhaps, was the only man, who had the hardihood to refuse a request of Sylla, when in the zenith of his power; for even the pressing solicitations of that usurper could never prevail upon him to return, from the

place of his retreat. On being informed, by one of his friends, that, Page 399.
in consequence of the civil war, his recal might probably be effected, he calmly asked, What injury he had done his friend, that he should wish for him a misfortune, which, in the then circumstances of the commonwealth, would be infinitely more grievous, than that of his exile? I would rather, said Rutilius, that my country should blush for having sent me hither, than have too good cause to grieve at my return. *Quid tibi, inquit, mali feci, ut mihi pejorem reditum, quàm exitum optares? Malo ut patria exilio meo erubescat, quàm reditu moereat.* Sen. de Benefic. XXXVII.

Rutilius, besides his military reputation, enjoyed the distinction of being considered, as one of the most learned men of his age. From his studies under Scævola, he was a skilful lawyer: He was an able, and faithful historian; and an orator, according to Cicero, whose eloquence, though not of the first-rate class, was of that species, peculiar to the Stoics, and which deserved to be mentioned with respect. De Clar. Orator. XXX. He was certainly the author of several valuable works. During his exile, he composed, in the Greek language, the history of his own times, comprising an account of the war against Hannibal, in Spain, and particularly at the siege of Numantia, at which he himself assisted. A few fragments only of this piece remain, which Ausonius Popma has collected, and illustrated with Notes. It is a loss the more to be regretted, as Rutilius here undertook, to give the history of the Numidian war; and he probably recorded it, with great impartiality. According to Plutarch, he was rather prejudiced against Marius, and painted the ingratitude and infamy, conspicuous in his conduct towards Metellus, in too strong colours: But we have seen cause rather to believe, that Plutarch himself was somewhat biassed, and, amidst the military virtues of Marius, was disposed to palliate his shocking vices. The other writings of Rutilius were in his own language. First, his Life, which is commended by Tacitus, in his account of Agricola (Sect. I.), as a model of auto-biography; and, secondly, Reflections on the

Pages 406. 408. Greek Philosophers; besides Orations on several occasions: But little or nothing of any of these has reached posterity. Such was the respect and esteem, entertained by Cicero for Rutilius, that he introduced him, together with Scipio, Lælius, and other illustrious personages, among the interlocutors in the Dialogue *De Republicâ*, a treatise of which the loss has so frequently been lamented. Valerius Maximus says, in his rhetorical manner, in comparing Rutilius with Sylla, that, in the estimation of the impartial, he had more justly acquired the surname of *Felix*, by the integrity of his life, than that bloody tyrant, by the injustice of his arms. What the one had assumed, in the madness of his power, the other had deserved, amidst the tranquillity of his retirement. *Quapropter Felicis cognomen justiùs quis moribus gravissimi viri, quàm impotentis armis assignaverit. Quod quidem Sylla rapuit, Rutilius meruit.* L. VI. 4. iv.

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(84.) This custom of abandoning their prince or general, after an unsuccessful engagement, was, by no means, peculiar to the Numidians, but appears, with some inconsiderable variation, to have been familiar to other uncultivated nations. The Old Testament ascribes the same thing to the Israelites. Herodotus tells us, that the custom antiently prevailed, among most of the Asiatic tribes; and Herodian gives a like account of the Parthians. According to Thucydides, it was the constant practice of the Illyrians; and Tacitus records it, as well known to the Germans.

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(85.) For the purpose of doing honour to commanders abroad, as well as testifying their belief of a superintending Providence, in the affairs of men, it was the custom of the Romans, on occasion of any signal success against an enemy, to appoint a thanksgiving to the Gods. On being voted by the Senate, prayers were solemnly put up, in the

name of the victorious general; and the duration of the festival, and the number of victims to be sacrificed, were, of course, in proportion to the compliment intended to be paid, and to the magnitude and importance of the victory. In the Capitol, couches were spread, and feasts served up, before the images of the Gods; and the people, crowned with flowers, flocked in crowds to the temples. In a word, it was the most splendid mark, that a gallant citizen could receive, of the approbation of his country. Page 409.

Julius Cæsar, on his victories in Gaul, was honoured with a thanksgiving or supplication of fifteen days; a thing, as he himself observes, which had happened to no general before him (*Quod, ante id tempus, acciderat nulli.* De Bel. Gall. L. II. 35.): Yet, on his return from Britain, the same great man had a supplication voted him of twenty days, during which time, solemn sacrifices were duly offered up. Not many years after, on the motion of Cicero, a thanksgiving of no fewer than fifty days, was decreed to the Consuls Hirtius and Pansa, for their success against Antony, before Mutina. But, when the dominion of the Emperors was matured, the honour became cheap, and was the gift of interest or favour, rather than the recompence of merit.

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(86.) FRONTINUS and Appian gave nearly the same account of the desultory, but vexatious style of warfare, to which Jugurtha had recourse. It was his practice, in general, to make his attack, towards the close of day; so that, if he failed of success, or was closely pressed by the Romans, his men could escape, under covert of night, and by their superior knowledge of the country. In this sort of service, he carried with him neither provisions nor baggage, trusting, in regard to the former, to chance for a supply. By means of a forced march, he would appear where he was least expected, cut off, with success, some detachment of the enemy, and then retreat to the mountains.

Page 409. His Numidians were directed, in the case of a powerful resistance, or if the fortune of the day threatened to turn against them, suddenly to break, and disperse in an instant; and, after rallying at some distant, but fixed place of rendezvous, to be ready, erelong, for a fresh attack. See Frontin. L. II. 1. xiii.—Appian. de Bel. Punic. It was in this manner that his grandfather Masinissa is said, by Livy, to have fought; and Tacitus ascribes to Tacfarinas, a Numidian chief in the time of the Emperor Tiberius, the same mode of warfare.

(87.) ZAMA, now Zamor or Zammorah, was situated in the southern part of Numidia, not far from the source of the river Ampsaga (See the Map), and celebrated, during the Punic Wars, for the defeat of Hannibal, by the elder Scipio. It lay, as we learn from Polybius, and from Livy, who copies after him, five days journey south of Carthage, and was built near a fountain, which Pliny says, had the property of sending forth the most melodious sounds. King Juba, the son of Hiempsal, the second of that name, fortified Zama, with great labour and expence, surrounding the whole with a double wall, and making it his ordinary residence. When Cæsar defeated this prince, at the battle of Thapsus, Zama shut its gates against him, and continued, during the war, faithful to the Romans. They afterwards destroyed it, however, as we learn from Strabo, in whose time it was uninhabited. The Emperor Hadrian sent a Roman colony, to rebuild the place, and conferred on it the name of Ælia Augusta. See Corn. Nep. in Hannib.—Polyb. L. XV. p. 966. Edit. Gronov.—Liv. L. XXX. 29.—Plin. Hist. Nat. L. XXXI. 2.—Vitruv. L. VIII. 3.—Hirt. de Bel. Afric. XCI. XCII.—Strab. L. XVII. pp. 829. 831. Edit. Casaub.

I am surprised that Dr Shaw, who seldom misses instructively to connect the antient with the modern geography of Africa, takes no notice of Zama, or of its antient magnificence. I greatly doubt if the village, named by him Zammora, i. e. "of olives," be the Zama

of the antients; as the most remarkable circumstance, concerning the former, seems to be its situation in the neighbourhood of Seteef, the Colonia Sitifensis, or Sitifa of the Roman geographers. He notices, indeed, some delightful fountains, at no great distance, together with some inconsiderable remains of antient monuments. See pp. 52. 53. Page 410.

Page 410.

(88.) THE Romans inflicted very severe punishments upon deserters, when they came into their power, such as cutting off their hands or arms, beheading, crucifying, or scourging them to death, and, in later times, exposing them to wild beasts. The certain prospect, therefore, of torture or death, should they be taken by their countrymen, always powerfully operated, in fixing them in the interest of any prince or nation, to whom they had gone over, and urged them frequently to the most desperate acts of valour; while, on the other hand, their superior discipline, and knowledge of the art of war, rendered them a valuable acquisition to foreign nations.

(89.) SICCA, or as the Romans call it, Sicca Veneria, now Keef, was an antient town of Numidia, originally founded by the Phœnicians. See the Map, and Peutinger's Tables. Keef, according to Dr. Shaw, lies about fifteen miles from Lorbuss, and seventy-two from Tunis. P. 95. The learned Selden (De Diis Syr. L. II. 7.), and Jo. Ger. Vossius (Theolog. Gentil. L. II. 22.) derive the name Sicca Veneria, from the Assyrian deity Succoth-Benoth, mentioned in the Second Book of Kings, Ch. xvii. 30., signifying "the tents of the women, or courtezans," or "the worship of the Assyrian Venus." Sicca was antiently famous for its temple, dedicated to the same goddess; where the young women of the country, in consonance to a custom, which they derived from the east, used to assemble, previously to their marriage, and earn their dowry, after a very singular manner. *Siccæ fanum est Veneris* (says Valerius Maximus indignantly), *in quod se ma-*

Page 411. *tronæ conferebant; atque inde procedentes ad quæstum, dotes corporis injuriâ contrahebant, honesta nimirum tam inhonesto vinculo conjugia juncturæ.* L. II. 6. xv. This extraordinary custom seems to have had its origin with the Babylonian women, in honour of Mylitta, or the Assyrian Venus. It was universally kept up, wherever the religion of Persia prevailed; and, among other places besides Sicca Veneria, it was practised at Heliopolis, at Aphace (a town between Heliopolis and Byblos), and also in the island of Cyprus. The mode of celebrating the rites at Babylon, is described, at length, by Herodotus and Strabo; and it is also alluded to by the prophet Jeremiah, who is a much older writer than either. To those authors I refer the curious reader. Herodot. L. I. 199. pp. 83. 84. Edit. Gale.—Strab. L. XVI. p. 745. Edit. Casaub.—Jerem. Epist. ap. Baruch. Ch. vi. 43.

"Keff," says Dr Shaw, "is a frontier town, and the third for riches and strength, in the whole kingdom (of Tunis). In the late civil wars (that is, previously to 1738), the greatest part of the citadel was blown up, which has since been rebuilt, with greater strength and beauty. In levelling an adjacent mount, to find materials for this building, they discovered an entire statue of Venus; which was no sooner found, than it was broken to pieces by the Iconoclastics. This statue may not a little authorize, and illustrate the appellation of Veneria, that was attributed to Sicca. There was an equestrian statue, dug up at the same time, dedicated to Marcus Antonius Rufus, which suffered the same fate. The situation of Keff, as the name itself imports, is upon the declivity of a hill, with a plentiful source of water near the centre of it." There are some Roman inscriptions, he adds, still visible; and they are the only antiquities that remain, at this noted place.

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(90.) Thus Polybius, in speaking of Syphax's sudden attachment to the Carthaginians, on account of Sophonisba, and the probability of his erelong abandoning the connection, observes, that his country-

men are all conspicuous for the same fickleness of temper. They soon take disgust, he says, at what, but a short while before, they most ardently desired; and, with an extraordinary levity, they disregard the vows, which they have solemnly made, either to Gods or men. Page 414.

Οὐ γὰρ ἀπεγίνωσκε, καὶ τῆς παιδίσκης αὐτὸν ἤδη κόρον ἔχειν, δι' ἣν εἵλετο τὰ Καρχοδονίων, καὶ καθόλε τῆς πρὸς Φοίνικας φιλίας, διά τε τὴν φυσικὴν τῶν Νομάδων ἀψικορίαν, καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τε τὰς θεὰς, καὶ τὰς ἀνθρώπες ἀθεσίαν. L. XIV. p. 942. Edit. Gronov.

Page 414.

(91.) From the manner, in which the historian introduces his description of this manœuvre, the reader might be apt to imagine, that it was some new contrivance of Jugurtha's, with which the troops of Metellus were surprised, for the first time. But the truth is, the custom of mixing light infantry, or Velites, with the cavalry, was well known to the Romans, for nearly a hundred years before; and it was that very circumstance, which gave rise to the institution of the former, during the second Punic War. At the period just now mentioned, when Capua was besieged by the Romans, under Fulvius Flaccus, and their cavalry was found greatly inferior to that of the Campanians, Quintus Nævius Centurio fell upon the contrivance of lightly arming some infantry, young men, chosen for their activity, and swiftness of foot, from the Legions of the line, and for that reason (according to Isidore, *à volitando*, L. IX. p. 1048. Edit. Gothof.) called Velites, and mixing them with the troopers, after the manner attributed to Jugurtha. This device gave a decided superiority to the Romans. The whole is stated by Livy, who describes not only the method of arming the Velites, but their agility in vaulting into their place, on the croupe, behind the trooper, and as speedily dismounting, when the signal was given, for their particular attack; I shall, therefore, for the gratification of the reader, present the passage, in the historian's own words. *Inita tandem ratio est, ut, quod viribus deerat, arte æquaretur. Ex omnibus Legionibus electi sunt juvenes, maximè vigore ac levitate corporum.*

Page 418. *veloces, eis parmæ breviores, quàm equestres, et septena jacula, quaterno longa pedes, data, præfixa ferro, quale hastis Velitaribus inest. Eos singulos in equos suos accipientes equites assuefecerunt, et vehi post sese, et desilire perniciter, ubi signum datum esset. Postquam assuetudine quotidianâ satis intrepidè visum est fieri, in campum, qui medius inter castra murumque erat, adversus instructos Campanorum equites processerunt. Ubi ad conjectum teli ventum est, signo dato, Velites desiliunt. Pedestris inde acies ex equitatu repentè in hostium equites incurrit, jaculaque cum impetu alia super alia emittunt. Quibus plurimis in equos virosque passim conjectis, permultos vulneraverunt: Pavoris tamen plus, ex re novâ atque inopinatâ, injectum est; et in perculsum hostem equites invecti, fugam stragemque eorum usque ad portas fecerunt. Institutum, ut Velites in Legionibus essent.* L. XXVI. 4. See also Valerius Maximus (L. II. 3. iii.) and Frontinus (L. IV. 7. xxix.), both of whom record the same invention, in honour of Nævius. Nor was this mode of attack peculiar to the Romans and Numidians. Cæsar mentions it, as familiar to the Germans (De Bel. Gal. L. I. 48. VII. 65.); and, most probably, it was practised, whether from imitation, or from the natural fitness of the device itself, by almost every warlike people.

It is remarkable that Dr. Adam, who, of all writers on Roman antiquities, is the most correct and intelligent, should, in his account of the Velites (p. 367.), have omitted altogether the mention of this useful part of their duty, and for the purpose of which, as we have seen, the corps itself was originally instituted. Yet in the place, just now quoted, of Dr. Adam's excellent work, Livy, L. XXVI. 4. is duly referred to.

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(92.) Most of the Lieutenants in the Roman armies were Senators: The Tribunes, also, and Quæstors often held the same rank; and those, together with the other principal officers, usually composed the general's council. In the same way, we find Marius (Sect. CXII. posth.), after he had obtained the command, summoning, as his

council of war, besides Sylla, his Quæstor, and the Prætor Bellienus from Utica, every other officer of Senatorian rank, in order to take into consideration the proposals of king Bocchus. *Marius . . Syllam venire jubet, itemque L. Bellienum Prætorem, Uticâ, præterea omnis, undique Senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit.* It was not unusual, as we learn from Cæsar, to call in the principal Centurions, to assist at a council of war; and, on one occasion, which he mentions, all the Centurions of the army, then present, were summoned to attend. See Bel. Gal. L. V. 28. 37. and L. I. 40. Page 419.

(93.) According to Orosius, the king, by this treaty, delivered up a quantity of corn, a large sum of money, and three thousand Roman deserters, who were then in his service; besides hostages to the number of three hundred, for his further performance of every article. See L. V. 14.

(94.) The situation of this town is uncertain, as it seems to be mentioned by no antient writer, except Sallust. Possibly Thisica may be the place intended, as that lay conveniently for the proposed surrender, and, according to Ptolemy, in the Roman Province. between the Bagrada, and the town of Tabraca.

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(95.) It was the policy of Marius, at all times, to give out, that he had presages from heaven, of his future fortune. He had, at this time, reached Utica, in his way to Rome, in order to stand candidate for the Consulship; so that, most probably, the trick played off by the Augur, was in consequence of a secret understanding between them. Marius himself was inclined to superstition. He well knew the effects it could produce on the multitude; and he was particularly aware, that no class of men was more subject to its influence, than the Roman soldiers. The prediction of Scipio (which has already been hinted at, in Note

Page 419. 77. anteh.) seems never to have departed from his mind. He anxiously strove to support the great part, on the stage of public business, which he conceived himself destined to act; so that this prediction, although nothing more than a casual expression of the conqueror of Carthage, like most other predictions, chiefly operated towards its own accomplishment. It certainly had the effect of directing his ambition to employments, to which his talents, as little as his birth, warranted him to aspire; and in the same manner, when nominated Lieutenant in Numidia by Metellus, so far from regarding the appointment as a lasting obligation, that demanded his gratitude, he rather embraced it as a favourable opportunity to supplant his patron, and successfully to enter on his own splendid career.

Historians have usually represented this man as intrepid, uncultivated, and without disguise or artifice. But, in the last mentioned quality, it appears, that they have mistaken his character. Under the mask of a simplicity, nothing less than natural, he laboured to conceal a mind, in which dissimulation preponderated over courage, and where the want of cultivation was by no means compensated, by the possession of candour or integrity. Yet he was sensible of the reputation, for a certain honest bluntness of disposition, which he had gained with the world; and he never forgot to make the most of the prejudice. Of a piece with the sacrifice at Utica, was the story of the she-eagle, with seven young-ones, falling into his lap, when a boy, and denoting his seven Consulships; a fiction very clumsily imagined, as the eagle is well known to produce only two young-ones at a time. The solemn farce, likewise, of the Syrian prophetess Martha, whom he carried about in a litter, in his wars against the Cimbri, and affected to consult, in all emergencies: And to these may be added, the more natural circumstance of the two vultures, with the brazen collars, which the soldiers had put round their necks; and their seeming to attend the army, and presage its success. See Plutarch. in Mar.

Sallust, like some other writers, presents, in this Section, a picture of Marius, very different from that, which we are obliged to form, on an impartial survey of his life. Under colour of representing, not the Marius, who had deluged his country with blood, but the blunt, and gallant soldier, before he was corrupted by ambition, he gives, indeed, a pleasing delineation of what may be called the bright side of his character; and, had he not bestowed, on his favourite hero, the praise of integrity *(probitatem)*, which he never deserved, it might be considered, on the whole, as not greatly overcharged. In justice, however, to the historian, it may be remarked, that, in afterwards drawing the portrait of Sylla, Marius's memorable rival (See Sect. C.), he observes, in some sort, the same rule, which he here prescribes to himself. He tells us rather what Sylla at that period was, than what he afterwards turned out to be; and he keeps, almost entirely out of view, his vices as a tyrant, and a usurper, a character, to which he and Marius were equally entitled. The only difference between their enormities seems to be, that Marius possessed, over Sylla, a sort of precedency in wickedness: The one had the demerit of pointing out the bloody footsteps, in which the disposition of the other was but too well formed to tread. Velleius Paterculus, who often gives characters with both impartiality and neatness, thus truly says of these celebrated rivals; *Marius, hirtus atque horridus, vitâque sanctus, quantùm bello optimus, tantùm pace pessimus; immodicus gloriæ, insatiabilis, impotens, semperque inquietus . . Cornelius Sylla, vir, qui neque ad finem victoriæ satis laudari, neque post victoriam abundè vituperari potest.* L. II. 11. & 17. "Considering," says M. De Brosses, "the uncultivated character, the clownish appearance, and the forbidding countenance of Marius, according to the universal evidence of his contemporaries, I was agreeably surprised to see his statue in the Capitol at Rome, as it is far less disgusting in expression, than I expected. It is composed of marble, and of all the antient statues is the first, that was placed in that repository. The name of Marius is not inscribed upon it; but its authenticity is

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Page 421. ascertained by immemorial tradition, and moreover by the resemblance, which the countenance bears, to one on a medal, discovered in England, with the words "Coss. VII." round it; a title, which can belong only to Marius, as no other person, besides himself, ever seven times possessed the supreme magistracy." It seems doubtful, whether this be the same statue, described by Plutarch, as being in his time at Ravenna, which expresses, he says, in a striking manner, Marius's sternness, and ferocity. In Mar. II. The plate, given by M. De Brosses, represents a coarse countenance, but more expressive of gravity and artifice, than of any other quality. As the French, in their plunder of Italy, are said to have stripped the Capitol of its antiquities, the original has probably been removed to Paris.

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(96.) METELLUS's answer, according to Plutarch, was; *Σὺ δὴ καταλιπὼν ἡμᾶς, ὦ γενναῖε, πλεῖν ἐπ' οἶκε διανοῇ, καὶ παραγγέλλειν ὑπατείαν· ἐ γὰρ ἀγαπήσεις, ἂν τῷ μῷ παιδὶ τέτῳ συνυπατεύσῃς.* In Mar. VIII. p. 814. Edit. Reisk.

Sallust here says of Metellus's son, *Contubernio patris militavit*, which I have rendered, "he served, without any command, under the orders of his father;" literally, that "he lived in the same tent with his father;" that is, he was under his particular care and inspection. In the Roman camps, each tent contained ten soldiers, together with the petty officer, who commanded them; and they were, on that account, said to be *In contubernio*, or *Contubernales*. It was the custom for young men of rank, like the son of Metellus, to attend the army, in order to acquire some rudiments of military discipline. They were usually placed under the immediate care of the general, and, from the intimacy, which subsisted between them, they were said to be *Imperatoris contubernales*. See Cic. Orat. pro Cœl. XXX. Pro Planc. XI.

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(97.) THIS Gauda was brother to Jugurtha, and father to king Hiarbas or Hierta, who has been formerly noticed, as afterwards obtaining a part of Numidia. He was overcome and slain by Pompey. See Liv. Epit. LXXXIX.—Plutarch. in Pomp.—Eutrop. L. V. 6.

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(98.) IN the camp, the general had his chair of state *(sella castrensis)*, corresponding nearly to the Curule chair of the civil magistrate, on which the general sat, on all public occasions, such as when he appeared on the tribunal, when he presided in council, or gave audience to ambassadors. Around him his Lieutenants, and other persons of distinction took their places; and if any king, or sovereign prince chanced to be in the army, he was allowed the honour of a seat, upon his right hand. Thus, at the court of Nero, who affected the style of military pomp, Tiridates, king of Armenia, after being presented to the Emperor, and doing homage for his kingdom, was, with great ceremony, placed on Nero's right hand. See Sueton. in Neron. XIII.

(99.) THE Equites, here spoken of, were the farmers of the public revenue, a department, which belonged to the Equestrian order. Velleius Paterculus, in describing the infamous arts, used by Marius, to undermine the reputation of his patron, confirms the fact mentioned by our author, and calls these Equites *Publicani*, or farmers of the revenue in Africa. *Hic (Marius) per publicanos, aliosque in Africâ negotiantes, criminatus Metelli lentitudinem, trahentis jam in tertium annum bellum, et naturalem nobilitatis superbiam, morandique in imperiis cupiditatem, effecit, et cùm, commeatu petito, Romam venisset, Consul crearetur, bellique penè patrati à Metello, qui bis Jugurtham acie fuderat, summa committeretur sibi.* L. II. 11.

Page 427. (100.) METELLUS, says Appian, as a commander, was by no means popular among the troops, from the uncommon strictness of the discipline, which he maintained, and the severity, with which he punished their irregularities. Marius, on the contrary, according to the account of Sallust himself, indulged them, in their winter-quarters, with great laxity of discipline, for the purpose of gaining their favour. "It is little wonderful," as another writer observes, who speaks of Marius without partiality, "that his calumnies against his general were eagerly listened to, not only by the soldiers, but by the merchants of Africa, and by the populace at Rome. On the one hand, the illustrious birth of Metellus, and the high reputation, which he had acquired as an officer, excited the envy of the People, whose anxious wish it was, to raise up, against him, a rival from their own order, so that they lent a willing ear to the misrepresentations of his Lieutenant. Marius, on the other hand, was a vain, aspiring, and turbulent demagogue, sufficiently capable of either dissimulation or falsehood, as best suited his views. He was well known for his hostility to the nobles, his popularity with the multitude, from whom he had emerged, and his unceasing diligence, in flattering their leaders, and inventing accusations against men of worth. It was not, therefore, strange, if the people continued, for a long time, the dupe of such a character; and the more particularly, as his talents lay, in cloaking his designs with the exteriour of simplicity, while, in reality, they were conducted with the most consummate art. Add to this, that Marius indisputably possessed great military merit; and, above all, he had the good fortune, in whatever he undertook, to pass, with the world, for an honest man." Dion. Cass. in Except. Vales.

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(1.) IN a former Note (78.), on the town of Vacca, visited by Dr. Shaw, as the the modern Bay-jah, in the kingdom of Tunis, I took notice of the position, which is given to it, by that learned traveller,

Page 428. won by sporting Patricians, on such occasions. But, in the time of the Emperor Nero, when all sorts of "eccentric" amusements, as they would now be called, were in fashion, had some "dashing" young Senator, some jovial companion of the prince, or, perhaps, some athletic officer of the Prætorian guards tried his strength, I am of opinion, that a walk, during the night, across the country about Rome, of fifty miles in fifteen hours, especially if performed without any previous "training," would have done credit to his activity.

In order to render the march of Metellus more credible, and still to preserve the situation of Vacca, we must be under the necessity of supposing, that the Roman general was cantoned somewhat to the south of Utica. Sallust, in another place (Sect. LXV. anteh.), has told us, that "the army marched into winter-quarters, in those parts of the Province, that bordered on the Numidian frontier;" so that, if the general's winter-quarters lay forty miles from Vacca, his forced march, during the night, might, by a great effort, have been performed; and the distance, in that case, was sufficiently great, to prevent all suspicion of an attack, on the part of the Vaccensians.

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(2.) By the Valerian and Porcian laws, exile was substituted for death, as the highest punishment, that could be inflicted on a Roman citizen. But it does not appear, that the benefit of those laws extended, either to citizens of Latium, or yet to Roman citizens, while under military authority. History affords sufficient evidence to this effect, as may be seen from Polybius, Livy, and Frontinus. The writer last mentioned, who was himself an officer of ability, in his Chapter *De Disciplinâ* (L. IV. 1.), quotes a multitude of examples of capital punishment being inflicted on citizens of Rome, by military commanders; to which I refer the curious reader. It seems, then, singular, that Sallust should say, by implication at least, that Roman citizens, in the army, enjoyed an exemption from the punishment of

death, when capital crimes were committed. His words are, *Nam is* Page 428.
(*Turpilius*) *civis ex Latio erat;* but the conjunction *Nam*, indeed, is not found in some MSS. There is a degree of doubt and obscurity, as to what was precisely the extent and prerogatives of the *Jus Latii*, that has not been dispelled by Gruter, Lipsius, Dr Adam, or any other writer on Roman antiquities.

(3.) EXCEPTING the invidious silence of our author, in regard to Cicero, there is no occasion, on which he can so justly be accused, as on the present, of suppressing facts, for a culpable purpose. From his whole account of the massacre at Vacca, and the punishment of the inhabitants, no reader would suspect, that his favourite Marius was so much as implicated in the transaction, or that Turpilius, the governor, was any other than a pusillanimous, or a treacherous individual, who had justly merited his fate. But the reader will learn, with surprise and indignation, that this citizen of Latium was a most worthy man, who innocently suffered, by a wickedness so black and deliberate, as to have no parallel, even in the enormities of Marius himself. Plutarch, who is always judicious, and, for the most part, impartial, speaks of the fate of Turpilius as a fact, well-known, at the time, to have operated, in widening the breach between the general and his Lieutenant; and I shall give the account, in that writer's own words.

"Of all the causes of animosity (says he), that subsisted between Metellus and Marius, what most sensibly affected the former, was the affair of Turpilius. This man and his family had long been warmly attached to the Consul, by the rights of hospitality; and he had invited Turpilius to attend him in this war, and bestowed on him the place of master of the artificers. Being afterwards appointed governor of the large town of Vacca, his justice and humanity, and the unsuspecting openness of his conduct towards the inhabitants, furnished them, it seems, with an opportunity of betraying the town to the enemy. Jugurtha, however, who was received into the place, was earnestly so-

Page 428. licited by them to spare the governor's life; and, because he had the good fortune to escape with impunity, he was accused of treason, and tried for his life. On this, Marius, as a principal member of the council, not only behaved himself with extreme severity towards Turpilius, but so greatly prejudiced the other members, that sentence of death was pronounced against him, and inflicted, with great concern, by the commander in chief. In a short time after, the accusation appeared to have been unfounded: And, when the other officers sympathized with Metellus, who was overwhelmed with sorrow for his conduct; Marius, far from dissembling his joy, did not blush to acknowledge himself the author of the whole contrivance; declaring, in all companies, that he had now succeeded in planting, in the breast of Metellus, an avenging fury, which would not fail to torment him, for having put to death his favourite, and the hereditary friend of his family"!!! Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι συνήχθοντο τῷ Μετέλλῳ βαρέως φέροντι· Μάριος δὲ χαίρων, καὶ ποιέμενος ἴδιον τὸ ἔργον, ἐκ ἠσχύνετο λέγειν περιὼν, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη προστετριμμένος ἀλάστορα τῷ Μετέλλῳ ξενοκτόνον. In Mar. VIII. p. 814. Edit. Reisk. Well may we believe, that Metellus then withdrew for a while, to give vent to his feelings *(Paulisper moestus è conspectu abiit)*, when he had so severe a subject of private grief, superadded to that of the public calamity.

But the historian is not content with remaining silent concerning the infamy of Marius, in this transaction: He is resolved to brand the unfortunate Turpilius with disgrace, for surviving the massacre of the rest of the garrison. "History (says he) must record, as vile and contemptible, the spirit of the man, who, to preserve an inglorious existence, sacrificed his honour, and who could hesitate to perish, amidst the general calamity." I confess myself at a loss, to perceive on what principles such an allegation can be made against Turpilius. An officer, at the head of his troops, may, on some occasions, consider himself as called upon to die in the field of battle: But, in the case of a mas-

sacre, committed by savages or ruffians, in the midst of convivial merriment, neither sense nor honour can be said to actuate the man, who voluntarily courts the dagger of the assassin, and throws away his own life, merely because his companions have suffered before him. Pages 432. 434.

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(4.) MARIUS (says Plutarch), after various refusals from the general, still persisting in his request for leave of absence, was permitted to depart, when there wanted only ten days to the election. From the camp to Utica he had a long journey; yet, he performed it, in the space of two days and a night. On his arrival at Utica, he offered sacrifices to the Gods, before he embarked; when the diviner is said to have told him, that events great and wonderful were announced by heaven, and a degree of success, far beyond his hopes. Encouraged by this omen, he immediately set sail, and, with a fair wind, crossed the sea in four days. At Rome, the people were overjoyed at his arrival. One of their Tribunes (Manilius Mancinus), having brought him forward to the assembly, he addressed them in a speech, filled with personal abuse of Metellus, and with the most unfounded charges against him, for the purpose of recommending his own pretensions to the Consulship; confidently pledging himself, at the same time, that, were the management of the war only committed to him, Jugurtha, either dead or alive, should soon fall into his hands." In Mar. VIII.

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(5.) THERE is no mention of this place, made by any of the antient geographers. Dr Shaw, with great probability, places it in the southern districts of Numidia, and makes it the same as the antient Telepte, now Ferre-anah, or Feriana. See the Map. Thala was entirely destroyed by Metellus, and once more by the Romans, after the defeat of Juba, king of Mauritania, in the time of Cæsar. Tacitus is the latest writer, who takes notice of the place, as subsisting in the time of Ti-

Pages 437. 438. 440.

berius, and furnishing a refuge to the Romans, who retreated to the desert, during the time of the insurrection, by the Numidian chief Tacfarinas. See Annal. L. III. 21. Procopius (De Ædific. VI. 6. p. 110. Edit. Paris.) describes Telepte, as a frontier town of the Province; and the author of the Itinerary, according to the annotations of Cellarius, places Tacape and Telepte, in the same direction as the town of Capsa, and at an equal distance, that is, about seventy Roman miles from it.

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(6.) This was the greater Leptis, situated on the sea-coast, between the Syrtes; and which, together with the other place of the same name, has been particularly described, in Note 39. anteh.

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(7.) See an account of these two celebrated gulphs, in Note 43. anteh.

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(8.) The idea given by our author, in this Section, of the dreary, and inhospitable desert of Libya, reminds us of the description in Apollonius Rhodius, when his heroes, after being cast on that barren shore, stood aghast at the prospect, which presented itself.

> The heroes sprang to shore; and grief profound
> Possess'd each heart, to view the prospect round.
> The expansive skies, a chearless blank and drear,
> And tracts of land to meet the skies appear,
> Unvaried barrenness; no springs arise,
> No path, no haunt of shepherd glads their eyes:
> Nor tree nor herb was scatter'd o'er the plain,
> And mournful silence spoke it famine's reign.
>
> *Preston's Translation.*

Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηὸς ὄρεσαν· ἄχος δ' ἕλεν ἰσορόωντας
Ἤέρα καὶ μεγάλης νῶτα χθονὸς, ἠέρι δ' ἴσα,
Τηλῦ ὑπερτείνοντα διηνεκὲς· ἐδέ τιν' ἀρδμὸν,
Οὐ πάτον, ἐκ ἀπάνευθε κατηυγάσσαντο βοτῆρων
Αὔλιον, εὐκήλῳ δὲ κατείχετο πάντα γαλήνῃ.

L. IV. 1245. age 340.

The phenomenon of the land-storm, frequently exhibited in Africa, is certainly of a very tremendous kind. It is similar to that, which takes place in the deserts of Arabia, and is noticed by Dr Shaw. He mentions the frightful billows and mountains of sand, formed by the wind, violently blowing over a parched, and barren surface, the sand, in this tremendous tide, supplying the place of water; or, as Pomponius Mela with peculiar felicity describes the phenomenon; *Auster immodicus exsurgit, arenasque quasi maria agens, siccis sævit fluctibus.* The same thing is spoken of by Sulpicius Severus, L. III., by Solinus, C. XXIX., and by Lucan, L. IX. 445. et seqq. The wonderful story, related by Herodotus (L. III. 26.), of the army, sent by Cambyses against the Ammonians, and its total destruction in a land-storm, will the more easily gain belief, when we compare it with the accounts of late travellers, who have visited Africa; as the same appearances are there as conspicuous, at this day, as they are represented to have been, in antient times.

Both Poncet and Savary tell us of the extraordinary danger of travelling in these deserts; "because the sand, being of a prodigious fineness, and easily raised by the slightest wind, immediately darkens the air, and, falling afterwards in clouds, passengers are often buried in it, or at least lose the route, which they ought to keep." This is precisely correspondent to Sallust's description: *Ubi per loca æqualia, et nuda gignentium, ventus coortus, arenam humo excitavit; ea magná vi agitata, ora oculosque implere solet; ita, prospectu impedito, morari iter.* "Travellers," says Savary, "departing from the fertile

Page 340. valley, lying under the tropic, march seven days, before they come the first town in Æthiopia. They find their way, in the day-time, looking at marks, and at night, by observing the stars. The sand which they had observed, on the preceding journey, having often been carried away by the winds, deceive the guides; and, if they wander in the least out of the road, the camels, having passed five or six days without drinking, sink under their burden, and die: The men erelong submit to the same fate; and sometimes, out of a great number, not a single traveller escapes; at other times, the burning winds from the south raise vortexes of dust, which suffocate man and beast; and the next caravan sees the ground strewed with bodies totally parched up."

The intrepid Mr Bruce, in his route from Chendi to Syene, saw this phenomenon, attended with a degree of splendour, not generally mentioned by other travellers. The description, which he gives of it, is so curious and interesting, that I shall extract a part of his account, for the entertainment of the reader. "At seven in the morning," says he, "we left Assa Nagga, our course being due north. At one o'clock, we alighted among some Acacia-trees, at Waadi el Halboub, having gone twenty-one miles. We were here at once surprised and terrified by a sight, surely one of the most magnificent in the world. In that vast expanse of desert, from W. and to N. W. of us, we saw a number of prodigious pillars of sand, at different distances, at times moving with great celerity, at others, stalking on with majestic slowness: At intervals, we thought they were coming, in a very few minutes to overwhelm us; and small quantities of sand did actually more than once reach us. Again, they would retreat, so far as to be almost out of sight, their tops reaching to the very clouds. There the tops often separated from the bodies; and these, once disjoined, dispersed in the air, and did not appear any more. Sometimes, they were broken near the middle, as if struck with a large cannon-shot. About noon, they began to advance with considerable swiftness upon us, the wind being very strong at north. Eleven of them ranged along side of us, at about the distance of three miles. The greatest diameter of the largest, appeared

to me, at that distance, as if it would measure ten feet. They retired Page 340.
from us, with a wind at S. E., leaving an impression upon my mind, to which I can give no name, although surely one ingredient in it was fear, with a considerable deal of wonder and astonishment. It was in vain to think of flying: The swiftest horse, or the fastest-sailing ship, could be of no use, to carry us out of this danger; and the full conviction of this rivetted me, as if to the spot where I stood..

"On the 18th, we passed through a sandy plain, without trees or verdure. About three-hundred yards out of our way to the left, among some sandy hillocks, where the ground seemed to be more elevated than the rest, Idris the Hybeer told me, that one of the largest caravans, which ever came out of Egypt, under the conduct of the Ababde and Bishareen Arabs, was there covered with sand, to the number of some thousands of camels. The Nuba cautioned us, by saying, that tempests were very frequent, in the beginning and end of the rainy season, and, whenever we should see one of them coming, to fall down upon our faces, keeping our lips close to the ground, and so let it pass; and thus, it would neither have power to carry us off our feet, nor suffocate us, which was the ordinary case..

"We soon had a view of the desert to the westward, as before, and saw the sands had already begun to rise, in immense twisted pillars, which darkened the heavens. They were, this day, more magnificent than any we had as yet seen. The sun, shining through the pillars, which were thicker, and contained more sand apparently, than any of the preceding days, seemed to give those nearest us an appearance, as if spotted with stars of gold. I do not think, at any time, they seemed to be nearer than two miles. A little before twelve, our wind at north ceased, and a considerable quantity of fine sand rained upon us, for an hour afterwards. At the time it appeared, the description of this phenomenon, in Syphax's speech to Sempronius (in Mr Addison's Cato), was perpetually before my mind:

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So, where our wide Numidian wastes extend,
Sudden th' impetuous hurricanes descend,
Wheel through the air, in circling eddies play,
Tear up the sands, and sweep whole plains away.
The helpless traveller, with wild surprise,
Sees the dry desert all around him rise,
And, smother'd in the dusty whirlwind, dies.

These lines (adds Mr Bruce) are capital, and are a fine copy, which can only appear tame, by the original having been before our eyes, painted by the great master, the Creator and Ruler of the World." Travels to the Source of the Nile, Vol. VI. pp. 458. 468. 346. 485. 486. 2d Edit.

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(9.) Both Pomponius Mela and Valerius Maximus relate this story: But the account of the former is lame and unsatisfactory, that of the latter quaint and affected; and neither is to be compared with the neat, and concise narrative of Sallust. The Altars, erected to those celebrated brothers, stood on the south-east extremity of the Greater Syrtis (See the Map), and were, as Pliny tells us (L. V. 4.), originally constructed of sand or earth; that is, they were *Tumuli*, properly so called. Afterwards, it is probable, that some monument of stone, of greater splendour, as well as durability, was erected by the Carthaginians, on the spot; as the Altars, during a long period, are said to have marked the boundary of their empire.

It is not easy to ascertain the age of the Philæni. It certainly was posterior to that of Herodotus; as we are informed, by the father of history, that the Auschisæ and Nasamones possessed the whole of the sea-coast, beyond the Hesperides, and round the greater part of the Syrtis. At the time that Scylax wrote his Periplus, no further change appears to have taken place; for the Carthaginian empire, according to that writer (pp. 47. 52.), then extended from the Pillars of Hercules,

on the west, to the Greater Leptis, on the east, and the first place in their territory, from thence westward, was Neapolis, near the western point of the Syrtis. The tower of Euphratas, according to Strabo (L. XVII. p. 836.), was the common boundary of Carthage and Egypt, under the Ptolemies. When Hannibal invaded Italy, however, the Altars certainly existed, that is, A. U. C. 534, and 217 years before the Christian era, the period, when the Carthaginians had attained their greatest height of power and grandeur. Page 441.

On the subject of the Philæni, I cannot help agreeing, with the discerning Mr. Rennel, in the opinion, that their story, such as it has been transmitted to us, is, in some respects, extremely improbable. We are told, that the Carthaginian brothers, and their rivals, left their respective capitals, Carthage and Cyrene, according to previous agreement, and met at the place, where the Altars afterwards stood. "Now (says Mr. Rennel), the Altars were situated about seven-ninths of the way from Carthage to Cyrene, and the deception would have been too gross, had it been pretended, that the Carthaginian party had travelled seven parts in nine, whilst the Cyrenians had travelled no more than *two* such parts of the way. Would either party have trusted the other with the adjustment of the time of setting out? Perhaps they mutually set out, at the opposite extremes of the territory in dispute, and not from their respective capitals." Geog. of Herodot. p. 640.

(10.) The Mauritanian kings boasted, that they drew their descent from an antient prince of the country, called Antæus, who was vanquished by Hercules and the Phœnicians, when they first landed in Africa. Bocchus, probably, was son to another sovereign of the same name, noticed by Strabo (L. XVII. p. 828. Edit. Casaub.), and grandson to Bocchar, cotemporary with Masinissa. The learned Bochart is of opinion, that Bocchus signifies the same as Bocchor or Bouchoris, an appellation, likewise, of several of the kings of Egypt. It is very

Page 442. probable, that it was a corruption of Bacchus, which, according to the same critic, denotes "son of Æthiopia," or "of the south."

The Bocchus, here spoken of by Sallust, had two sons, Volux, who is particularly spoken of, in the sequel of this history, and Bogud, who succeeded his father in the throne. This Bogud had a son, called Bocchus, afterwards king of Mauritania, who, we find, was present at the battle of Actium, where he sided with Mark Antony. After the extinction of this race, Augustus bestowed the kingdom of Mauritania on Juba, the same that was so celebrated for his learning, and who married young Cleopatra, Mark Antony's daughter. See Strab. ubi sup. Also Notes on Essay First, p. 188. Among the ancient medals, that are preserved of Sylla, there is a fine one, with a head of king Bocchus upon it; and, under the portico of the Duke Mathæi's palace, at Rome, there is a statue of the same prince, or it was extant some years since, when the President De Brosses visited that capital.

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(11.) Some editions, and that of Havercamp in particular, have, *Etiam antea Jugurthæ filia Boccho nupserat*, making Jugurtha the father-in-law of Bocchus. But we learn, from both Florus and Plutarch, that it was Jugurtha, on the contrary, who married the daughter of the Mauritanian king. Plutarch expressly says, in his Life of Sylla; Ὁ δὲ Βόκχος ἐτύγχανε μὲν ἔτι γε πάλαι γαμβρὸν ὄντα μισῶν καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν Ἰυγέρθαν; and in that of Marius, Βόκχος ἦν πενθερὸς Ἰυγέρθα; although Nonius (p. 648.) certainly quotes the passage in the Jugurthine War, in the same way (at least, in respect to the two kings), as it stands in Havercamp's text. On a medal of Sylla, in Vaillant's collection, we find Bocchus delineated as a young prince, and Jugurtha decorated with a long beard: But, as Wasse very properly observes, the representation of a beard upon a captivi, is not intended as a mark of age, but of subjection and misfortune (*Barba promissa captivi ha-*

bitûs, non ætatis indicium). Besides, Sallust himself soon after represents Volux, the son of Bocchus, as grown up to man's estate, and commanding a detachment of the Mauritanian army, which shows that the father could be no youth, at the time. Page 444.

M. De Brosses, whether from inadvertency, or from not having consulted the original of Plutarch, and of the other writers in question, makes strange work of this discrepancy in the MSS. He nearly reverses the whole statement of the authorities, quoting Nonius and Florus, on the one hand, and Plutarch and the antient medal, on the other, as evidence for the *same* side of the question.

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(12.) NOTHING could be more natural than such a sentiment. But our author had, all along, concealed the shocking conduct of Marius, and was willing, by the drift of this remark, to throw an unmerited reflection on the feelings of Metellus, who had but too good cause to be, in the highest degree, hurt and irritated, both with the vile ingratitude of a dependant, and that of a capricious, and unthinking populace. On this point, let us hear the judicious Plutarch, who had few political prejudices, or private partialities to mislead him. "Upon his (Marius's) arrival in Africa, Metellus was quite overcome with grief and resentment to think, that, when he had in a manner finished the war, and there remained nothing to take, but the person of Jugurtha, Marius, who had raised himself merely by his ingratitude towards *him*, should come to snatch away both his victory, and his triumph. Unable, therefore, to bear the sight of him, he retired, and left his Lieutenant Rutilius, to deliver up the forces to Marius. But, before the end of the war, the divine vengeance overtook Marius: For Sylla robbed him of the glory of his exploits, as he had done Metellus." Langhorne's Transl. Vol. III. p. 51.

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Pages 446. 447. (13.) "THE bold speeches of Marius (says Plutarch), accompanied with insolence and ill manners, gave the Patricians great uneasiness: For he scrupled not to say, "That he had taken the Consulate, as a "prey, from the effeminacy of the high-born and rich; and that he "boasted, to the people, his own wounds, not the images of others, or "monuments of the dead." He took frequent occasion, too, to mention Bestia and Albinus, generals, who had been mostly unfortunate in Africa, as men of illustrious families, but unfit for war, and consequently unsuccessful, through want of capacity. Then he would ask the people, "Whether they did not think, that the ancestors of these "men would have wished rather to leave a posterity like him? since "they themselves did not rise to glory, by their high birth, but by "their virtue, and great actions." These things he said, not out of mere vanity and arrogance, or needlessly to embroil himself with the nobility; but he saw, that the people took pleasure in seeing the Senate insulted, and that they measured the greatness of a man's mind, by the insolence of his language; and, therefore, to gratify them, he spared not the greatest men in the state." Langhorne, Vol. III. p. 51.

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(14.) THIS speech, which the historian puts into the mouth of Marius, has always been considered, as among the most vigorous, and characteristic in his history. The composition is undoubtedly Sallust's; but the sentiments are those of Marius himself; as may be seen from the testimony of other antient writers, and, particularly, the quotations in the foregoing Note, from Plutarch, who reports what was well known to have been Marius's language, at the time. In this harangue, Sallust seems to have two objects in view. The one is, to make the speaker, as on similar occasions, delineate his own portrait, namely that of the ambitious demagogue, and the blunt, and uncultivated sol-

dier. The other is, to give a scope to his own animosity against the nobles, and to place, in a strong point of view, the superiority of *personal merit* over adventitious claims to distinction, and every advantage, that can be derived from illustrious birth. It must be acknowledged, that a better opportunity could not have presented itself to any writer; and Sallust has made the most of it. In fact, it would be difficult to name a composition, whether antient or modern, in which so many pointed sentiments, and forcible arguments, are brought to bear upon the same point. On that account, we find, that this speech, like the Eighth Satire of Juvenal, has become, in some sort, a common-place book to those authors, who have undertaken to combat this general prejudice of mankind. Yet Juvenal's work, though an admirable effort, must be admitted to fall short of the Speech of Marius, both in vigour of thought, and in variety and aptness of illustration. Page 447.

Perhaps the very best thing, that ever has been said of high birth, is put into the mouth of Marius, on this occasion. "Let us not (says he) dissemble the fact. AN ILLUSTRIOUS ANCESTRY CASTS A RAY OF SPLENDOUR ROUND THE VIRTUES OF THE POSSESSOR; ALTHOUGH, AT THE SAME TIME, IT MAGNIFIES THE FOULNESS OF EVERY STAIN, WITH WHICH HE IS POLLUTED." *Profectò ita res se habet: Majorum gloria posteris lumen est, neque bona eorum, neque mala, in occulto patitur.* Here Sallust is candid. He gives, by means of a familiar image, a most lively illustration of a question, that all men will probably feel, and acknowledge to be true. But the reasoning is all on one side of the case. The author was, in his heart, a genuine republican. He wrote in a period, when Cæsar's usurpation had annihilated liberty, and the commonwealth. He might have truly said, with Lucan,

Fugiens civile nefas, redituraque nunquam
Libertas, ultra Tigrim Rhenumque recessit;

Page 447. and, although he witnessed a change, which the corruption of the times had rendered not only unavoidable, but desirable, yet he eagerly seizes every opportunity of indulging his favourite bias. He declaims, with bitterness, against aristocratic, or regal principles of government, and magnifies, to the utmost, the superiority of that system, in which the People have the ascendency. The young reader, therefore, will rise from the perusal of this excellent speech, with impressions less favourable to hereditary nobility, and antientry of lineage, than such advantages, extrinsic as they are, seem fairly calculated to bestow, or than it is salutary to cherish, in a country like this, where our best experiments of democratic government have ended in calamity, and where an unexampled height of both political, and private happiness has been found to result, from preserving an equilibrium between the three orders in the state.

A veneration for ancestry is among those principles, which, although experience may approve, reason, strictly speaking, can never defend. It may be classed among the *useful prejudices*, that are salutary and important, only from the effects which they produce. It has been pertinently said, of the advantages of birth, that he, who possessed, was never willing to relinquish them, and he, who was without them, the only person, by whom they were decried. The remark is, without doubt, the result of observation; and it may the more particularly deserve regard in an age, when, on every topic, we have more to apprehend, from a dangerous admission of new opinions, than an inveterate adherence to antient errours. A value for ancestry, reasonably indulged, will probably be found not only a harmless, but, on some occasions, a beneficial sentiment. The pride, which it nourishes, and the vanity, to which it may be referred, cannot be productive of much evil, while, in the well-regulated mind, they may often guard from meanness, and sometimes incite to virtue. The candid enquirer, who is no pupil of the new school for either politics or morals, will, on this subject, probably join issue with the eloquent Mr Gibbon, in thinking,

that "reason herself will respect opinions, which have been consecrated by the experience of mankind." See his Posthumous works, Vol. I. p. 3. 8vo. Edit. Page 450.

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(15.) JUVENAL, in more places than one of that excellent discourse on "nobility of birth," his Eighth Satire, seems to have had, in his view, this speech of Marius. Of the source of true nobility, he says;

Fond man! though all the heroes of your line
Bedeck your halls, and round your galleries shine,
In wax or stone; yet take this truth from me,
VIRTUE ALONE IS TRUE NOBILITY.
Be, then, what Drusus, Cossus, Paulus were;
The bright examples of their lives prefer
To all your statues; nay to all the state,
Chairs, fasces, lictors of your Consulate.
No slave to birth, the virtues I require,
Inherent, not reflected from the sire,
Must aggrandize the son. Dare to be just,
Firm to your word, and faithful to your trust,
These praises hear, at least deserve to hear,
I grant your claim, and recognize the peer.

GIFFORD'S *Translation.*

TOTA licet veteres exornent undique ceræ
Atria; NOBILITAS SOLA EST, ATQUE UNICA VIRTUS.
Paulus, vel Cossus, vel Drusus moribus esto:
Hos ante effigies majorum pone tuorum;
Præcedant ipsas illi, te Consule, virgas.
Prima mihi debes animi bona; sanctus haberi,
Justitiæque tenax, factis dictisque mereris;
Agnosco procerem.

V. 19.

Page 450. Mr. Gifford sometimes equals, and sometimes surpasses his original; but he does not seem to have been so successful in the version of this, as of some other passages. Perhaps no translation could come up to the neatness and compression of the original.

Seneca, who so frequently adopts the sentiments of Sallust, and says the best things, on almost every subject, connected with life and manners, has a passage or two, so appropriate to the present topic, that I shall, without apology, quote them, for the gratification of the classical reader. *Cùm voles veram hominis æstimationem inire, et scire qualis sit, nudum inspice. Ponat patrimonium, ponat honores, et alia fortunæ mendacia; corpus ipsum exuat: Animum intuere, qualis quantusque sit, alieno an suo magnus . . Eadem omnibus principia, eademque origo. Nemo altero nobilior, nisi cui rectius ingenium, et artibus bonis aptius. Qui imagines in atrio exponunt, et nomina familiæ suæ longo ordine, ac multis stemmatum illigata flexuris, in parte primâ ædium collocant, noti magìs quàm nobiles sunt . . Bona mens omnibus patet; omnes ad hoc sumus nobiles; nec rejicit quemquam philosophia, nec eligit; omnibus lucet. Patricius Socrates non fuit: Cleanthes aquam traxit, et rigando hortulo locavit manus: Platonem non accepit nobilem philosophia, sed fecit. Quid est, quare desperes his te posse fieri parem? Omnes hi majores tui sunt, si te illis geris dignum. Geres, autem, si hoc protinus tibi persuaseris, à nullo te nobilitate superari . . Quis ergo generosus? Ad virtutem bene à naturâ compositus. Hoc unum est intuendum: Alioqui, si ad vetera revocas, nemo non inde est, ante quod nihil est. A primo mundi ortu, usque ad hoc tempus, perduxit nos ex splendidis sordidisque alterna series. Non facit nobilem atrium plenum fumosis imaginibus: Nemo in nostram gloriam vixit; nec, quod ante nos fuit, nostrum est. Animus facit nobilem; cui, ex quâcunque conditione, supra fortunam licet surgere.* Epist. LXXVI. De Benefic. L. III. 28. Epist. XLIV.

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(16.) CICERO, in his Second Book *De Officiis*, Sect. XIII., has a fine passage on the effects, which an illustrious name is calculated to produce, on the situation and conduct of men. *Si quis, ab ineunte ætate, habet causam celebritatis et nominis, aut à patre acceptam, aut aliquo casu, atque fortunâ; in hunc oculi omnium conjiciuntur, atque in eum, quid agat, quemadmodum vivat, inquiritur, at tamquam in clarissimâ luce versetur: Ita nullum obscurum potest nec dictum ejus esse, nec factum.* And Seneca seems to have had the excellent sentiment of Sallust in his view, when he said, concerning the reproach, incurred by the worthless, who degenerate from their illustrious predecessors; *Ut loca sordida repercussu solis illustrantur, ita inertes majorum suorum luce replendeant.* De Benefic. L. IV. 30. Pages 451. 452. 453.

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(17.) HERODIAN, who often borrows from our author, probably remembered this passage, when he put nearly the same sentiment into the mouth of Macrinus, in his address to the Senate; Γένες γὰρ ἔνδοξον ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν, καὶ τῷ ὑστέρῳ γένει ἄμεινον, ἢ κλέος προγονικὸν παραλαμβάνοντα, τρόπῳ φαυλότητι καταισχῦναι. L. V. p. 178. Edit. Oxon. In like manner, when Marius, a little after, says, *Omnes honores, non ex merito, sed quasi debitos, à vobis repetit,* the passage is plainly imitated, in the same address by Macrinus; Τί γὲν ὑμᾶς ὤνησεν ἡ Κομμόδε εὐγένεια, ἢ Αντωνίνε ἡ πατρῴα διαδοχὴ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ ὄφλημα κληρονομίας εἰληφότες, ἀποχρῶνται τε καὶ ἐνυβρίζεσιν, ὡς ἄνωθεν ἰδίῳ κτήματι. pp. 177. 178.

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(18.) HERE Sallust seems to have had in his eye a passage in Thucydides, namely, the conclusion of the speech of the Thebans, in the Third Book: Ποιήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι παράδειγμα, ἐ λόγων τέτοις ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες, ἀλλ' ἔργων. ὧν ἀγαθῶν μὲν ὄντων βραχέα ἡ ἀπαγγελία

Page 454. ἀρκεῖ· ἁμαρτανομένων δὲ, λόγοι ἔπεσι κοσμηθέντες προκαλύμματα γίγνονται. pp. 187. 188. Edit. Hudson.

(19.) THE idea, given by Lucan, of Cæsar's military character, implies a courage and intrepidity, not unlike to that, which this rough egotist here ascribes to himself: But the picture, on the whole, is of a ferocious and unfeeling cast, and far more applicable to Marius, than to the milder temper of the great man, for whom the poet intended it. But Cæsar with Lucan was no favourite.

Sed non in Cæsare tantum
Nomen erat, nec fama ducis: sed nescia virtus
Stare loco, solusque pudor non vincere bello.
Acer et indomitus; quò spes, quòque ira vocasset,
Ferre manum, et numquam temerando parcere ferro;
Successus urgere suos; instare favori
Numinis; impellens quidquid sibi summa petenti
Obstaret; gaudensque viam fecisse ruinâ.

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(20.) SENECA says, in Epist. XXVII., *Bona mens nec commendatur, nec emitur: Et puto, si venalis esset, non haberet emptorem: At mala quotidie emitur.*

(21.) THIS seems to be in allusion to a passage, in a lost work o Cato the Censor, on "The Manners" (*Carmen de Moribus*) as quoted by Aulus Gellius, where Cato observes, on the temperance and moderation of the antient Romans; *Vestiri in foro honestè mos erat; domi, quod satis erat: Equos cariùs quàm coquos emebant.* Noct. Attic. L. XI. 2. Livy, in his account of the introduction of luxury, and particularly that of the table, from Asia, strikingly contrasts the former, with the then manners of his countrymen. The cook (says he), among our ancestors, was once regarded as the domestic of all others of the lowest importance, and of the smallest utility: But his office now began

to rise into consideration; and what formerly was a necessary service, became an article of luxury, and was studied as a science. *Tum coquus, vilissimum antiquis mancipium, et æstimatione et usu, in pretio esse; et, quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi coepta.* L. XXXIX. 6. Pages 456. 457.

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(22.) Ὃν γὰρ ἀθανάτους σφίσι παῖδας εὔχοντο γενέσθαι· ἀλλ' ἀγαθὸς καὶ εὐκλεῆς. Platon. Epitaph.

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(23.) The six Classes, into which the Roman People were divided by Servius Tullius, have been already noticed. See Vol. I. p. 512. 513. From the sixth, or lowest order, soldiers were never enlisted, unless on occasions of the most urgent necessity. They neither paid taxes to the state, nor were esteemed worthy the honour of defending their country; because, having nothing to lose, and consequently no stake in its welfare, they would have been under the greater temptation of deserting to the enemy. This class was properly divided into two orders. The first, and most honourable was called *Proletarii* (from the word *Proles*), and consisted of such persons, as had property to a certain low amount (Aul. Gell. L. XVI. 10.), the rearing of children being the principal service, which they could render to the community. The second was named *Capite censi* (rated by the head), comprehending such as had no property whatever. All that the latter could boast of was, that they were not *Capite minuti*, that is, that they still retained their rights as citizens. It is to be observed, that Sallust, in this passage, opposes *Classes* to *Capite censi*; because the entire sixth class, and the division last-mentioned in particular, was thought so contemptible, that they were scarcely considered as a class at all. On this account, we find Cicero saying, of men of the lowest rank, *Quintæ classis videntur*; and when Livy, and other historians speak of the Classes, into which the citizens of Rome were divided, they seldom make mention of a greater number than five.

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Pages 459. (24.) METELLUS was honoured with a triumph, and deservedly obtained the surname of *Numidicus*. Vell. Paterc. L. II. 11. The rancour and severity, with which he was soon afterwards persecuted by Marius, and the popular faction, were equally disgraceful to themselves, and to the republic. See Note 73. anteh. There is preserved a medal of Metellus, struck at the time of his triumph. It has, on the one side, the prow of a ship, with his name over it, in order to denote, that he had extended the boundaries of the empire beyond the sea; and, on the reverse, the heads of Jupiter and Neptune.

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(25.) CAPSA, the modern town of Gaffsa, was situated west of the Lesser Syrtis, between the thirty-third and thirty-fourth degree of latitude. The derivation of the name, according to Bochart, is from the Hebrew word "Caphas," *Id est* (says he) συσφιγξειν, *comprimere et constringere. Hinc meritò* Caphas *Capsa dicitur, quam undequaque premebant, et in arctum cogebant, vastissimæ solitudines.* De Phœn. Colon. L. I. 24. p. 530. Bochart and Cellarius think, that the Capsa of Ptolemy, and the Capsa of Sallust, are not the same place; whereas Dr Shaw, who visited the modern Gaffsa, is led to form an opposite opinion, from the antient inscriptions, and other circumstances, which he observed on the spot. Probably there were two towns of this name in Numidia, the one of which was much further to the south, than the other.

Of Gaffsa Dr Shaw thus writes. "Twelve leagues to the south-east by east of Ferre-anah, is Gaffsa, the antient Capsa or Capse, another of the strong cities of Jugurtha. It is built upon a rising ground, in the like melancholy situation as Ferre-anah; with this difference only, that here the landscape is somewhat more gay and verdant, by the prospect, we have from it, of the palm, the olive, the pistachio, and other fruit-trees: But this agreeable scene is of small extent, and

erves merely to refresh the eye, in the view it is to have afterwards, of an interchange only of barren hills and valleys. The water, which refreshes these plantations, arises from two fountains, the one within the citadel, the other in the centre of the city. The latter, which was probably the *Jugis aqua* of Sallust, as it might be likewise the *Tarmid* of Edrisi, was formerly covered with a cupola. It is still walled round, and discharges itself into a large bason, designed originally to bathe in. This fountain, and the other unite, before they leave the city, and form a pretty large brook; which, from the quantity of water, and the rapidity of the stream, might continue its course to a great distance, were it not constantly employed and drunk up, in the uses above mentioned. In the walls of some private houses, and particularly of the citadel, there is a great confusion of altars, granite pillars, entablatures, &c., which, when entire, and in their proper situations, must have been great ornaments to the city: But some imperfect inscriptions are all that fell in my way; in one of which is preserved the antient name *(Capse)*, as may be presumed, of this city: And from this circumstance, together with the *Jugis aqua*, so particularly described by Sallust, and appropriated to Capsa, we may receive sufficient proof, that the Capsa of Sallust and Ptolemy were the same, notwithstanding what Bochart and Cellarius have supposed to the contrary." pp. 124. 125. Page 462.

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(26.) This town, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus, was situated in Zeugitana, 117 miles from Carthage. Ptolemy calls it Lares, and mentions it as a town of the Cirtesii, in the neighbourhood of Cirta, and south of Vaga or Vacca. It appears to be the modern Lorbus; which Dr Shaw places a little to the south of the river Bagrada, and nearly in the same latitude as Neapolis, on the eastern coast.

(27.) Geographers have considerably differed about the position of the river Tana or Tanais. M. De Brosses thinks, that it fell into the

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Bagrada: But I am inclined to follow Dr Shaw, who tells us, that he crossed it, not far from where it empties itself into the sea, near Thenæ, and somewhat south of the island of Cercina. See the Map. The modern name is Wed el Thaine. or the River Thaine. See Shaw, pp. 112. 113.

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(28.) Florus (L. III. 1. xv.) calls this a town, and gives it the name of Mulucha; *Ex saxeo inditam monti Mulucham urbem, per Ligurem, aditu arduo inaccessoque, penetravit.* The name Mulucha is given by Pliny and Pomponius Mela, as well as Sallust, to the river in its neighbourhood: But the place is probably the same, as the Molochath of Ptolemy.

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(29.) Liguria was a country of Gallia Cispadana, extending from the Var to the Macra, and is now the Genoese territory. The peasants, in the mountainous parts of this district, were remarkable for their agility in climbing hills, and there was generally a corps of them in the Roman armies.—Frontinus in his book of military stratagems, has given this example of Marius's boldness of enterprise, and has abridged the account of our author. See L. III. 9. iii.

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(30.) Cicero and Seneca have both remarked, on the too common practice, of estimating human actions, not by the judgment which directs, but by the success which attends them. Our usual method, says Cicero, on such occasions, is to judge by the event. If that be propitious, we willingly refer it to the ability of the conductor: If otherwise, we refuse him, not only the praise of prudence, but even the possession of common sense. But he, as Seneca observes, who aspires to the title of a truly wise man, full well knows the deceitfulness of appearances, and the insecurity of hope. He never forgets, how great

an allowance is to be made, for errours to be rectified, for obstacles to be surmounted, and for the contingency inseparable from the affairs of men. He cautiously follows, without implicitly trusting to the ever changeful current of human events; and, taking his measures with prudence, he continually bears in mind, that no foresight can insure him success to the issue. *Hoc plerumque facimus, ut consilia eventis ponderemus: et cui bene quid processerit, multùm illum providisse; cui secùs, nihil sensisse dicamus.* Orat. pro Rabir. Post. I. *Fallaces sunt rerum species, quibus credimus. . Scit sapiens quantum liceat errori, quàm incerta sint humana, quàm multa consiliis obstent: Ancipitem rerum, ac lubricam sortem suspensus sequitur, et consiliis certis incertos eventus.* Sen. de Benefic. L. IV. 34. Page 470.

(31.) When Sallust wrote this passage, it appears, that he had not laid the plan of his great History, in which such frequent mention of Sylla was necessarily made, as may be seen from the Fragments. In regard to Cornelius Sisenna, who lived in Sylla's time, and was descended of a branch of the same family, he composed the History of Rome, in two-and-twenty Books, deducing his narrative from the taking of the city by the Gauls, and bringing it down to the termination of the first civil wars. He probably was the best of all the historians, that intervened between Antipater and Sallust, as well as a person of some literary distinction, since Varro inscribed to him his treatise on the Composition of History. See Cicero's opinion of Sisenna, in Vol. I. p. 350. Although our author does not particularly explain the manner, in which Sisenna, in his judgment, failed, in delineating Sylla's character, or to what side of politics he inclined *(Parum libero ore locutus est)*, yet we may suppose, that it was rather to that of his kinsman the Dictator.

(32.) The picture, which the historian here draws, of the genius and manners of Sylla, does great credit to his candour, as well as to his judgment. He had represented Marius, such as he may be conceived to have been, in the prior part of his life, and he now gives the portrait

Page 470. of his illustrious rival, at a like early period, but without a tincture of political animosity.

Sylla was descended, in the sixth degree, from Publius Cornelius Rufinus, who commanded, with great reputation, in the war against Pyrrhus; the same also, who, after being twice Consul, and once Dictator (the latter in U. C. 477), was expelled the senate by Fabricius, while Censor, for having in his possession, contrary to law, more than ten pound weight of silver plate, for the use of his table. This, instead of excess of luxury, as Valerius Maximus observes, might, in his time, be considered as the most contemptible indigence. A striking proof, he adds, of the height, to which extravagance and frugality may be carried, by the same people. *Vix credibile est, intra idem pomœrium, decem pondo argenti, et invidiosum fuisse censum, et inopiam haberi contemptissimam.* L. II. 9. IV.—Vell. Paterc. L. II. 17.—Plutarch in Syll. I.—Aul. Gell. L. IV. 8.

Sylla, beyond question, was one of the greatest men, that Rome ever produced; and there is no reason to think, that either his talents or acquirements were less conspicuous, than Sallust represents them. The admirable laws which he framed, during his possession of the supreme power, for the purpose of checking the democratic tendency in the constitution, attracted the applause of the wisest statesmen of succeeding times, and particularly of Cicero, down to the close of the Republic; and these regulations may fairly be considered as some compensation for the cruelties, with which they were ushered in, and the vengeance which he inflicted on his enemies. Of his extraordinary fortitude and greatness of mind there needs be no better evidence, than his voluntarily dismissing his Lictors, and resigning his power, and then retiring to a private station, after ruling despotically for three years. Like other usurpers, he had no design of subverting the constitution, or of continuing his power in his own family. It was this conduct, that gave Cæsar occasion to say, that, as the Republic was an empty name, without form or reality, it showed Sylla to be a driveller, voluntarily to lay down the Dictatorship. *Nihil esse Rempublicam, appellationem modò, sine corpore ac specie, Syllam nescisse literas, qui Dictaturam de-*

posuerit. Sueton. in Cæs. LXXVII. But Cæsar, in some sort, deserved a similar imputation, when he himself retained the supreme power, and imprudently dismissed his guards, the only means, by which he could hope to secure it. Page 479.

The learning of Sylla was not less of a superior cast, than his other acquirements. After the taking of Athens, he brought, from that city, the noble library of Apellicon, the Teian, containing, among other treasures, the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus; which, after being prepared for publication by the Grammarian Tyrannio, were given to the world by Andronicus of Rhodes. See Plutarch. in Syll. XXVI.—Strab. L. XIII. p. 609.—Diog. Laërt. in Theophrast. Sylla composed excellent Memoirs of his own times, in one or two-and-twenty books: They are frequently quoted by Plutarch; and it is greatly to be regretted, that they have not descended to us, among the remains of antient learning. Cicero, Pliny, and Aulus Gellius have preserved some inconsiderable fragments. This work Sylla dedicated to his friend the elder Lucullus, and left at his death, to be revised and published, by that accomplished scholar. Faustus Sylla, the son of the Dictator, gave it in charge to Epicadius, the Grammarian, his father's Freedman, who added a supplement to the last book, before being published by Lucullus. See Cic. de Divinat. L. I. 33.—Sueton. de Illust. Grammat. XII.—Plutarch. in Syll. & Lucull.—Aul. Gell. L. I. 12. XX. 6.

(33.) The commentators have greatly puzzled themselves to ascertain what part of Sylla's conduct is alluded to by the historian, when he says, in this passage; *Ab negotiis nunquam voluptas remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestiùs consuli.* Some suppose it is meant as a reflection on the general looseness of his manners, and passion for intrigue, indulged even to a late period of his life; while others think, that his marriage, in his old age, with Valeria Messala, a beautiful and accomplished coquette, is the object of reprehension. To me it ap-

Page 470. pears, that there is but one incident, in Sylla's life, to which the observation of the historian can apply, in the very pointed manner, in which he has made it; and especially, as an exception to the praise, of never suffering pleasure to interfere with more serious occupations. The occasion was a remarkable one. It was the death of Metella, his second wife, who is said to have been uncommonly the object of his affection: But this behaviour of the Dictator evinces, either an excessive proneness to superstition, or attachment to luxury, and does little credit to his feelings as a man. It is with reference to these ideas, that I have translated the passage in the text.

The circumstances of Metella's death are thus stated by Plutarch. "Sylla," he says, "gave the People a magnificent entertainment, on account of his dedicating the tenth of his substance to Hercules. The provisions were so overabundant, that a great quantity was thrown, every day, into the river; and the wine, that was drunk, was forty years old, at least. In the midst of this feasting, which lasted many days, Metella sickened and died. As the priests forbade him to approach her, and to have his house defiled with mourning, he sent her a bill of divorce, and ordered her to be carried to another house, while the breath was in her body; his superstition making him very punctilious, in observing these laws of the priests." Langhorne's Transl. Vol. III. p. 162.

As to the adventure with Valeria, who fairly made a conquest of him, in the theatre, it is an excellent anecdote, and is thus preserved, by the same entertaining biographer. "A few months after Metella's death, he presented the People with a show of Gladiators: And as, at that time, men and women had no separate places, but sat promiscuously in the theatre, a woman of great beauty, and of one of the best families, happened to sit near Sylla. She was the daughter of Messala, and sister to the orator Hortensius; her name Valeria; and she had lately been divorced from her husband. This woman, coming behind Sylla, touched him, and took off a little of the nap of his robe, and then

returned to her place. Sylla looked at her, quite amazed at her familiarity; when she said, "Wonder not, my Lord, at what I have done; I had only a mind to share a little in your good fortune." Sylla was far from being displeased; on the contrary, it appeared, that he was flattered very agreeably: For he sent to ask her name, and to inquire into her family and character. Then followed an interchange of amorous regards and smiles, which ended in a contract and marriage. The lady, perhaps, was not to blame. But Sylla, though he got a woman of reputation, and great accomplishments, yet came into the match upon wrong principles. Like a youth, he was caught with soft looks, and languishing airs, things (as Plutarch sagely adds), that are wont to excite the lowest of the passions." Langhorne, p. 162. Page 471.

Σύλλας δ', εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα σώφρονα καὶ γενναίαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ ἐκ σώφρονος καὶ καλῆς ἔγημεν ἀρχῆς, ὄψει καὶ λαμυρίᾳ μειρακίῳ δίκην παραβληθείς, ὑφ' ὧν τὰ αἴσχιστα καὶ ἀναιδέστατα πάθη κινεῖσθαι πέφυκεν. In Syll. XXXV. Edit. Reisk.

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(34.) Sylla, in fact, performed so many great actions, that by his countrymen he was regarded as a consummate general; by his friends, as the greatest in the world; and, even by his enemies, as the most fortunate. Σύλλας δὲ πολλὰ δράσας ἄξια λόγου, δόξαν ἔσχεν ἡγεμόνος μεγάλου μὲν παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, μεγίστου δὲ παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις, εὐτυχεστάτου δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. Plutarch. in Vit. VI. Edit. Reisk. Nothing flattered Sylla more, as his biographer informs us, than to impute all his achievements to the influence of Fortune, of which Goddess, indeed, a tide of uninterrupted success had convinced him, that he was the chosen favourite; insomuch that, when he had subdued, or put to death all his enemies, he assumed the surname of Felix, and called his son and daughter Faustus and Fausta. Lucan, after pathetically describing his horrible massacres, and the tragic spectacle, which the city of Rome in consequence exhibited, naturally asks, If it was

Page 480. for this, that, while alive, he named himself Felix, and was hailed the saviour of his country; or that, when dead, he was to be buried in the field of Mars, among the monuments of Roman virtue?

> Hisne, Salus rerum, Felix his Sylla vocari;
> His meruit tumulum medio sibi tollere Campo?
> L. II. 221.

(35.) VELLEIUS PATERCULUS well observes of Sylla; *Vir, qui neque ad finem victoriæ satis laudari, neque post victoriam abundè vituperari potest.* "At length," says Plutarch, "when he applied himself to kill, and to destroy, he filled the city with massacres, which had neither number nor bounds . . Marius, indeed, from the first, was of a harsh, and severe disposition, and power did not produce, it only added to his cruelty. But Sylla, in the beginning, bore prosperity with great moderation: Though he seemed more attached to the Patricians, it was thought, that he would protect the rights of the People: He had loved to laugh from his youth, and had been so compassionate, that he often melted into tears. This change in him, therefore, could not but cast a blemish upon power. On his account, it was believed, that high honours and fortune will not suffer men's manners to remain in their original simplicity, but that it begets in them insolence, arrogance, and inhumanity." Langhorne, Vol. III. p. 158. Εἰκότως προσετρίψατο ταῖς μεγάλαις ἐξουσίαις διαβολὴν, ὡς τὰ ἤθη μένειν ἐκ ἐώσαις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τρόπων, ἀλλ' ἔμπληκτα, καὶ χαῦνα, καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα ποιούσαις. In Syll. XXX. Edit. Reisk.

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(36.) FRONTINUS (L. II. 4. x.) has also recorded this stratagem of Jugurtha's. *Jugurtha, in Numidia, adversus C. Marium, quum Latinæ quoque linguæ usum ei conversatio pristina castrorum dedisset, in primam aciem procucurrit, et occisum ab se C. Marium tum Latinè clarè*

prædicavit, atque ita multos nostrorum avertit. It was by a contrivance of a similar kind, that the Consul Lævinus, in the Tarentine war, deceived the troops of King Pyrrhus, and totally defeated them. Page 482.

(37.) The imitation of this passage by Tacitus, in his description of the field of battle, after the Caledonians, under Galgacus, were defeated by Agricola, is too striking to escape observation. See Vol. I. p. 357. *Tum verò patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum; sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem, oblatis aliis, trucidare. . . Passim arma et corpora, et laceri artus, et cruenta humus.* Agric. XXXVII. This is the description, on which Mr. Murphy has so sagely remarked, that "Tacitus saw the hurry, the force, the rapidity of the disjointed words of Sallust, and thought the passage *worthy of imitation;*" as if the omission of the copulatives were the *only* thing in the description, that Tacitus had imitated; and as if this were the *sole* instance, in which he had closely copied from his master!—It may here be asked, is this strange remark of Mr. Murphy's to be attributed to his ignorance of the numberless imitations, both in the thoughts and words of Sallust, that are to be found in Tacitus's writings; or does it proceed from a desire to dissemble the fact, and absurdly to hold up Tacitus, as an *original* writer? As Mr. Murphy, on other occasions, is generally candid, I am inclined to refer it to the first-mentioned cause, and to the accident (however strange a one it may appear in a scholar, and a professed biographer of Tacitus), of his never having taken the trouble to consider the subject.

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(38.) Jugurtha, in order to induce Bocchus effectually to assist him against the Romans, had promised, as we have seen above, in Sect. CII., to cede to him the third part of Numidia; and it should seem, from the present passage, that certain districts, of which that round Capsa was one, had actually been agreed upon, for this purpose. It is true, the cession was to take place, only upon certain conditions,

Pages 485. 486. which never were fulfilled, namely, that the Romans, in consequence of the confederacy, were driven out of Africa, and that, on the termination of the war, Jugurtha was left in the entire possession of his dominions. But Bocchus seems here to have used a piece of address, in speaking to men, whom he knew must be unacquainted with these circumstances; and, by asserting, that the country in question was his own, by right of conquest *(Jure belli suam factam)*, he thought, that he would offer a more specious apology for his hostile conduct.

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(39.) CICERO calls him Caius Bellienus, and represents him as a man of considerable eminence and ability. See De Clar. Orator. XLVII. Bellienus had two children; the one a son, named Lucius, who figured during Sylla's Dictatorship, as one of the instruments of his cruelties; and the other a daughter, who, as Asconius tells us, married Q. Sergius, and became the mother of Catiline.

(40.) THE person here mentioned is the same, who afterwards became Consul, A. U. C. 666. It was from this family, that the Emperor Augustus was descended.

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(41.) NATIVES of the two islands in the Mediterranean, called Baleares Major and Minor (and by the Greek geographers, Balearides), now Majorca and Minorca. They received their name from the word βάλλω *(jaculor)*, denoting the dexterity of the inhabitants in the art of slinging (See Isidor. Orig. L. XIV. 6.); and hence the body of slingers, in the Roman armies, was usually composed of this people. The boys of these islands, as Diodorus Siculus and Florus informs us, were trained to proficiency in the art by the women, who used to fix the breakfast of their sons, on the top of a high pole, and oblige them to fast, until they dexterously struck it down, with a stone from their slings. See Flor. L. III. 8.—Lycophron, in that strange composition the Cassandra,

gives a like account of their method of giving dexterity to the young slinger; Pages 488. 492.

Ὧν αἱ τεκεῖσαι τὴν ἐκηβόλον τέχνην
Ἄδορτα παιδεύσεσι νηπίας γόνας.
Οὐ γὰρ τις αὐτῶν ψίσεται πύργον γνάθῳ,
Πρὶν ἂν κρατήσῃ ναστὸν εὐστόχῳ λίθῳ,
Ὑπὲρ τραφηκος σῆμα κάμενον σκοπῆ.

p. 44. Edit. Meurs.

(42.) THE Peligni were a brave people of Italy, whose territory lay contiguous to that of the Marsi. Their principal towns were Corfinium and Sulmo, of which the latter is celebrated, as the birth-place of Ovid. The Peligni were so well known for their valour, that there was generally a corps of them in the Roman armies *(Cohors Peligna)*, which never failed to distinguish itself. See Liv. L. XXV. 14. XLIV. 40. &c.

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(43.) PRIMA *vigiliâ*, that is, at the end of the first watch, or three hours after sun-set. The Romans, as has been already mentioned, divided the night into four watches, consisting of three hours each, at the end of which the guards were always relieved, by the sound of trumpet. But the Greeks divided their night into three watches, of four hours each. See Note 75., and Jugurth. Sect. CIV. anteh.

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(44.) COMMENTATORS differ greatly as to the meaning of the historian's words in this passage; *Deinde ambo in sua castra digressi.* Some understand *Ambo* to mean Bocchus and Sylla, and that they departed to their respective camps, which had been pitched in the vicinity of each other. Cortius very properly observes, that the two persons in question must be Sylla and Aspar; but he as unnaturally supposes, that the camp, to which Sylla set out, was that of Marius,

Pages 491. near Cirta, a place which could not have been reached, but in many days, and without much delay and hazard. The most probable meaning of the passage is, that Sylla and Aspar are the persons alluded to; and that, having held the conference with Bocchus, they set off to their respective encampments; that is, Sylla retired to a camp at no great distance, in which he had stationed his men; and Aspar to the camp of Jugurtha, to which, as it afterwards appears, he was able to travel with expedition, in four days, and in a like time to return to the court of Mauritania.

(45.) This address of king Bocchus to Sylla, as well as Sylla's address to Bocchus (Sect. CIX. anteh.), that is, the sentiments they contain, Sallust probably took from the Dictator's Memoirs of his own times, a work frequently quoted by Plutarch, and other antient writers. The present speech, in particular, and the fine things, put into the mouth of the barbarian king, bear strong marks of that self-love and partiality, with which Sylla regarded the whole negociation, as he is well known to have valued himself more upon it, than on the greatest achievements of his life. There is a fine medal still extant, which Sylla had struck, in commemoration of this nocturnal conference with Bocchus. It has, on the one side, a head of the Maurish prince, the temples of which are encircled with a diadem, and a lion's skin is thrown over the shoulders, and fastened at the collar; the legend Felix. On the reverse, is a representation of Night, in a chariot drawn by two horses, and traversing the sky, which is besprinkled with stars; the legend Faustus. Besides this, we are told by Plutarch and Valerius Maximus, that he got a seal engraved, to record the transaction, and that he used it ever after, in sealing his letters. The device was, Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha, and Sylla receiving him. Plutarch. in Vit. III. ult.—Valer. Max. L. VIII. 14. iv. The vanity displayed by Sylla, in constantly using this seal, gave great offence to Marius, and is universally represented, as among the early causes of their subsequent animosity, and of the civil wars, that afflicted the commonwealth.

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(46.) PLUTARCH says, that Bocchus had, for some time, both hated and feared his son-in-law Jugurtha; but that he chose rather to allow Sylla to seize him, than to commit that act of violence himself. When he saw, however, both Jugurtha and Sylla at his disposal, and was under the necessity of betraying either the one or the other, he debated long with himself, which should be the victim: At last, he decided in favour of the Romans. Ὁ δὲ Βόκχος ἐτύγχανε μὲν ἔτι γε πάλαι γαμβρὸν ὄντα ωισῶν καὶ φοβέμενος τὸν Ἰωγέρθαν· τότε δὲ ἡτ[ημένῳ καὶ πεφευγότι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιβελεύων, ἐκάλει τὸν Σύλλαν, δι' ἐκεῖνε μάλιστα βελόμενος τὴν σύλληψιν καὶ παράδοσιν τῦ Ἰωγέρθα γενέσθαι, ἢ δι' αὐτῦ. κοινωσάμενος δὲ τῷ Μαρίῳ, καὶ λαβὼν στρατιώτας ὀλίγες ὁ Σύλλας, τὸν μέγιστον ὑπέδυ κίνδυνον, ὅτι βαρβάρῳ καὶ πρὸς τὲς οἰκειοτάτες ἀπίστῳ πιστεύσας, ὑπὲρ τῦ παραλαβεῖν ἕτερον, ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχείρισεν. ἐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ὁ Βόκχος ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων κύριος γενόμενος, καὶ καταστήσας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀνάγκην τῦ παρασπονδῆσαι τὸν ἕτερον, καὶ πολλὰ διενεχθεὶς τῇ γνώμῃ, τέλος ἐκύρωσε τὴν πρώτην προδοσίαν, καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ Σύλλᾳ τὸν Ἰωγέρθαν. In Syll. III. Edit. Reisk.

(47.) CÆPIO was Consul A. U. C. 647, and Manlius in 648. The Senate had continued, for another year, the appointment of the former to Narbonese Gaul, in order that there might be two Consular armies, to make head against the Barbarians. But so unfortunate was the issue of the campaign, that the camps of both commanders were stormed, the two sons of the Consul Manlius slain, together with the loss, according to Valerius Antias, of no fewer than 80,000 men, on the part of the Romans, and 50,000 sutlers, slaves, and other retainers of the camp. But this antient historian, as Livy tells us, was extremely apt to exaggerate in his computations.

It is certain, that the commonwealth never was in greater danger, than at this period. The enemy were Barbarians of the most fierce, and warlike character. Sallust calls them Gauls; but they were, more properly speaking, Germans, under the names of Cimbri and Teutone from the coast of the Baltic sea, and were joined by the Tigurini, who

Page 497. dwelt near the Alps, in the country, which is now the Canton of Zurich. The Barbarian host consisted of no fewer than 300,000 fighting men, besides a still greater number of women and children, that accompanied them; a computation, says Plutarch, that was at first thought incredible, but afterwards turned out to be short of the truth. This vast multitude were in quest of lands, on which they might subsist, and of cities wherein they might dwell. They knew the success of the Celtæ, in former periods, in expelling the Tuscans, and possessing themselves of their territories; and, leaving their woods and marshes in the north, they hung, like a cloud, over Gaul and Italy (ὥσπερ νέφος ἐμπέσοιεν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ), and threatened the destruction of both countries. Being refused, by the Senate, a grant of lands, as they had requested, they resolved to seize by force, what by entreaty they could not obtain, and, for that purpose, they prepared to cross the Alps. The first general, that went against them, was Silanus, and him they soon defeated. Manlius and Cæpio had, if possible, still worse success: In a word, says Florus, the republic was undone, had not Marius arisen, in this critical juncture, and, by his military talents, saved his country. *Repulsi igitur, quod nequiverant precibus, armis petere constituunt. Sed nec primum quidem impetum Barbarorum Silanus, nec secundum Manlius, nec tertium Cæpio, sustinere potuerunt. Omnes fugati, exuti castris. Actum erat, nisi Marius illi seculo contigisset.* L. III. 3.

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(48.) The conclusion of this history is still more abrupt and unsatisfactory, than that of the Conspiracy of Catiline; as there were several circumstances, in regard both to Africa and Italy, which the historian might have stated, with the best effect. In order, in some degree, to supply the deficiency, I shall add a few miscellaneous notices, as we are able to gather them from other writers.

The triumph of Marius was one of the most magnificent, ever recorded in the history of the commonwealth. From the Campus Martius, from which the procession set out, the whole way to the Capitol,

the streets were crowded with the splendid retinue, or with the exulting troops of the victorious general. Marius appeared aloft, in his chariot of ivory, inlaid with gold, drawn, as usual, by four milk-white horses. In his right hand, he bore the branch of palm-tree or laurel, and in his left, the ivory sceptre. He had on the purple robe, richly embroidered with gold; and on his finger the ring of iron (as rings of gold were not as yet worn at Rome. Plin. L. XXXIII. 1.); whilst a slave carried over his head the splendid crown, set with jewels, and which dazzled the eyes of all beholders. After the milk-white victims, from the river Clitumnus, and the spoils and arms of the enemy, there were carried, we are assured, in this triumph, no fewer than three thousand seven hundred pounds of gold, five thousand seven hundred and seventy-five of silver bullion; and of silver coin seventeen thousand, and twenty-eight Drachmas. Page 497.

The object, which of all others attracted the greatest curiosity, was Jugurtha, who appeared in chains, together with his two sons, and their attendants, at the chariot-wheels of the conqueror. The sight was peculiarly gratifying to the Roman People, who never expected, during Jugurtha's life, to have witnessed a termination of the war. But an exhibition so humiliating was more than could be borne by that high-spirited prince, who, it is said, before the close of the procession, lost his senses. See Plutarch in Mar.—Eutrop. L. IV. 11. &c.

When the triumph ended, and the captives, as usual, were to be sent to execution, Jugurtha was led to the Tullian dungeon, the same, in which the accomplices of Catiline were afterwards strangled. Such was the haste of the Lictors to strip him, and to seize the splendid ornaments of his person, that his robe was rent to pieces, and the tips of his ears torn away, together with the rich pendants, with which they were adorned. On being precipitated naked to the bottom of the vault, says Plutarch, he cried out, with a frantic smile; "Heavens! how very cold is this bath of yours!" which were the last words he was heard to utter. Ὠσθεὶς δὲ γυμνὸς εἰς τὸ βάραθρον κατεβλήθη, μεστὸς ὢν ταραχῆς, καὶ διαστροφῆς· Ἡράκλεις, εἶπεν, ὡς ψυχρὸν ὑμῶν τὸ βαλανεῖον. There struggling, for six days, with cold and hunger, he

Page 497. met a fate, which was worthy of his life, and the multitude of his crimes. See Plutarch. in Mar. XII. Edit. Reisk. Eutropius and some others say, that he was strangled in prison. At the end of a number of the MS. copies of Sallust, is found the following distich, which seems intended to compensate for the silence of the historian;

Si cupis ignotum Jugurthæ noscere lethum,
Tarpeiæ rupis pulsus ad ima ruit.

But the idea of his being thrown down from the Tarpeian rock, rests on no antient authority, and probably proceeded from the writer misapprehending the meaning of Plutarch, or the situation of the Tullian dungeon, to the bottom of which it was usual to precipitate malefactors. See a description of the place, in the Notes on the Conspiracy of Catiline, pp. 292. 293, anteh.

Thus, within something less than a hundred years, the pride of the Romans was gratified, by seeing three foreign kings led at the chariot-wheels of their Consuls. First, Syphax, king of Western Numidia, who was taken captive, A. U. 552, by Scipio Africanus the elder; next, Perseus, king of Macedon, by Paulus Æmilius; and Jugurtha, by Marius, on the present occasion.

Marius hung up his trophies in the Capitol, and dedicated them to Jupiter. Sylla had medals struck, and distributed all over Rome, of which some are still preserved, in the cabinets of the curious, having, on one side, Marius in his triumphal chariot, drawn by four horses abreast, holding, in one hand, the reins, and, in the other, the branch of palm tree; the legend, C. MARIUS. C. F. Coss. On the reverse, is a head of the Capitoline Jupiter; the legend, L. CORNEL. SYLLA. PR. Q. The trophies of the Cimbric, as well as the African victories of Marius, are still to be seen, in the Court of the Capitol, at Rome. They are cut in stone; and, notwithstanding the opinion of Petrarch, who wishes to refer them solely to the conquest of Numidia, they seem intended to commemorate both of these achievements. The

one, which relates to the war with Jugurtha, as the President De Brosses well observes, is designated by the figures of various wild beasts of Africa, on the shields and breastplates. The other refers to the victories over the Cimbri, and has upon it a rein-deer's skin, the clothing of the antient tribes of Germany, with the fur turned outwards; and it supplies the place of a cuirass, in the centre of the piece. The curious reader may consult Montfaucon, Tom. IV. p. 150, where he will find a delineation of both monuments. Page 497.

On the termination of the war against Jugurtha, the whole of his extensive kingdom did not immediately come under the dominion of the Romans. The disticts, bordering on Mauritania, from the river Mulucha as far east as the Ampsaga, were ceded to king Bocchus, in consideration of his services, and the country called New Mauritania. It formerly was the kingdom of Syphax, or Western Numidia, and was, on the overthrow of that prince, bestowed on Masinissa. Hiempsal II., named by Appian Mandrestales, the son of Gulussa, and grandson of Masinissa, obtained another division. This was the same prince, with whom the younger Marius and other exiles took refuge, when driven by Sylla out of Italy, and very narrowly escaped being made prisoners. On this account, when Marius became master of Rome, he dethroned Hiempsal, and established Hiarbas or Hierta (the son of Gauda, and brother of Jugurtha) in his stead: But Pompey, by order of Sylla, afterwards attacked, and put to death Hiarbas, aud reinstated Hiempsal in his dominions. See Plutarch. in Pomp.—Liv. Epit. LXXXIX. To Hiempsal succeeded Juba, who, in the civil wars, took up arms against Cæsar, and was defeated at the great battle of Thapsus, together with Faustus Sylla, Petreius, and Afranius. On this, all Africa was reduced into the form of a Roman province, of which Sallust became the first governor. Excepting the inconsiderable kingdom, which Augustus bestowed upon the younger Juba (a person more than once mentioned above, as so eminent for his learning), and which, on the death of his son Ptolemy, reverted to the Ro-

Page 497. mans, the whole of Numidia continued under their dominion, until the dismemberment of the empire.

Sallust, at the close of his narrative, in order to exalt the character of his favourite Marius, says, that the whole hopes and resources of his country were now centered in his single efforts (*Eâ tempestate, spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitæ*). Like some other writers, the historian is willing to exaggerate the virtues he possessed, and to celebrate them, at the expence of his cotemporaries.

There is, in my judgment, no man, who, either in his own, or in succeeding ages, has been more praised beyond his merit, than Caius Marius. Excepting his military virtues, which were the result of habit, far more than the offspring of talents or genius, he had no quality, that could render him either amiable or estimable, in the eyes of mankind. Even for his warlike achievements, splendid as they appear, the republic was principally indebted to other officers; for the conquest of Numidia, and the taking of Jugurtha, to Metellus and Sylla; for the overthrow of the Cimbri, to Catulus; for that of the Teutones, to Marcellus; and for the defeat of the allied states, also to Sylla. Yet Marius, amidst the lustre of his seven Consulships, six of which were bestowed, by the blind enthusiasm of the people, arrogated to hismelf the glory of the whole. He was hailed, by the multitude, another Camillus, a third founder of Rome, and saviour of his country! But his insatiable ambition, and monstrous vices, soon broke through all ordinary restraints. He had recourse to faction, and civil war; which inflicted on his country evils far more pernicious, than could ever be compensated by his victories. He died, says Plutarch, at the age of seventy, loaded with unparalleled honours, and in the possession of a more than regal fortune; and yet cursed with the chagrin of an unfortunate wretch, who was prematurely cut off, and checked in the pursuit of the objects, for which he panted. Διὸ ἔτη μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα βεβιωκὼς, ὕπατος δὲ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἑπτάκις ἀνηγορευμένος, οἶκόν τε καὶ πλοῦτον ἀρκοῦντα βασιλείαις ὁμοῦ πολλαῖς κεκτημένος, ὠδύρετο τὴν αὑτοῦ τύχην, ὡς

ἐνδεὴς καὶ ἀτελὴς ὢν ἐπόθει προαποθνήσκων. In Mar. XLVII. Edit. Reisk. Page 497.

Such are the effects of ambition. It were well for the human race, if instances of its ungovernable fury were confined to the nations of antiquity; if our own times did not furnish examples, in which every consideration divine and human has yielded to its gratification; where it has trodden under foot alike useful prejudices, and established institutions; and where whole nations have been made the sport of the crimes and the passions of *a single man*. Truly does Euripides make Jocastà say, in reasoning with her son Eteocles, on the destructive character of this baleful passion, when it has once found its way, into private houses, or peaceful states;

Τί τῆς κακίστης δαίμόνων ἐφίεσαι
Φιλοτιμίας, παῖ· μὴ συγ'. ἄδικος ἡ θεός,
Πολλὰς δ' ἐς οἴκους, καὶ πόλεις εὐδαίμονας
Εἰσῆλθε, κἀξῆλθεν, ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν χρωμένων,
Phœniss. 534.

Having related the death of Marius, the judicious biographer just mentioned makes some reflections, so just and beautiful, on the effects of sudden elevation, and frantic ambition, on uncultivated minds, that I know not any thing more excellent, with which, in the present period (October 1805), I can conclude these Notes, and, together with them, a long, and laborious work.

Plato, says he, when on his death-bed, congratulated himself, in the first place, that he was born a man; in the next place, that he had the happiness of being a Greek, and not a Barbarian; nor yet a brute, to which nature has denied the privilege of reason; and, in the last place, he rejoiced, that he had been the contemporary of Socrates. Antipater of Tarsus, in like manner, a little time before his death, called to mind the various advantages of his life, not forgetting to enumerate in the

Page 497. list, even his successful voyage to Athens. In settling his account with Fortune, he recollected, with gratitude, her several favours, all of which he had been careful to enter in his memory, that invaluable repository of human thought, as well as action. How greatly wiser, how greatly happier than they, who utterly insensible of the blessings they have received, too frivolous to remember, or too restless to enjoy them, live only on hope, and, incessantly panting after some future good, overlook the value of the present! Although their present possessions are not in fortune's power, and although no power can command her future favours, they yet madly cast away the former, and pursue the latter. Nor need we wonder at such a conduct. He, whose mind is uninformed by philosophy, and the cultivation of reason (and is unawed, we may still more truly add, by the sanctions of religion), is but ill calculated to bear the immoderate possession of wealth and power. From one point of elevation to another which he continues to mount, that hunger of the imagination, while it is impossible to appease, impatiently urges him on, and unceasingly torments him. Πλάτων μὲν ἕν, ἤδη πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾷν γενόμενος, ὕμνει τὸν αὑτῆ δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἄνθρωπος, εἶτα Ἕλλην, ἐ βάρβαρος, ἐδ' ἄλογον τῇ φύσει θηρίον γένοιτο· πρὸς δὲ τέτοις, ὅτι τοῖς Σωκράτες χρόνοις ἀπήντησεν ἡ γένεσις αὐτῆ. καὶ νὴ Δία τὸν Ταρσέα-λέγεσιν Ἀνίπατρον, ὡσαύτως ὑπὸ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀναλογιζόμενον ὧν τύχοι μακαρίων, μηδὲ τῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας οἴκοθεν εὐπλοίας ἐπιλαθέσθαι, καθάπερ φιλοχρήσε τῆς τύχης ἅπασαν δόσιν εἰς μέγαλην χάριν τιθέμενον, καὶ σώζοντα τῇ μνήμῃ διὰ τέλες, ἧς ἐδέν ἐσιν ἀνθρώπῳ ταμεῖον ἀγαθῶν βεβαιότερον. τὲς δὲ ἀμνήμονας καὶ ἀνοήτες ὑπερῆ τὰ γινόμενα μετὰ τῆ χρόνε· διὸ μηθὲν στέγοντες, μηδὲ διατηρῆντες, ἀεὶ κενοὶ μὲν ἀγαθῶν, πλήρεις δ' ἐλπίδων, πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀποβλέπεσι, τὸ παρὸν προϊέμενοι· καίτοι τὸ μὲν ἂν ἡ τύχη κωλύσαι δύναιτο, τὸ δ' ἀναφαίρετόν ἐστιν· ἀλλ' ὅμως τῆτο τῆς τύχης, ὡς ἀλλότριον, ἐκβάλλοντες, ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἄδηλον ὀνειρώτ]εσιν, εἰκότα πάσχοντες. πρὶν γὰρ ἐκ λόγε καὶ παιδείας ἕδραν ὑποβαλέσθαι καὶ κρηπῖδα τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀγαθοῖς, συνάγοντες αὐτὰ καὶ συμφο-

ῥῶντες, ἐμπλῆσαι τῆς ψυχῆς ἃ δύνανται τὸ ἀπόρεστον. Plutarch. in Mar. Page 497. XLVI. Edit. Reisk.

Well may the inhabitants of these favoured islands, with better reason than either Plato or Socrates had to boast of their country, at this moment congratulate themselves, that they have been born BRITONS! Secured, as they are, among themselves, by an invaluable Constitution, against the frantic attempts of any single individual, and separated, by a natural barrier, from neighbouring and less fortunate nations, they are blessed with advantages, both political and religious, unknown to the rest of mankind.

END OF THE NOTES

ON

THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

THE

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